

**CHRISTIAN GAWDA WOMEN,
CULTURE AND IMAGING GOA**

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for the Award of the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
in
Women's Studies**

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Research Guide
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DECLARATION

I, Mozinha Fernandes, hereby declare that this thesis titled ‘Christian Gawda Women, Culture and Imaging Goa’ is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Prof. Shaila Desouza, Head, Department of Women’s Studies, Goa University, Goa. It has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.

Date: 23/04/2020

Mozinha Fernandes

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled ‘Christian Gawda Women, Culture and Imaging Goa’ is the record of the original work done by Mozinha Fernandes under my guidance and supervision. The results of the research presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university.

Date: 23/04/2020

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Goa University, Goa.

To my parents

Socorrina Fernandes and Joao Fernandes

To my teacher

Alito Siqueira

To my husband

Arvind Solanki

To the Gawda Community

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ABSTRACT

1.1. Background and Scope of the Study

Feminist standpoint theorists argue that knowledge is socially situated and that the marginalized, yet excluded because of imbalanced power relations, have a special contribution to make to the field of knowledge (Collins 1989, 1990, 2000; Harding 1983; Hekman 1997). Research therefore, that is focussed on the realities of the marginalized, in this case, it is double marginality resulting from gender and community, the study of women in a tribal community in the smallest state in India is very significant. This study is focused on the life of the Christian Gawda women in Goa, India.

The Gawda community is one of three communities in Goa that were included in the Scheduled Tribe list since 2004. The other tribal communities being the Kunbi and the Velip communities. The Gawdas are divided into the Hindu Gawdas, the Christian Gawdas and the Nav- Hindu Gawda. This study is only about the Christian Gawda community of Goa. The Scheduled Tribe population in Goa constitutes only 10.23% of the total population of the State. Of the 14,58,545 total population in Goa, the total Scheduled Tribe population is 1,49,275 (Census 2011).

The cultural idioms of the Christian Gawda community in Goa, like the dress (*dhentulli*), dances and the songs are often used in the portrayal of the culture and identity of Goa, making the Gawda community appear as the dominant community and therefore an important community in Goa despite the fact that this community is otherwise a marginalised community with regards to the benefits and access to education and development. Through this research, knowledge about this marginalised community particularly the women within the community we hope to take to mainstream society and we hope for this knowledge to be part of the academic understanding of Goa which has till date been largely absent.

This research brings perspectives especially of women about their community's culture and their identity to the forefront. Following Harding's theory (2009:193) of 'including the excluded' this project engages with understanding the Gawda Community and their social relations. Following also, the argument of Haraway (1988) a feminist theorist, that knowledge is socially situated, this researcher being from the Gawda community was particularly well situated for such a study.

The main focus of this study was on women, as their experiences and their voices are very important in feminist research. Their voices are central to feminist methodologies (Somekh and Lewin 2008:7).

1.2 Significance of the Study

There are many reasons why undertaking a study on the *Gawda* community in the small state of Goa, India, is significant. The rationale to argue for the importance of this study include; (1) that there is very little research done on this community and therefore an urgent need to fill that lacuna. (2) Cultural idioms of this community, such as the form of dance, the dress, and songs, are used often to talk of the culture of Goa, without necessarily ascribing these idioms to the *Gawda* community. These uses of *Gawda* icons of culture are found, for example, in coffee-table books on Goa, in local entertainment for tourists, in tourism advertisement brochures on Goa, etc. (3) When images or idioms of this community are used to label the community, the impact on or implication for the *Gawda* community is rarely understood, as the voices from the community, are not heard.

This thesis is an attempt to bring out the voice of the *Gawda* community, particularly the voice of women within the community regarding their culture and the use of their cultural idioms namely the dress, dance and songs.

1.3 Aims of the Study

The main aims of the research are:

1. To document the culture of the Christian Gawda community in Goa particularly from a gendered perspective.
2. To critique the use of the culture of the Christian Gawda community in the imaging of Goa.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this research were as follows:

1. To understand what is meant by ‘culture’ and its role in a community’s identity.
2. To focus on the role played by women in determining what is ‘Gawda culture’.
3. To study the portrayal of the Gawda community, particularly women, in the imaging of Goa.
4. To assess the importance of the Gawda culture to the cultural heritage of Goa and to the imaging of Goa.
5. To understand the communities views on the portrayal of Gawda culture.
6. To understand the politics of framing Goa’s identity through the use of Christian Gawda culture.

1.5 Research Questions

The key research questions for this study were:

1. What according to Christian Gawda women constitutes their culture?
2. Are there any icons that women from the Gawda community have accepted as icons of their culture?

3. What is the role played by women in the perpetuation of Gawda culture?
4. What elements of Gawda culture can be documented?
5. What are the essentialist images of Gawda culture used in imaging Goa?
6. Is there any difference between the self-perception of Gawda women with regards to their culture and the popular essentialist images used?

1.6 Methods and Tools of Research

This ethnographic study focuses on how people view their own social standing and how they understand themselves and their community (Singh 2009). I call this study as native ethnography, the term used by Bernard (2008) to refer to the works of indigenous people who do fieldwork in their own communities and write about their own culture.

As said by Behar (2008:529) ‘Ethnography as a method began as a method – which was discovered, perfected and institutionalized in western centres of power for telling stories about the marginalized population of the world’. This ethnographic study also focuses its attention on the Gawda community which is one of the marginalized communities in Goa.

This study is a qualitative study and the methods adopted for data collection include unstructured interviews, informal group discussions, case studies, photograph content analysis, and narratives of the people.

This study, also takes into account the interpretive research practices which turn the world into a series of performances and representations, including case study documents, critical personal experience narrative, life stories, field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self (Denzin et al. 2008:5).

Under this study there were both commercial as well as non-commercial dance groups which were identified. There were six groups which were studied who were engaged in commercial performance from

Nuven, Verna, Davorlim, Margao and the group from Quepem. The other nine dance groups which were engaged in non-commercial performance were from Quepem. Apart from these groups there was fieldwork done in the Cumbeabhatt, Velim among the Gawda people where they rarely dance in their village and sometimes perform their cultural dance at the church, to know their views about their identity and culture. I will focus only on three aspects of culture that is dress, dance and the songs of the community because these are the idioms of the Gawda community which are used while portraying the culture of Goa.

The dance groups who performed for commercial purposes were selected through snowball sampling method whereas the data about non-commercial dance groups was obtained from the ‘Adivasi Sangatna Kepem’ in Quepem Goa. The respondents in Cumbeabhatt, Velim were also selected by snowball sampling method.

1.7 Summary of the Chapters

The first chapter starts with introducing or stating the reasons why this study on the Gawda community is significant. The first chapter is divided into three sections:

Section I reflects on the theoretical consideration of understanding tribes, especially the Gawda tribes of Goa.

Section II presents the Research Methodology followed while conducting the research and the methods used to collect data along with the limitations of the methods. This section also highlights the aims and objectives of the study and the scope and significance of the study.

In the second chapter, the “Understanding Culture” provides a theoretical understanding of the concept of culture.

The third chapter, ‘Gawda Dress in Goa: *Dhentulli*’, speaks about the dress of the Gawda women as being one of the icons of the community. Here there is a discussion about the uses of *dhentulli*, whether the women wear the

dhentulli. If they do not wear it then, what are the reasons for not wearing it? It also discusses the *dhentulli* as being used by the fashion industry and the icon *dhentulli* and how discrimination is attached to this dress at the grassroots level.

The fourth chapter, 'Gawda Dance,' discusses the different dances of the Gawdas and tries to understand the rich traditional culture of the community and their way of living.

The fifth chapter, 'Gawda Songs,' highlights the various songs of the community and the depiction of the lifestyle of the Gawdas and also the depiction of the role of women both positive and negative.

The sixth chapter 'Construction of Culture and Gawda Identity: Women's Voices from the Field' depicts some of the essentialist images of the Gawda community used in the museums, books, and other places. Further, this chapter presents the empirical findings in the form of voices of women from the field, highlighting their role as preservers and continuers of the Gawda culture and finally presenting the researcher's views.

The seventh chapter presents the limitations and the conclusion of the thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

There are many reasons why undertaking a study on the Gawda community in the small state of Goa, India, is significant. The rationale to argue for the importance of this study includes; (1) that there is very little research done on this community and therefore an urgent need to fill that lacuna. (2) Cultural idioms of this community, such as the form of dance, the dress, and songs, are often used to talk about the culture of Goa without necessarily ascribing these idioms to the Gawda community. The uses of Gawda icons of culture are found in coffee-table books on Goa, in local entertainment for tourists, in tourism advertisement brochures on Goa, calendars, and other media, as we will discuss in subsequent chapters in this thesis. (3) When images or idioms of this community are used to label the community, the impact on or implication for the Gawda community is rarely understood, as voices from the community, are seldom heard. This thesis is an attempt to bring out the voice of the Gawda community, particularly the voice of women within the community regarding their culture.

This Chapter is divided into three sections. In Section 1, we discuss some theoretical considerations concerning the concept of tribes in the Indian context. In this section, we introduce debates around tribes in India, issues of marginality, and about tribes in Goa. Section 2 outlines the objectives of the study, the scope, and significance of the study, key research questions that are addressed through the research, as well as methods employed to undertake this project. Section 3 outlines the organisation of chapters in this thesis.

SECTION 1

Understanding Tribes

In this Chapter, we will try to highlight some of the complexities and dilemmas that encompass the term ‘tribe’ in the Indian context today. Much literature exists on the history or origin of the concept of tribe in India (Pandya 2002; Rowney 2009; Thurston and Rangachari 2009). The existence of these communities that bear the label of ‘Schedule Tribe’ today predate the British colonisation of India. However, many historians and anthropologists have begun to understand ‘tribe’ from a perspective that originated from the British colonial period in India (ibid.). If we accept the argument that ‘tribe’ as a category was included by the British colonisers, in their attempt to unravel diversity in Indian society, and for the smooth functioning of their administration, it would reveal that the label ‘tribe’ could be an imposition on many communities that we refer to as tribes today. Communities did not call themselves as tribes. It was ‘others’ who categorised these marginalised people as tribes. Later this concept of ‘tribe’ was internalised by the communities themselves. Further, tribes are most often studied in relation to ‘the other’ and are rarely studied in their own right. According to Pathy (1987:46-47), in India today, we consider people as tribal only if they are officially included in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

Although Beteille (1986:299) says that in India, the problem was to identify rather than define tribes. Identifying people as tribal is problematic, as there is no unanimity among social anthropologists regarding the definition of the term ‘tribe’, which is inherently ambiguous (Pattnaik 1997:317).

In identifying tribes, there were different, varied, and even conflicting conceptions taken into consideration (Pathy 1987:47). These variations have led to much ambiguity around the concept ‘tribe’ in India. According to

Behura (2005:187), an additional problem faced in defining a tribe is that tribal communities are known by various native and indigenous titles which are caste titles and not distinguishing tribal titles, such as *janjati* (folk caste), *adimjati* (primitive castes) and *girijan* (forest castes).

There have been various studies on tribes of India, including elaborate regional studies which cover aspects of their social, economic, cultural life, taking into account their daily struggles, impacts of development, and related to social discrimination (Atreya 2007; Crooke 1975; Elwin 1943; Furer Haimendorf 1979; 1982; 1990; Ghurye 1943, 1963; Kumar and Ram 2013; Padhy and Mitra 2009; Russell and Hiralal 1993; Sundar 2016; Sahay 2005; Singh 1993, 1994; Thurston and Rangachari 1975; Tiba 2010).

1.1. Defining Tribe

In India, the concept of tribe is an administrative and political category (Prasad and Sinha 2011:1; Sharma 2006: xi; Singh 1994:1). If this is the case then, defining a tribe as an aggregate of smaller groups held together by the kinship bond and common heritage rather than by force of a strong and self-perpetuating political organisation (PI- Sunyer and Salzman 1978:154) is not a valid one. India has been home to several tribal communities since time immemorial, and they are considered the original inhabitants or indigenous people of India (Mehta 2006:3). There are regional differences in the terms used to define tribes in India. In Oriya the term *adivasi* is used, in Assamese, it is *janajati*, in Hindi it is *adimjati*, in Telugu it is *girijana* (hill people), in Sanskrit it is *atavika* and *anusuchit janjati* (Scheduled Tribes) (Behura 2005:187; Fuchs 1983:25; Prasad and Sinha 2011:4; Ratha 2009:318; Tripathy and Mohanta 2016:3).

If we look at the etymology of the term tribe, we find that the English word tribe was noted in the 13th Century Middle English literature to refer to one of the twelve tribes of Israel, the word tribe comes from French *tribu*, in turn from Latin *tribus* that is the name of the tripartite ethnic division (*Tites*,

Ramnes and Luceres) of the original Roman state (Kumar 2011:1). In ancient Rome, *tribus* referred to the division of Roman citizens, and since then, the word has been used in the Mediterranean and European languages to refer to a group of people having a common character, occupation, or interest (Schendel 2015:19). According to Tewari (2013:127), the term tribe is derived from the Roman word *tribus*, which was used to refer to social groups occupying a definite territory.

Bodra (2014:165) raised issues of concern regarding the definition of tribes being entirely formulated on the basis of theories of anthropologists, colonial administrators (who were pioneers to collect information and document the lives of the tribal people), missionaries, social reformers, nationalists and historians. He opined that the tribes were silent and could not contribute to anthropological research and that the 'primitive' tribal identity came to be defined by the other.

According to Pati and Indian Council of Historical Research (2011:3-4), the yardstick used by the colonisers to determine whether the tribal community was uncivilised or civilised depended upon how far or close the tribal community was in relation to caste Hindu social, cultural practices and rituals. He was also of the opinion that the documentation of the descriptive accounts of the tribes prepared by the colonial officials and anthropologists were based on their interaction with the 'Brahminical' order.

Singh (2011:73) opined that the term tribe evolved through the censuses, and the label 'primitive tribe' was used to refer to tribes until it was replaced with the term Scheduled tribes in 1936. In different Census reports, the term tribe has been defined differently. The Census report (1881) mentions forest tribes. In the Census years 1901- 1911, tribes were defined as animists. The term animism was later changed to 'religion of tribes' in 1921 (Xaxa 1999:1519). Different authors have written about this ambiguity around the definition of tribes. There is no single definition of a tribe. One definition of a tribe may not apply to another community labelled as a tribe and, therefore, will differ within all tribes in India.

Tribes were also known as indigenous people. Many scholars, sociologists, anthropologists, and others, referred to tribes as indigenous people. Even the meaning of the concept is controversial, as Kingsbury (1998:415) discusses. The concept of 'indigenous people' has become a subject of international controversy with regard to its meaning. Kingsbury (ibid.) emphasises in his writing as to how to understand indigenous people as an international legal concept giving due regard to the constructivist approach to understanding the concept. He suggests that specific problems concerning the meaning of indigenous people and other related concepts can be sorted out if we take into consideration the processes and criteria that vary among different societies and institutions.

Ghurye (1943, 1963) defined scheduled tribes as aboriginals and described them as backward Hindus and those who had missed assimilation into mainstream Hindu society (Venugopal 2014:5). Critiquing this concept of backward Hindus, Gautam (2016:4) states that 'tribals are not the backward Hindus, but they are the follower of Adi Dharam'. In conceptualising indigenous people, Xaxa (1999:3590) highlights three aspects. Firstly, that indigenous people are those people who have been living in a country to which they belong before the colonisation arrived. Secondly, that they were a community marginalised by colonisation. Thirdly that they were people governed in their lives by their own legal, social, economic, and cultural institutions. These may have been different from those applicable to society at large. The criteria defining 'tribe' was not clear and also not systematically applied (Xaxa 1999).

There have been various classifications of the tribes. Schendel (2015: 21) points out to the different characteristics employed by colonial officials to identify groups as tribal, such as; 1) modes of subsistence, based on race whether Aryan and Dravidians, 2) levels of technology, 3) remote territories in terms of whether they live on hills and forests, 4) absence of written script, 5) isolation and, 6) self-sufficiency. Singh (1994:4) classifies tribes as being derived from four racial stocks namely, the Negrito (the Great Andamanese,

the Onges and the Jarawas), Proto-Austroloid (the Munda, the Oraon and the Gond), the Mongoloid (tribes of the North-East) and the Caucasoid (the Toda, the Rabari, the Gujjar). Chaudhary (2015:158) mentions the features of tribes as an isolated community, self-sufficient community having a distinct belief system, folklore and dialect.

Fuchs (1983:265), from the economic point of view, classifies tribes into food gatherers and hunters; shifting cultivators; dependent farmers with the plough, including tenants and labourers and independent plough cultivators. He makes a mention that economically more advanced tribes have adopted Hindu culture and religion, but they have not risen in the social hierarchy.

According to Guha (2015:56-57),

The Indian sociologists have happily adopted the term “caste” from Portuguese and tribe from Latin via English. Is it time to discard these and all the Victorian anthropological baggage embedded in these words? If we can naturalise a Portuguese derivative (caste), why not the forgotten indigenised term “*khum*” which might serve for all ascriptive social categories, both tribe and caste.

1.2. Tribe and Caste in India

In the year 1952, the well-known anthropologist, sociologist, and historian, M.N. Srinivas, published his work among the Coorgs, a relatively isolated community of South India (Srinivas 1952). In this work, Srinivas used the term ‘Sanskritization’ for the first time. The term Sanskritization was used to discuss the phenomenon of the imprint of the dominant supra-Indian culture of Sanskritic Hinduism on this small community in the mountainous region in South India bounded on the North and East by the then Mysore State and on the South and West by South Canara and Malabar districts of the then Madras Presidency (ibid.). According to Srinivas (1952:32),

The caste system is far from a rigid system in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible and especially so in the middle regions of hierarchy. A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritizing its rituals and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as possible the customs, rites, and beliefs of the Brahmins, and the adoption of the Brahminic way of life by a low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden. This process has been called Sanskritisation in this book.

Hardiman (2008:214), while discussing the drawbacks of the theory of Sanskritization given by M.N Srinivas, says that the Adivasis have adopted specific Hindu values, but they did not claim the caste status. Therefore, there is no reason for us to consider that the Adivasis has accepted the caste system. We can say that by adopting a way of life similar to high caste Hindus, the Adivasis are claiming equal status with them.

The local animism and other cultural realities and practices that exist in India among communities that mainly were settled in isolated areas are always explained in terms of the dominant cultural perspective, and we argue that this perspective is blinkered by the different location. The trajectory of 'scheduling' tribes demonstrates this limited perspective and even bias. The criteria followed for the specification of a community as a Scheduled Tribe as stated in Article 342 of the Indian Constitution are; 1) indications of primitive traits, 2) distinctive culture, 3) geographical isolation, 4) shyness of contact with the community at large, and 5) backwardness. While Article 342 states that the above criterion 'is not spelt out in the Constitution but has become well established', and further states that this subsumes the definitions contained in '1931 Census, the reports of first Backward Classes Commission 1955, the Advisory Committee (Kalelkar), on Revision of SC/ST lists (Loker Committee), 1965 and the Joint Committee of Parliament on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill 1967 (Chanda Committee), 1969'.

Interestingly apart from the problematic related to the criteria used to label a community as a 'tribe' mainly because of the narrow understanding of the realities of the community that is tagged, as well as the associated stereotypes and, the consequences of this stereotyping on members of the community, that may not necessarily fit in or even identify with that imposed branding and categorisation, the labels are often subject to change and the community concerned has no role to play in that change as also with the label as 'Scheduled Tribe'.

Article 342 of the Indian Constitution states that;

The President may, with respect to any State or Union Territory and where it is a State, after consultation with the Governor thereof by public notification, specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purpose of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State or Union Territory.

The tribal population in India, as per the 2011 Census, is 10.43 crore, which constitutes 8.6% of the nation's total population. The 'Scheduled Tribe' label is also not a permanent one. Relating to tribes of Goa for example, in the Order titled, 'Constitution (Goa, Daman & Diu) Scheduled Tribes' of 1968, (C.O.19) at Part XXII on Goa lists the following as tribes, namely; 1) Bhangi (Hadi), 2) Chambar, 3) Mahar, 4) Mahyavanshi (Vankar), and 5) Mang. This Order was replaced by the 'Goa, Daman and Diu reorganization Act 1987 (18 of 1987) which transferred the list of Scheduled Tribes of Goa to Part XIX of the Schedule to the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950 (C.O.22 dated 6.9.1950) wherein the list was modified to read as follows; 1) Dhodia, 2) Dubla (Halpati), 3) Naikda (Talavia), 4) Siddi (Nayaka), 5) Varli, 6) *Kunbi*, 7) *Gawda* and 8) Velip.

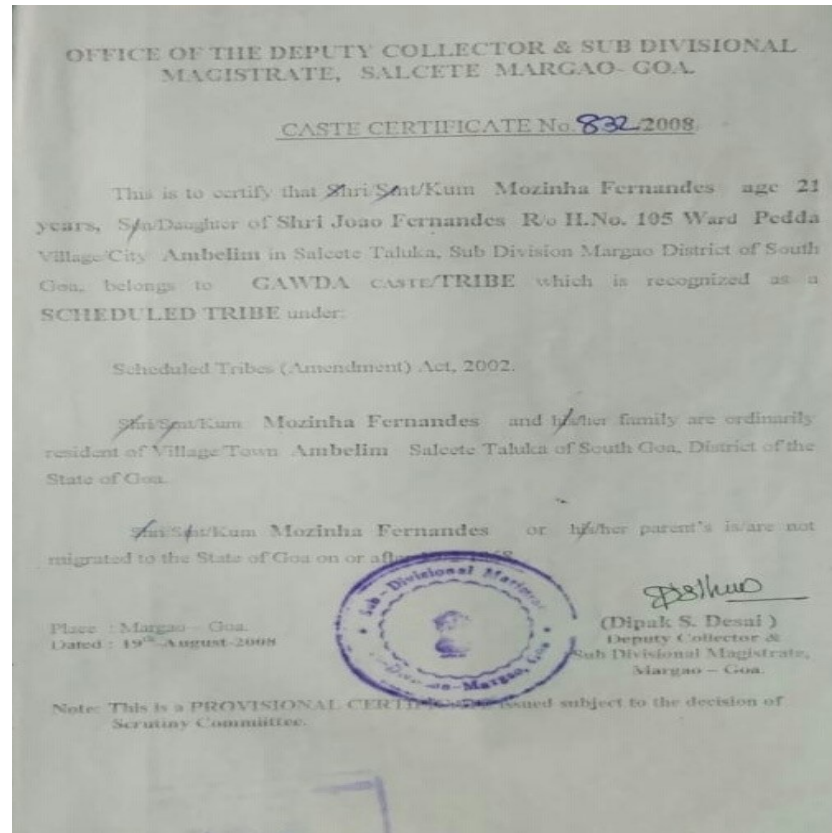
According to the Schedule Castes and Schedules Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act 2002, Act No.10 of 2003 (dated 7 January 2003), the Act was,

to provide for the inclusion in the lists of Scheduled Tribes, of certain tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities, equivalent names or synonyms of such tribes or communities, removal of area restrictions and bifurcations and clubbing of entries; imposition of area restriction in respect of certain castes in the lists of Scheduled Castes and the exclusion of certain castes and tribes from the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, in relation to the States of...

The above included Goa in the list of States. Subsequently, by Act 10 of 2003 in Section 4 and in the Second Schedule, the list was further modified, and only the latter three, namely Kunbi, Gawda, and Velip, were retained on the list. Interestingly in Goa today, the Dhangar community has been making repeated representations demanding to be recognised as a Scheduled Tribe. A tribal federation has been established called GAKUVED, which is Gawda, Kunbi, Velip, and Dhangar Federation. The perceived benefits of reservation play no small role in the need for self-identification as 'Scheduled Tribe' today.

The most famous quotation of B. R. Ambedkar, who is known as the father of the Indian Constitution, states, '(I) it is not possible to break caste without annihilating the religious notions on which it, the caste system is founded'. Most people fail to differentiate between these two categories, namely caste and tribe. Scholars, however, have argued for the distinction between tribes and castes (Xaxa 1999). But as for a person, such as myself, who is already labelled as a 'Scheduled Tribe', the proof of my tribal status today is not a tribe certificate but the 'Caste Certificate' which states, that I belong to the Scheduled Tribe Gawda Community (See Photo No.1.1). Tribes have been transformed into castes with the policy of reservation in India. While castes that are notified, are referred to as Scheduled Castes, my community as Scheduled Tribe, is often referred to, as belonging to the Gawda caste.

Photo No. 1.1: Caste Certificate



Source: Mozinha Fernandes

Fuchs, in his book *The Origin of Man and His Culture* (1983:154), mentions that the term caste was derived from the Portuguese word *casta*, meaning breed, race, or kind. Even in Goa, people use the term *casta* while referring to the caste of the people. This word *casta* is negatively used while in everyday communication of the people as '*keso casta monis*' and '*tim tiya casta monixiya*'. Caste and tribe are often used interchangeably.

Xaxa (1999:1524) argues that if we look at the tribes as *janas* or communities then the problem which we are confronted with when we use the term 'tribe', will be overcome. Carrine and Guzy (2012:3) argue that contact between caste and tribe have resulted in the reshaping of tribal identities through the process of sanskritisation and hinduisation. The tribes have been

studied from the point of view of sanskritization, hinduisation, rajputisation, and also from the perspective of the improvement in the present status (Sharma 2008:137).

There have been several debates around the assimilation, integration, and isolation of tribes, such as the differing views of Elwin Verrier, an anthropologist, and G. S Ghurye, an Indian Sociologist. Elwin Verrier supported the view that tribals should be isolated from the mainstream society to preserve their culture, and Ghurye endorsed the view that the tribals should be integrated with the mainstream society.

1.3. Tribes in Goa

Goa, the smallest state of India, is a diverse place with people of different religions and different cultural communities. The broad socio-cultural aspect of the Goan society, however, has been influenced by the Portuguese as Goa was under colonial rule for almost 451 years. Portuguese colonisation has left Goa with a distinct identity, which sets it apart from other states in India. The processes of conversion to Christianity has also brought changes in the socio-economic life of the people. Apart from the religious divisions among the people of Goa, there are also caste-based distinctions within the society, and even people divided into different communities based on the status allotted to them as tribals.

We have already mentioned earlier in this Chapter that in Goa, in the year 2003, the Government notified three communities as Scheduled Tribes of Goa, namely the Gawda, the Kunbis, and the Velips. Apart from these three communities, there is another community known as the Dhangars, which is not notified as a Scheduled Tribe but who have been demanding tribal status today.

The Gawda are the original aboriginal or indigenous inhabitants of Goa (Gune 1979; Kamat 1990:6; Khedekar 2004; Kossambi 1956:329). The

original inhabitants or aboriginals of Goa are also said to be the *Kunbis*, and other tribes like the *Gawda* and the *Velips* (Gomes 2010:8; Kamat 2009:29).

1.4. Kunbi-Gawda Tribe in Goa, India

Goa, being the smallest Indian state with its total population of 14,58,545 (Census 2011), holds a prominent place on the international tourist map being a popular tourist destination. As mentioned earlier, the Scheduled Tribe population comprising of *Kunbis*, *Gawda*, and *Velips* is only 10.2% of the total population. Goa apart from being known with different names like *Gopakapattam*, *Gomantak*, *Govarashtra*, *Goparashtra*, *Gomanchal* (D'Silva 2011, Kamat 1990:4; Maria A.C 2002:2; Velinkar 2000: 124) has also been described 'as a land of the cowherds and nomadic tribes (D'Silva 2011:2). The *Kunbis* belong to the lowest rank and obtained work by contract (Da Fonseca 1994:19). Interestingly, although the Government Notification of 2003 has considered these three communities as separate and distinct communities, within the community, they are often referred to as *Kunbi-Gawda*.

The *Kunbi-Gawda* community is mostly involved in agricultural-related activities. In recent times, however, these people have taken up various other works for their survival. Although they have their material culture in the form of agricultural tools and other aspects which they link to their culture, it is most importantly their dance form and dress style that hold as markers of their identification to the people in Goa and world at large.

In 1928 large number of Christian *Gawda* were reconverted to Hinduism guided by Musurkar Maharaj, and the reconverted were referred to as *Nav-Hindu-Gawda* (Correia 2006:38; Singh 1993:27). Therefore today, the community of *Gawda* of Goa is divided into three main groups based on religion: the *Hindu Gawda*, the *Nav-Hindu Gawda* (who were converted to Christianity and reconverted to Hinduism but were not accepted by either the *Hindus* or the *Christians*), and the *Christian Gawda*. This reconversion was

done through the Shuddhi or Shuddhikaran movement. The meaning of Shuddhi is purification, or it also means in simple words reconversion. In 1928 Masur Ashram reconverted thousands of Christian Gawda back to Hinduism to increase the strength of Hindus (Gaude, 2000:91). Although the Portuguese administration and the church gave the reason for the Christians reconverting back to Hinduism because the Hindus wanted to increase their majority. One crucial view apart from this view is provided by Parobo (2015: 66), who argued that those who were converted to Christianity did so because,

Christianity opened economic prospects for the catholic lower caste. Many lower caste who may have converted for social reasons discovered that the extent of such mobility was not very great. They remained at the bottom of the social hierarchy and despite losing their pollution found that the church itself was becoming a medium to express caste hierarchy.

Newman (2019: 68) mentions that,

Hindu Goa and Catholic Goa are two branches growing on one tree. They could not be separated, despite the best efforts of the Catholic church for several centuries.

There exists confusion over who the Gawda and the Kunbis are. Richards (1982) makes a distinction between the *Gawda* and the *Kunbis*. He says that *Kunbis* are the cultivating class and not caste or a tribe. Further, he explains that *Kunbis* have two sub caste that is *Velip* (devote themselves to temple services and perform religious rituals) and *Gaocar* (engaged in cultivation and agricultural labourers). While speaking about the Christian *Gaude*, he calls them as landless communities. Gomes also refers to *Kuunbi* and *Gauddi* as landless labourers (2004:253). While discussing the *Kulambis-Kunbi* and *Gavdes* (Correia 2006:34) says,

The Kulambis in Goan society were represented by different ethnic groups of a lower professional status. They provide the bulk of agricultural labour. The Portuguese designated these various ethnic groups as *Curumbis*, derived from the Konkani word *Kunbi*, a corruption of *kulambi* and *Kulvadi*. Both these words are derived from the word *Kul*, which in kannada signifies

‘definite area of land’ and in sanskrit’ an area which is under the plough with a pair of bullocks. The Portuguese chronicles recorded as *Curumbins* the following castes: Christian Gavdes, Christian Bharvancars in Salcete and Quepem, the Velips and Gaocars of their kin in Sanguem and Canacona.

Corriea (2006:36) discussing the evolution of the word *Gavde* says that,

Some scholars have linked *Gavde* to the *Gauda* community of West Bengal. Others maintain *Gavde* has its origin in the Kannada word ‘gavunda’ meaning original *gaocar* (settler) of Goa. It is also postulated that in Tamil there are references to *gamundas* as well as *gamund-wanis*, the word ‘gamund’ denoting *gaocars*. The kannada word ‘gavunda’, some scholars believe, has changed to *gamunda*, a semi-Sanskrit form derived from the Sanskrit word *grama* meaning village.

Sometimes the *Kunbi* and the *Gawda* communities are differentiated on the basis of religion. The Christian convert of the ‘*Gavdi*’ aboriginal is referred to as ‘*Kunbi*’ (Gomes 1987:79; Shirodkar 2015).

Richards (1982) also mentions that the *Gawde* in Goa are the earliest settler-descendants of the prehistoric tribes. The *Gawda* were the first settlers or the original inhabitants in Goa (Dantas 1999; Fernandes 2011; Maria A.C 2002:2) at the same time, they are also referred to as the *Adivasis* (Rodrigues 2014:23). Could the word *Gawda* have been derived from the word ‘*Ganv*,’ which means ‘village’? According to Rodrigues (2014:27), the *Gawda* were the pioneers in founding and administering villages.

Gawda were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese missionaries in the year 1620 (Albuquerque 1989:23). The Inquisition of Goa was started in the year 1560. Following which there was a growth of Christianity in Goa, which is evident from the first Concilio Provincial that is the provincial Ecclesiastical Assembly, which was held in Goa in 1567. There were various decrees which it passed, including the destruction of temples and mosques in Goa. These decrees were legalised by Viceroy D. Antao, which prohibited the converts or the Christians from entering the temple, performing thread ceremony, they were not allowed to cry at the death of their family members

or relatives, cremation of the dead, applying sandalwood paste on the forehead, using *tilak* or *kumkum* on their forehead, animal sacrifice, tree worship, prohibition of the use of garments like dhoti and the *choli* and the use of traditional musical instruments were forbidden, social and religious celebrations of the Hindus in public were banned. Despite all these decrees, the converted people continued to follow their old traditions and rituals of worshipping the idols as before, even after two decades of the inquisition (Angle 1994:42-43; Barbosa 2012; Da Silva Gracias 1994:37; Mascarenhas 1989: 84-85; Maria A.C 2002:53, 108; Priolkar 2008; Robinson 1998; Robinson 2000: 289-301; Robinson 2004:186-187; Shirodkar 1997:36-37; Xavier 2010:145-148).

Christianity was believed to give equal treatment to all people. The victims of discrimination, such as the lower caste, the orphans, and women, were guaranteed equality in Christianity, but people were forced to change their way of living if they were converts. The inquisition used the Hindu caste divisions to its advantage. It is said that ‘Christianity in Goa preserved caste but did away with the idea of pollution and ritual purity’ (Couto 2004:255). In the conversion process, the Hindus, who were converted to Christianity were socially stratified into three castes, namely the Bamonns or Brahmins, who were placed on the top level strata of the Goan society, Chardos or the Kshatriyas and the Sudirs who were the lower caste people (Sinha 2002:32).

It is vital to note here that the converted Christian Gavde and Kunbis refused to surrender their ways of life. They accepted Christianity but refused to surrender their culture and until today, they hold on to their traditions and still visit Hindu temples for blessings of the deities (Correia 2006:36; Xavier 2010:147).

Gaude (2009) makes a statement that *Gawda*, *Kunbi*, and *Velip* is one Adivasi community in Goa. Gawas (2016:5) also depicted the *Gawda* tribes as the first settlers and as founders of villages in Goa.

Till today, there is a lot of ambiguity around the Kunbi-Gawda. Are these two different communities, or do they belong to only one community? This is still an unanswered question, but as of now, the two names Kunbi and Gawda are interchangeably used by the people. People call themselves both Kunbis and also Gawda. Gomes (2008:307) makes a mention that the *Kunbis* identify themselves by the names of *Gauda*, *Velip*, *Gaonkar/Gaunkar*, and the *Gouly*.

Shirodkar (2015), comments that ‘Originally, as per my knowledge and the information given by elderly people from different parts of Goa, the tribals were known as ‘*Kunbi-Gawda*’ or ‘*Gawda-Kunbi*’ and even the report prepared by the Parliamentary Committee in the year 1967-68 referred to the tribals of Goa as the *Kunbi* tribes’. Gaude (2009:7) makes a statement that ‘*Gawda*, *Kunbi*, and *Velip* is one Adivasi community of Goa’. He further mentions that Christian *Gawda* are also known as *Kunbi Gawda* (ibid:17). Albuquerque (1989:22) opines that the *Gawda* are a depressed class community referred also as *Kunbis*. Gaude (2009), in the preface of his book, says that when he analyzed the information which he collected to find out the real identity of the *Gawda*, he makes a statement that the ‘*Gawda* is aboriginal tribe of Goa’. The *Kunbis* and *Gauddis* have been referred to as tribal groups (Gomes 2004: 36).

Before the inclusion in the scheduled tribe, the Gawda people called themselves Kunbis, but when they got the status as Scheduled tribes, that is the Gawda; they started calling themselves *Kunbis* and eventually both the Kunbi and the Gawda. I had also interviewed the Hindu Gawda women, but while interviewing, they perceived themselves as Kunbi. They said to me, ‘*Ami Kunbi, tumcho kristanv lok to Gawdi.*’(we are Kunbi, you Christian people are Gawdi).

Newman (2019:60-61) argues that ‘While the Shudra/ Kunbi-Gawda community is very strong numerically, it has been the culture and traditions of the upper-caste Hindus and Catholics (mainly Brahmins) which have been described and idealized as “Goan culture”. In this thesis, we will show how

while the culture of upper-caste Hindus and Christians of Goa may be idealized, it is much of the culture of the communities labelled as ‘Scheduled Tribes’ both Hindu as well the Christian or Catholic, especially the culture of the Gawda which is being used in the imaging of Goa.

Different writers, while speaking about the Gawda community, have revealed specific essentialist ways of discussing the community. Bhandari (1999:137), while talking about the Goan tribes, says that ‘*Kunbis* are very simple and hardworking people. They are short in stature and very shy’. Khedekar (2013) in his book ‘Eco-culture Goa Paradigm’, talks about the aboriginal people of Goa, their eco-cultural festivals, rites and rituals traditional fishing methods, nature worship, and also about Goan forests, symbols, and practice. He makes a contestable statement in his book about *Kulmis* (*Kunbis*),

Kulmis should be appreciated as the pioneers of the movement against noise pollution. They speak softly; whether they are in the market or at a temple, their voices is never raised. Even the radios or TVs that have invaded their homes are never played loudly. Noisy brawls, shouting bouts or loud conversations are unheard of in *Kulmi* settlements. If we come across a group of people talking, we will observe that they talk so softly that we hardly hear them even from a short distance (Khedekar 2013:57-58).

As an insider, belonging to the Gawda community, I feel that I am in a more advantageous situation to contribute to an understanding of tribes. Fricker (2006) argues that relations of power can pose a unique challenge to the methodology of social-scientific research. Fricker speaks of how power relations, even social hierarchy, can undermine the authority of testimony and even silence informants. She refers to this as hermeneutical injustice. This kind of injustice often involves such emotions of fear, shame, embarrassment, and anger, which can lead a potential informant to suppress evidence. Being an insider has the potential to minimise the feelings of ‘being used’ by the researcher collecting evidence. If the informants are unable to give testimony because they do not have the words to do so, or they are unwilling because

they do not trust the researcher, access to evidence is limited and even impossible. This aspect will be discussed in the following Section on Methodology.

SECTION 2

Research Methodology

This Section outlines the aims and objectives of the study, the significance of the study, its scope, and the key research questions that are addressed through the research as well as methods employed to undertake this project.

1.5. Aims and Objectives of the Study

The main aims of the research are:

1. To document the culture of the Gawda community in Goa, particularly from a gendered perspective.
2. To critique the use of this culture in the imaging of Goa.

The objectives of the research are:

1. To understand what is meant by 'culture' and its role in a community's identity.
2. To focus on the role played by women in determining what is 'Gawda culture'.
3. To study the portrayal of the Gawda community, particularly women in the imaging of Goa.
4. To assess the importance of the Gawda culture to the cultural heritage of Goa and to the imaging of Goa.
5. To understand the community's views on the portrayal of Gawda culture.
6. To understand the politics of framing Goa's identity through the use of Gawda culture.

1.6. Personal Standpoint and this Study

This study stems from a personal standpoint as a member of the Gawda community and from my lived experience within Goan society facing the contradictions that exist with respect to attitude towards ‘tribal people’, particularly of dominant communities. There are terms used, such as ‘*gavti*’ (tribal) to mean uncivilised, unimportant, and thereby creating discrimination of people belonging to the tribal community. On the other hand, there also exists at the same time, the use of tribal icons like the dress, dance, and songs to portray the cultural heritage of Goa. This dichotomy of treatment of tribal culture has been the trigger for this inquiry.

In my study, the central place was allotted for the opinions and the views of Gawda women. According to Somekh and Lewin (2008:7)), the ‘notion of voice is central to feminist methodologies’ and that women’s experiences and their voices are very significant in feminist research. They further argue quoting Sandra Harding that,

Women have a broader perspective on social reality because of their understanding of their own gendered oppression (their standpoint), and that the subjectivity of the researcher is important in the research design and must be taken into account in her interpretation (ibid:7).

Standpoint theorists (Collins 1990; Harding 1991; Hartstock 1983; Smith 1987, 1990), argue that women’s experiences should be the starting point of the production of knowledge. Harding argues that the feminist standpoint generates the best feminist research because of three methodological features. Firstly, it focuses on women’s experiences. Secondly, it creates a new purpose for social research, which can be transformative for women, and thirdly, it brings into focus the new subject matter of inquiry (1987:9).

Farganis (1994:31) mentions the purpose of feminist theory as articulating the voices of women. The standpoint theory is best suited for this research on the Gawda women, where they are, in a way, a distinct entity because they belong to the tribal community at the same time the issues

around their identity are problematic. Standpoint theory projects issues of identity and differences in society, pivoting the argument for empowering the marginalised in the creation of knowledge. As a methodology, standpoint theory provides both a means of uncovering the power relation that creates such silence and of creating the trust necessary to access the informant's evidence (Fricker 2006).

Rolin (2009), while speaking about standpoint theory as a methodology, says that relations of power can suppress or distort evidence. The researchers begin to study power relations. They enter the world of unequal positions, conflicting interests, and participants who are likely to be selective in telling stories about their social experiences.

1.7. Key Research Questions

1. What, according to Gawda, constitute their culture?
2. Are there any icons that women from the Gawda community have accepted as icons of their culture?
3. What is the role played by women in the perpetuation of Gawda culture?
4. What elements of Gawda culture can be documented?
5. What are the essentialist images of Gawda culture used in imaging Goa?
6. Is there any difference between the self-perception of Gawda women with regards to their culture and the popular essentialist images used?

1.8. Methods and Tools of Research

Research for me has been a quest for knowledge about my own community, including those who are located in different areas and different parts of Goa. However, as the quest for knowledge cannot be materialised into

good research without a clear blueprint, to collect data for this research, the methodology of ethnography and qualitative research was found to be best suited.

The concept of ethnography is derived from two words that are ethno referring to ethnic people, and graphy referring to the methods of describing the lives of those ethnic people (Punch 2014). Punch (2014:127) argues that the concept of culture is central to ethnography. This ethnographic research is focussed on the Gawda people, especially women and their culture and is a qualitative research study. There are two approaches in qualitative research to data collection from respondents. The first is a 'realistic approach' which treats field responses as facts including descriptions of the reality of events, internal experience, feelings and meanings, while the second is a 'narrative approach' which takes into consideration the narratives of the people as their understanding of their world (Silverman 2000: 122). These two approaches are combined to study narratives around the dress, songs and dance of the Gawda community to understand the culture of the community.

1.8.1 About Ethnography and on being a 'Gawda' Ethnographer

Ethnography is a detailed study of the people, including their whole social and cultural world, can be studied. Here in this kind of study, the people who are being studied become the main focus of the research from whom the data is systematically collected, taking into consideration their perspectives about their social world in which they live. Ethnographers describe the way of life of the society (Schwartz and Ewald 1968:14). Their views, their interpretations are fundamental in an ethnographic study. The ethnographer's task is not to describe the behaviour of the members, but it is to understand their culture from within (Edgar and Sedgwick 1999:89).

Ethnography is a kind of extended observation of the social perspective and cultural values of an entire social setting. Researchers seek to engage themselves in the life of the group under study. The main focus is the

systematic observation of a whole community. Ethnographic research focuses on how subjects view their own social standing and how they understand themselves in relation to a community. People of a particular community have specific reasons to behave in a certain way and respect certain cultural norms. An ethnographer spends a lot of time studying every aspect of the chosen place, collecting information, and keeping notes on his or her observations. Hammersley (1992:163-165) refers to this research as naturalistic, wherein the researcher observes social interaction and talks informally with group members to acquire cultural knowledge and identify and make sense of patterns of social interaction in people's natural environment.

According to Goldbart and Hustler (2005), ethnography means writing about the people, their interpretations about their cultural world in which they live. Ruth Behar while speaking about ethnography says that,

Ethnography began as a method which was discovered, perfected and institutionalized in western centers of power for telling stories about the marginalized population of the worlds (2008:529).

Ethnographic studies are undertaken by the researchers not just to confirm their preconceptions about a particular issue or group or organisation that they are studying but also to see the world in a new way from the point of view or from the perspective of the people under investigation (Henn et al. 2006:171). Henn et al. (2006) argues that research has treated women only as wives and mothers and not as people in their own right, which has resulted in the marginalisation of women interms of their contribution to social and cultural life.

While speaking about postmodern ethnographies, Cushman (2002) makes mention to lone ethnographers who work on the presumption that culture is a homogenous set of behaviour isolated to a group of isolated people. I agree with culture as a homogeneous entity, but in my research, although the Gawda people's culture is presumed to be homogeneous, their views about

their culture are different or heterogeneous based on the social environment in which they live.

Drawing from Bernard (2008), the term native ethnography is used to discuss the work of indigenous people who do fieldwork in their own area and who write about their own culture, I see myself as a ‘Gawda Ethnographer’ because I belong to the community which I am studying, and I am writing about my community attempting to represent their expression about their own culture through my research.

1.8.2. Using ‘Interpretive’ Research Methods

Interpretive research practices turn the world into series of performances and representations, including case study documents, critical personal experience narrative, life stories, field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self (Denzin et al. 2008:5).

In this qualitative study in which unstructured questionnaires were used, there were also few case studies and narratives of people I have taken into account. Stories from the field is also an essential part of the research because it helps the researcher to know about the perspectives of the people, as mentioned by Denzin et al. (ibid.). Stories can be an essential source to connect to cultural traditions, world views, and ideas about people.

1.8.3. Sampling and Selection of Respondents

The universe of my study was the Gawda Community from South Goa. At the beginning of my fieldwork, two areas where the Gawda live. One field site was selected based on the influence of tourism in the area, namely Nuvem. The other site selected was Cumbheabhatt in Velim because it had the minimal impact of tourism and where the people perform their dance or cultural practices only in their village, at the church or for any religious occasion.

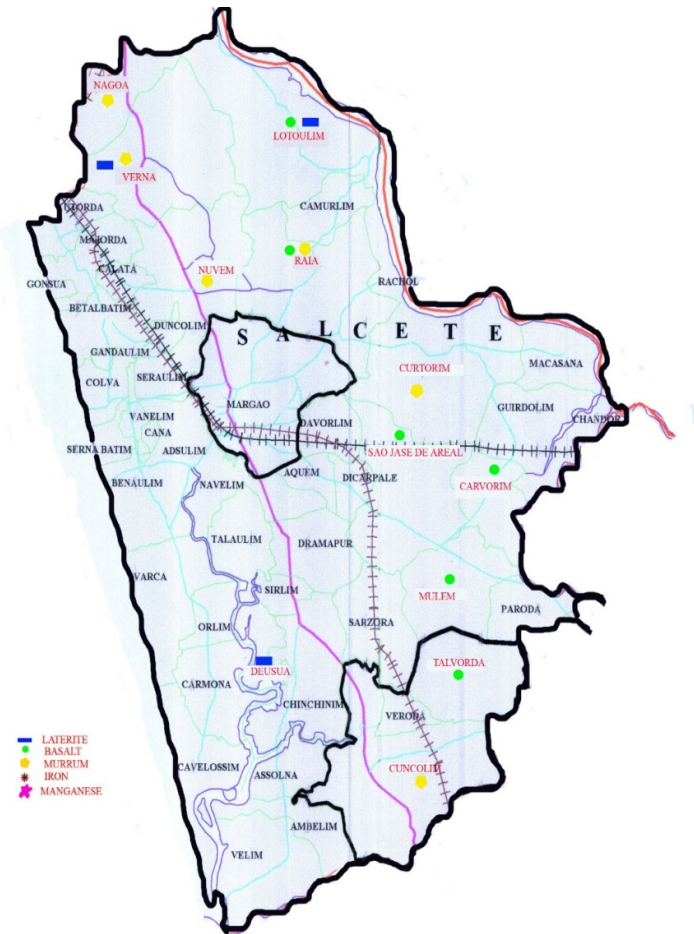
In Nuvem, the Gawda people have a group that is engaged in their cultural practices for commercial purposes. The sampling method chosen by me to carry out my research was non-probability sampling, that is, the snowballing sampling. Snowball sampling is defined by Babbie (2004:184) as collecting data on the few members of the targeted population whom the researcher can locate and then ask those individuals to give the information needed to locate other members of that population whom they happen to know. Snowball refers to the process of accumulation as each located subject suggests other subjects.

Map No.1.1: Map of Goa



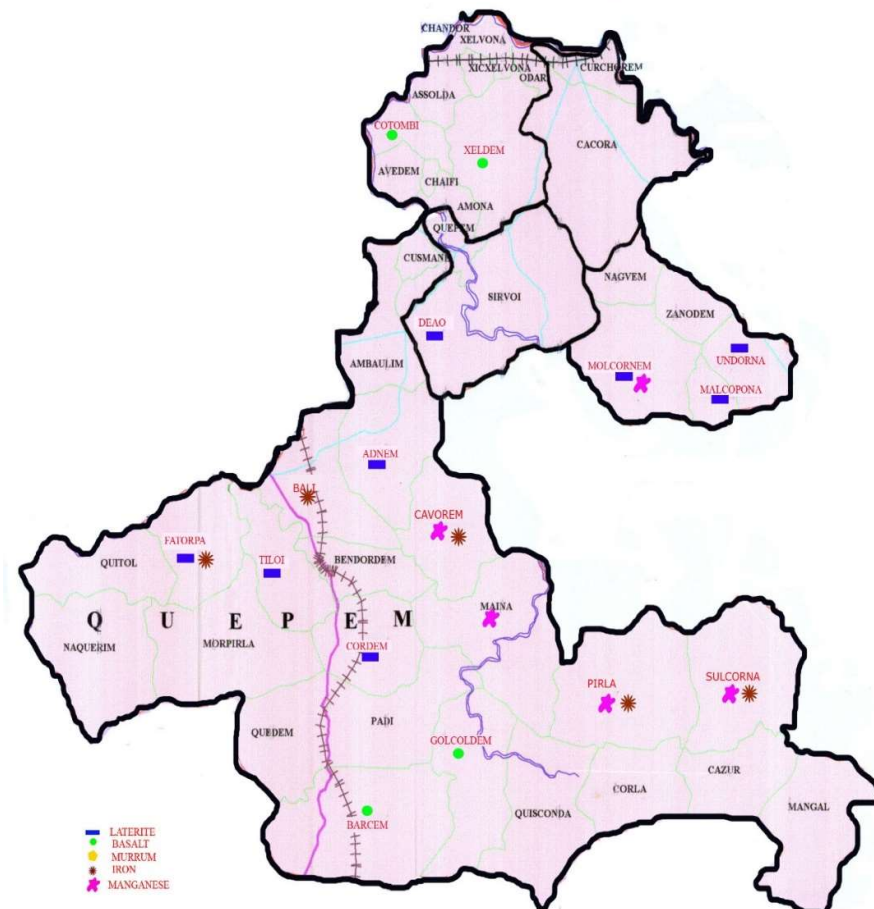
Source: <https://www.dmggoa.goa.gov.in/miningarea.php>

Map No.1.2: Map of Salcete Taluka



Source: <https://www.dmggoa.goa.gov.in/img/SALCETE.jpg>

Map No.1.3: Map of Quepem Taluka



Source: <https://www.dmggoa.goa.gov.in/img/QUEPEM.jpg>

While speaking about the snowball sampling Henn et al. (2006:133) says that ‘snowball sampling is a form of purposive (or judgment) sampling, where the intention is to obtain a pool of respondents that is appropriate for the study, and which is largely determined by the judgment of the researcher’.

I started data collection in Cumbheabhath as I had relatives there, and through them, I was able to locate other respondents. In Nuvem, I knew one dance group leader, and through him, I got the contacts of three different group leaders. So at first, I decided to study only these four groups. One dance group from Nuvem and the other two from Verna and one from Davorlim Margao. I was invited as a judge by the Christian Adivasi Sangatna for their annual Tribal Festival there, I encountered many groups from Quepem, and I got their contact list from the Christian Adivasi Sangatna. Here first I thought that these are commercially performing groups, but in reality, I found out that these groups only perform annually for the Tribal Festival in Quepem, only a few groups performed for carnival parade whenever they were invited.

Table No. 1.1: Selected Groups engaged in Commercial Performance

Sr No.	Name of Dance Group	Location	Kind of performance
1.	Goan Kunbi Dance Group	Nuvem	Marriages, in the hotel, for floats, stage performance
2.	Menezes Boys Group	Verna	Marriages, christening birthday celebrations, floats, stage performance
3.	Traditional Kunbi Dance	Verna	Marriages, christening birthday celebrations, floats, stage performance
4.	Inacio Gama Group	Verna	Marriages, christening, birthday celebrations, floats, stage performance
5.	Kunbi Dance Group	Davorlim	Marriage performance
6.	Kinniyabhath Mahila	Quepem	Floats, stage performance

	Mandal		
7.	Niz Kolakar of Cansaulim	Cansaulim	Stage performance

Table No. 1.2: Selected Groups engaged in Non-Commercial Performance

Sr. No.	Name of the dance group	Place	Kind of performance
2.	Savaskai Self Help group	Quepem	Stage Performance
3.	Urbevont Self Help group	Quepem	Stage Performance
4.	Porzollit Self Help Group	Quepem	Stage Performance
5.	Holy Cross Self Help Group	Quepem	Stage Performance
6.	Zagrut Self Help group	Quepem	Stage Performance
7.	Niz Kalkar of Ambaulim	Quepem	Stage Performance
8.	St. Sebastiao Mahila Mandal	Quepem	Stage Performance
9.	Davodxett Self Help group	Quepem	Stage Performance
10.	Sfurthi self Help group	Quepem	Stage Performance
11.	Zalmi Mahila Mandal Group	Quepem	Stage Performance
12.	Gharwai Purush Mahila Mandal	Quepem	Stage Performance

The lists of the groups interviewed are presented above in Table Nos.1.1.and 1.2. In Quepem, I first contacted the members of the group on the phone and fixed up a date with them. In every case, they asked me who had given their mobile numbers to me, and even when I went into the field they were asking me who has sent you and then I had to explain that I am a

researcher and had to tell the name of the community leader then only I could get access to the information. In some cases, one group member said we do not have time, and then she did not receive my call. So this group was left out of my study.

Here I could not choose my respondents as I liked. I had to contact the member as per the list, and that member whom I contacted called one more member whomever they wanted. My respondents, therefore, were any two members of the group. In almost all the groups, women insisted that their interview be taken along with other members and not separately. The only choice I had was to interview first from among the two members.

In the case of dance groups that perform commercially, I had to approach them through their male dance leader. Except for the dance group of Quepem, where women were the leaders of the group, in all other groups, the men were the leaders of the dance group.

In one group, one member was reluctant to answer. Here also, whenever women were referred to me by the group leader, I had to interview them. This was a very time-consuming process to contact the leader, then he would speak to the women regarding their readiness to answer the interview, and then I had to take their mobile numbers to contact the women, and then fix the date and time for the interview. At the time of the interview, I also had to explain to my respondents what I am studying. Sometimes as my interview was on the place where they work if one buyer comes, I had to wait till she sells her products like coconuts, oil, vegetables. Interview of the Menezes Boys dance group members was taken on the footpath of the National Highway 17 Verna. In this interview, there was interference of men.

Sometimes it so happened that when I was questioning one respondent, the other respondent answered, and then I had to write her answer. Sometimes the respondents said that they need to think, and if there were two respondents, then I had to ask the other respondent.

In some cases, they were saying their answers are the same as the other respondents. In almost all cases, they asked me whether I came to invite them for the performance of dance. When I asked about the other members of the dance group the respondents said that we are only coordinating, and we can just tell you that others will not be able to tell you, so I could not get any contact numbers of the community members, and therefore I restricted myself to interview only two members from each dance group.

In Cumbeabhadd, the case was different. Whenever I wanted to interview the women, they were very reluctant to answer about Gawda culture. Some of them were very scared, and here they were hesitant and conscious whether I am writing or not. In this area my individual interview turned into group interviews and then it was challenging to remember the answers. Sometimes one question was answered by one respondent, and they said that others can answer the other question better than them. In most cases, when men were there, women took the advice of men.

1.8.4. Limitations of the Method

While encountering the difficulty of generating evidence against the forces of shame, embarrassment, and other uncomfortable emotions, it is suggested that a researcher can move from the task of articulating to the task of articulating social experience. In researching the Gawda community and venturing into the lives of the lived experiences of the women most of the time, it was difficult to get information from one woman. If I interviewed one woman, she called other women. So this community who are oppressed, especially women, find their way of sharing their experiences collectively and not individually. Another insight is that the process of generating evidence needs to be coupled with a process of empowerment.

The point which is very important to be noted here is many informant's realizations that their social experience is collective and not

merely individual may be a significant step towards empowerment that is their ability to act in spite of or in response to the power that is wielded over them.

Wylie (2012) discusses the two following questions which are posed by the standpoint theorists.

1. What would the theory of knowledge look like if it seriously takes into account the possibility that entrenched systematic inequalities in our material and social conditions of life can be epistemically enabling?
2. What are the consequences of taking gender and other social identity category as the basis for questioning how the epistemic agency had been idealized?

Feminist standpoint theories formulated in the late 1970s and early 1980s are best understood as an exploration of resources for answering these questions in a philosophical and scientific context where any association of empirical success with identity politics was deeply incongruous.

The different type of theorists interpret reality differently. Empiricism, also known as positivism, assume what they see is a reality as it exists. The standpoint theorists think that the standpoint of women gives a double vision, that is of the subordinated as well as that of the oppressor, and, therefore, better concept of reality is possible (Krishnaraj 2005:3012). The standpoint feminist theorists argue that they produce socially relevant knowledge which is able to replace the distorted accounts of knowledge which are produced by malestream (Abbott and Wallace 1990:211).

My study has taken into account the experiences of women, and in this research I have tried to bring out the different perspectives of women about their culture and who place themselves in the cultural settings and contribute to the cultural development of the community in spite of all their hardships, managing their lives between their household chaos and their cultural performances. Through my research, I was able to find out the reality from the women's point of view, which has helped me to understand the whole reality

of the social world in which they live. This research is one attempt to describe what the perceptions of the Gawdas are about themselves and about their culture.

There are various studies done on tribes. Behera and Pfeffer (2005) present a contemporary tribal situation in India, primarily focussing on definitional problem, development issues, changing cultural patterns, and their social networks and health issues. Dube (1977) gives a view of Indian tribes, tribal self-image and identity, and also socio-political movements among the tribes in India.

Megejee (2017) writes about one of the major tribes inhabiting the western part of the state of Arunachal Pradesh, namely Sherdukpen, focuses on their language, dress, folktales and social, economic and political life particularly in relation to their social system, stratification and changes in their tribal society. Bisht (2001), in the book 'Ethnography of a Tribe', speaks about the social and cultural organisations of the Anwal Community who are the habitants of the Indo-Tibetan border of Uttarkhand Himalaya, giving an illustration of their family structure, economy, occupation, education, division of labour, marriage, kinship system, religion and art, and crafts.

When the Gawda culture is portrayed in front of the tourists. The question comes what is wrong in this portrayal; instead, it is perfect for the community, which is being oppressed subordinated to come into the picture and be recognized by others. Is this not an advantage to the community? Yes, indeed, it is. Then what is the problem? The problem lies in the fact that it is not always the community members who are portraying their culture. It is sometimes others who represent the Gawda culture.

Sometimes the members of the community are invited on a few occasions to perform their dances, but this is also to the advantage of the organizers; they get a ready-made group at their ease for the performance. Although the Gawdas are invited for the performance of their own dances, it does not mean that they are brought to the forefront in society. So the Gawdas

are required only when the culture of Goa is being portrayed. Who decides what to be represented is the so-called, the people who are in authority and in power determine which aspects of the Gawda culture to be portrayed and which is not to be portrayed. Do people have the right to decide? The answer is no.

People do not have the right to decide. This itself puts the Gawda at the subordinate and in the compromise position of determining what they want to portray. It is essential to be noted that on one at the grassroots level, these people are denied their rights by others, and on the other hand, they are being portrayed as the sole culture of Goa and that in terms of traditional as well as modern culture. Here when I mean modern, the revived culture of the Gawda is being revived by the people in authority. They felt the need to restore it because, according to them, it vanishes, and they are the sole creditors for this revival. The most critical point which is to be examined here is about why this rich culture of the Gawda vanished or diminished? It is solely because of this culture, people of this culture were being looked down upon. In reality, the injustice meted to them was, in turn, responsible for the diminishing and hiding their cultural identity to others.

Even people who are not wearing the *dhentulli* they wear it for programs. It has become a rare commodity. Even people from the other caste who look down upon the Gawda also wear their *dhentulli* for competitions. Symbols of the Gawda culture are accepted by others, but the Gawda people are not accepted by others. The cultural symbols are seen as pure, but the people are seen as impure. I am arguing here that if people are not accepted why their symbols are recognized. When this happens, the symbols are important, and not the people who were attached to these symbols are discarded, and this, in turn, leads people to move away from their culture or their identity. The symbols being selected by the higher authority and the so-called powerful who has the right to decide for others? So even if the symbols are given higher value and the humans are not, this leads to inequality and also making the oppressed class more oppressed. First of all, they are

oppressed, and then in this oppression, their cultural symbols are taken away from them. They feel detached from those symbols, and in turn, lose their identity, sometimes their identity becomes invisible, and sometimes they hide and deny their identity.

1.8.5. Respondents curious about personal life of researcher

There were various difficulties which, as a women researcher, I entered the field probably I will say a known field where I knew people from the area of Cumbeabhath since my childhood as I have relatives there more from mother's side and fewer relatives from father's side. Sometimes it so happened that being 31 years old unmarried women all were showing concern towards me about my marriage. They were saying, will you go on doing this study and not marry? In another area of my fieldwork that is Verna and Nuvem, some women asked me personal questions about why are you not marrying?. When you marry, do call us to perform *Ghumta nach* for your wedding, we will charge you less. Although from this area, I knew women since I started my research work, they were anxious to know my personal life. When I stayed overnight in one house after attending one performance as a part of my research, she begins asking me, have you made some gold for your marriage?. Do you have a boyfriend? This was one of the difficulties because, for me, I wanted to know about the culture of the people, and here when I enter the field, more efforts were made by my respondents to get personal information about me.

1.8.6. Language

Language is a significant aspect while researching any community. To communicate with the people, a researcher needs to be well versed in the language of the respondents. Without knowing the language of the respondents, it is challenging to get first-hand information. Language

sometimes becomes a constraint for the outsider who is researching the community. When this happens, the researcher will be very objective in studying the community but will always fail to get the subjective account or meaning of people's actions. Being an insider, researcher from the community language was never a barrier for me.

1.8.7. Objectivity and Subjectivity

In social sciences, there have been always debates about subjectivity and objectivity. In any scientific research, objectivity is a must, and objectivity is one of the fundamental postulates of research (Krishnaswami and Ranganatham 2005). There was always a conflict of achieving objectivity in my work. Objectivity and subjectivity were the two very contradictory issues that I had to deal with while researching. One of the fundamental postulates of scientific research is objectivity. When you look at reality objectively, you tend to lose out the focus on subjective. Subjectivity relates to the way one experiences and relates to oneself; it also relates to the problem of self-knowledge, a more profound realm of interiority that is inaccessible to others yet is useful in creating the reality of one's person (Callison 2017:173). Misra (2007:2247), in the paper 'Backward Castes Census: An Outmoded Idea', commenting about the portrayal of reality says that in social sciences, realities are being constructed and all the observations which are made are situated in subjectivity. There are two levels in the construction of reality first is at the individual level where the individual is involved in the construction of social reality, and second, the researcher tries to construct the reality which the individual have already constructed in society (Bharathi 2000:214-215). In this research, since the main respondents of the study are women and I had to venture into the lives of women knowing their views about what they perceive as Gawda culture, their subjectivity is of utmost importance.

SECTION 3

Organization of Chapters

This study is organised in seven chapters. The introductory chapter begins with building a case for a study on the Gawda community and is divided into three sections:

Section I

This section presents the theoretical considerations concerning the concept of tribes in the Indian context (Elwin 1943; Furer-Haimendorf 1982; Ghurye 1943, 1963; Singh 1994; Xaxa 2008) and introduces debates about tribe and marginality. The section also introduces an understanding of tribes in Goa and the prevalent confusion between the Kunbi and Gawda tribes of Goa. The diverse and often conflicting views of scholars on the Gawda community (Dantas 1999; Gaude 2009; Gawas 2016; Gomes 2008; Khedekar 2004; Khedekar 2013; Newman 2019; Parobo 2015) are discussed. In this section, the discourse around the concept of ‘Sanskritization’ (Srinivas 1952 and 1966) is presented.

Section II

This section deals with the research methodology. In this section, the aims, objectives, and scope of the study are outlined. The personal standpoint of this researcher is followed by the key research questions and methods and tools of research, which includes a note on ethnography, ‘interpretive’ research methods and the selection of the sample for the study. This section also includes an elaboration on the limitations of the method.

Section III

The final section of chapter one discusses the organisation of the chapters.

The second chapter, titled 'Understanding Culture', provides a theoretical understanding of the concept of culture (Smith 2000). 'Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood, and interpreted' (Clarke et al. 2003:271). In understanding culture, there is a brief discussion about explicit and implicit culture, etic and emic culture (Mercer and Wanderer 1970: 24), overt and covert culture (Mercer and Wanderer 1970: 23 and Richards 1972:225-233), mass culture and high culture (Gans 1974) material and non-material culture (Husain 1978) and the differentiation between material and intellectual culture (Erasov and Singh 2006:12).

Culture plays a significant role in the development of a sense of identity in individuals. Yet, culture represents the larger society, whereas identity represents the view-point of an individual. According to Stets and Burke (2000:224), identity is formed through the process of self-categorization or identification. Battezzato (1999:343) says that 'every ethnic group uses representations of clothing as a means of constructing its identity'. In the same way, the dress of the Gawda is portrayed as one of the idioms of the cultural identity of Goa. Cultural construction, essentialism, and the relationship between culture and identity are also dealt with in this chapter.

The third chapter, 'Gawda Dress in Goa: *Dhentulli*', discusses this cultural icon, which is the unique draping style of the Gawda community (Khedekar 2010; Mitragotri 1999 and Rodricks 2012). The appropriation of the *dhentulli* by the fashion industry and the state in the imaging of Goa is detailed. This chapter outlines contradictions, for example, how elements of discrimination exist through the use of the *dhentulli* while at the same time, is held as an icon of Gawda culture. The *dhentulli* and the links with other cultural expressions such as dance are discussed. The novel uses of the

dhentulli today and cultural transformations are also presented in this chapter.

The fourth chapter, 'Gawda Dance', discusses the different dances of the *Gawda*, like the *dhalo*, *fugdi*, and the *ghumttacho nach*, and tries to understand the rich traditional culture of the community and their way of living through dance and the related festivities. The dances performed by the community members are not only performed in the community itself but also the dances performed at various platforms for example at Tribal festival at Quepem, Lokotsav in Canacona, Lokotsav in Panjim, for the Carnival parades, boat cruises, at conferences, in hotels for the guests and the *Ghumttacho nach* which is also danced or performed for the functions of non-Gawda communities. While discussing about the dance, on the one hand, there is also discussion on dance and objectification of women and, on the other hand, the discussion on dance and empowerment of women. This chapter also highlights the problems faced by Gawda women while dancing and the role played by Gawda women in the community. The uses of this cultural idiom, namely the dance of the Gawda community in the imaging of Goa and also for marketing of tourism of the state, are debated.

The fifth chapter, 'Gawda Songs' attempts to understand the community identity from the lyrics of the songs that are sung at different occasions by men and women. For example, the songs sung by women for a pre-marriage ceremony called *pitta*, marriage songs, and other songs like the *dhalo* songs, *fugddi* songs, and *ghumttacho nach* songs which were sung by men and women during the performance of dances. This chapter includes a detailed analysis of the lyrics of the songs. Although there have been efforts before this to document the songs of the Gawda community (Fernandes 2013 and unpublished project of Archives and Research Centre for Ethnomusicology, American Institute of Indian Studies), to date there is no systematic translation of the songs and analysis presented from a gender perspective. This aspect of the research could be seen as a valuable contribution to the understanding of Gawda culture by the academic community.

The lyrics of the songs highlight the various aspects of the community and the depiction of the lifestyle of the Gawda, including also the depiction of the role of women both positive as well as negative.

The sixth chapter ‘Construction of Culture and Gawda Identity: Women’s Voices from the Field’ presents an analysis of the instances when the icons or essentialist images of Gawda culture are used to portray the culture of Goa. This is juxtaposed against the views of the women in the community regarding culture. The irony of the fact that some Gawda women themselves are trying to shed or disown many of these images as their realities are experiences of discrimination based on the identification with being a member of the tribal community is highlighted. In this chapter, we have tried to contrast the uses of these images with the voices heard from the field regarding what culture is according to women of the Gawda community.

The seventh chapter ‘In Conclusion’, connects the circle of the study which began with the native ethnographer and ends with a discussion about the limitations of the study and a self-reflective exercise outlining the researchers experience with studying one’s own community, shifting of roles and dual identity being a member of the Gawda community and on being a researcher. These dilemmas are expressed even through poetry. This chapter concludes with presenting the major findings which has been about the “Gawdaisation” of Goa through the uses of cultural icons of the Gawda community. “Gawdaisation” is a concept coined by this researcher to explain a reality that is the opposite of Sanskritization that was explained by Srinivas (1952 and 1966).

CHAPTER TWO

UNDERSTANDING CULTURE

In this chapter, we will attempt a theoretical understanding of the concept 'Culture' and make out a case for the study of Gawda 1) dress, 2) song, and 3) dance to understand the lives of women in the community.

It is indeed challenging to define culture as there is no one precise definition that explains all the multiple layers of meaning ascribed to the word 'culture'. It is impossible to give an adequate definition of culture, and the word culture itself is very complicated and considered to be one of the most complex words in the English language (Eagleton 2000:1; Erasov and Singh 2006:13; Tai 2003:2). Culture has many dimensions and is thus a complex phenomenon, holding different meanings to people in different regions (Eagleton 2000:1; Rossel and Otte 2010:1155). Erasov and Singh (2006:53) have discussed some of these dimensions, such as the processes of preserving and transmitting values, knowledge, and experience, and the promotion of unity and interrelations between the members of a given society to result in what we might term as 'culture.' The definition of culture might differ even within a particular community or group, yet 'Culture remains an indispensable though ambiguous concept in the discourse of the social sciences' (Gusfield 2016: 44). This chapter is an attempt to throw light on some of the aspects of this complex term.

2.1. Defining Culture

The word 'culture' is derived from the German word *Kultur* or *Cultur* (Desai 1988:34; Tai 2003:5) encompassing 'a way of life' and 'all facets of human life such as anthropology, ethnology, history, language, literature, costumes, habits, traditions, ...' (ibid.:34). The etymology of the word culture

can be traced to the Latin word *colere*, which holds a variety of meanings, from cultivating, inhabiting, to worshipping and protecting (Eagleton 2000:2). The original meaning of the Latin word *cultura* is said to be agriculture, which referred to the tilling of the soil, growing crops, and rearing animals (Rojek 2007:5). Nayar (2011:4), while talking about culture, explains that in the 19th century in Europe, culture was only associated with the habits, customs, and tastes of the elite upper classes. Handler (1997:3) argues that anthropologists understand the culture in terms of the daily lives of ‘ordinary people’ and not in terms of elite cultural products.

Gans (1974:9-10) discusses the definition of mass culture – the combination of two German ideas that is *Masse* and *Kultur* from which emerged the concept of mass culture. *Masse* implies the non-aristocratic, uneducated section of the European society, including the lower middle class, working-class, and the poor. Mass culture according to Gans (ibid.) also means the symbolic products which were used by the ‘uncultured’ majority, while *Kultur* refers to ‘high’ culture of art, music, symbolic products, and even the styles of thought and feelings of the well-educated elite of European society. In contrast to this, Angle (1994:27), while speaking about culture, states that the German word *Bildung* (formation) corresponds more to culture than does the word *Kultur* which denotes ennoblement and fine-tuning of all the spiritual forces of a human being. Weber and Mikkelsen (1984:28) point out that *Bildung*, that is, the cognitive processes of socialisation, develops *Kultur* that is culture.

Smith (2000) mentions the use of the word ‘culture’ to mean the cultivation of crops, improvement of the individual human mind, development of personal manners through learning, and even spiritual development. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (ibid:2) on the other tried to understand ‘culture’ by categorising the definitions into six broad themes namely; 1) Descriptive definitions that view culture by detailing social life, 2) Historical descriptions which explain culture as it has been passed on from one generation to the next, 3) Normative definitions that shape the behaviour and actions of the members

of the group by its values of right and wrong, 4) Psychological definitions that focus on the emotion attached to those dimensions called as 'culture,' 5) Structural definitions which are associated closely with and even an outcome of the power structures within the society and 6) Genetic explanations that also might be linked with biology and intergenerational transmission.

Smith (2000:2) discusses the three fold uses of culture according to Raymond Henry Williams, the Welsh Marxist theorist, and writer on culture and society, namely; 1) Culture as the entire way of life, beliefs, and customs of the people, 2) Culture as a value of high and low, with a greater value attributed to culture that reflects formal intellectual development within the society and 3) Culture as a material and tangible product such as a film, a piece of art, etc. For this study, the problem and the manner in which the subject will be dealt with will be along these 3 broad understandings of culture namely the sum total of the way of life, products and the problem that arises in mainstream understanding of subaltern cultures namely the valuing of tribal as folk and the differentiation made between folk and national culture or folk and what is considered as classical culture. Culture is how the social relations of a group are structured and shaped: but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted (Jenks 2003:27).

Eagleton (2000:35) added to Raymond Williams meanings of the word culture a fourth dimension, namely, the individual habit of mind.

Rojek (2007:6) explains two evaluative meanings of culture. The first encompasses the development of mind, tastes, manners, the artistic, scientific and intellectual achievement of people, and the second is the narrative involving beliefs, myths, customs that are followed by the people in the society. Jenks (1993:11-12) argues for understanding the concept of culture through the following typology; 1) culture as a cognitive category that deals with individual human development in society, 2) culture as a collective category, which can be explained through intellectual and moral development in society and 3) culture viewed in terms of descriptive and concrete form that

is the collective body of arts and intellectual work in society and culture as being a social category in which culture encompasses the whole way of life.

Criticising the definition of culture as the way of life, as being a shorthand definition, Kidd (2002:9) discusses the various aspects of the way of life of a group that needs to be included. Kidd (ibid.) discusses dominant values, shared linguistic symbols, religious beliefs, the behaviour of the people in their daily lives, intellectual and artistic development including science, art, literature, music, traditions and rituals, patterns of living, which includes architecture and pattern of land use. Kidd clarifies that culture is created through collective, combined, and interrelated efforts of all the members of a particular group.

Nayar (2011:4) discusses the meaning of culture in culture studies as culture being the mode of generating meaning and ideas, meanings that are governed by power relations. He opines that elite culture has control over the meaning of culture and that non-elite views about life are discarded as tasteless.

Douglas (2004:88) argues that a particular community is engaged in the production of meanings that forms what gets established as a culture. Culture can, therefore, be defined as the process of self-understanding or the way a community defines itself (ibid:88).

In defining culture, Gupta (2000:19) comments that culture is meaningful when it deals with the way people interact with each other in particular spaces, and that is why space becomes culturally significant in the study of culture.

Hofstede (2003) argues that there are four terms that describe the concept of culture; 1) symbols, 2) heroes, 3) rituals, and 4) values. Symbols are words, pictures, gestures, dress, words used in language and includes even objects having a specific meaning which is shared by the members of a group; heroes are highly respected people, whether died or alive who become role models for regulating the behaviour of the members of a group; rituals are

considered as socially essential including collective activities such as greetings, paying respect to others and social and ritual ceremonies; and values are unconscious to those who hold them but can be inferred only by the way people act in a particular situation (ibid:7-8).

There are some approaches to understanding culture. They are as follows:

1. The cognitive conception of culture which was formulated by Ward Goodenough who viewed culture as the system of ideas
2. Culture as a symbolic system which was represented by Clifford Geertz for whom culture meant the representation of significant symbols (PI-Sunyer and Salzman 1978:11-12).
3. Culture in terms of anthropological approach, which can be understood in two ways; 1) how human groups adapt to their society and to each other and, 2) in terms of what has been learned and is shared by the members of the community (PI-Sunyer and Salzman 1978:11; Swartz and Jordan 1980:8).

Anthropologists have looked at the concept of culture through many lenses to understand it. We will discuss some of these below:

2.1.1 Explicit and Implicit Culture

This understanding of culture is as the very words suggest. Explicit Culture refers to the outer or more visible aspect of culture, and Implicit Culture refers to the meanings ascribed to it. Collins (1975:211) refers to explicit as conscious forms of culture, which refer to ideas, activities, and artefacts which people are aware of in their day-to-day realities and implicit refers to unconscious forms of culture which refer to the behaviour of people of which they are unaware.

2.1.2 Etic and Emic Culture

Etic culture refers to an outsider's view of culture, and Emic culture refers to the native or local view of culture (Mercer and Wanderer, 1970: 24).

Baumann (1993:36) speak of research on the folk-system, that is, the conceptual systematization of dates, facts and events developed from an insider's viewpoint by the ethnic group as emic construction and etic construction as that which takes into account the outsider's viewpoint in conceptualising culture. According to Baumann, these constructions are two sides of the same reality, which are represented from different perspectives (ibid:37).

Oakes (1981) talking about emic description of culture and etic descriptions of culture, states that the etic description of culture is considered as culturally variable and relative because the description of culture is revealed by members themselves from the native perspective, whereas the etic description of culture is said to be culturally invariant and universal as it is independent of native descriptions (ibid:2).

Morris et al. (1999), state that the emic and ethnic approaches are associated with different research methods, and discusses different assumptions about culture emphasising that the etic researchers assume that culture is better understood when it is studied as an interconnected whole, and etic researchers isolate particular components of culture and state hypotheses about their distinct past history and significance.

2.1.3 Overt and Covert Culture

Mercer and Wanderer (1970:23) explains overt culture to mean aspects of culture that are directly perceived by the ethnographer similar to explicit culture and covert culture to imply aspects of group culture like values, beliefs, dreams, and fears which are not directly observed by the ethnographer. Covert culture has also been referred to as a hidden culture. Richards

(1972:226) refers to covert culture as those concepts which people take for granted, do not remember learning, and often do not realize they know at all.

Collins (1975:210) discussing overt and covert culture states that overt forms of culture are activities and artefacts that can be observed directly by the researcher, whereas covert forms are beliefs, values, sentiments, and feelings, which cannot be observed directly by the researcher.

Overt culture includes implements, objects used by the members of society, while covert culture includes the more intangible aspects such as psychological aspects, habits pattern, attitudes, personal experiences (Bowron et al. 1957).

Sykes (1963) finds it worthwhile to define culture and its patterns because of the ambiguous use of words such as explicit, implicit, overt, covert by the anthropologists. Sykes states that all cultures are characterised by certain patterns of behaviour like customs of eating, housing, earning, rearing of children, earning, marrying, burying and worshipping, which are learnt and passed down from generation to generation. The author uses the terminology of avowed, marked and metapatterns to replace the ambiguous terms covert-overt, explicit-implicit. Avowed patterns are practices which are recognised by the people who follow them, masked patterns that are taken for granted and members of a culture do not realize these shared patterns and metapattern is the common language which is shared by the members of a culture (ibid: 258-260).

2.1.4 Material and Non-Material Culture

Material culture refers to tangible artefacts like buildings, monuments, paintings, objects (similar to overt and explicit culture), and non-material culture relates to values, beliefs, emotions, feelings, and so on (similar to covert and implicit culture). Husain (1978) explains culture as the value,

individual perceptions, attitudes, and manners that are attached to or attributed to a form or material aspect of culture.

There is also a distinction made between material and intellectual culture. The material culture, which includes objects like utensils, houses, clothing, which satisfies the material needs of people and intellectual culture, includes everything created in attempts to achieve the ideal, for example, the ideals of beauty, truth, justice, language (Erasov and Singh 2006:12). Culture, on the one hand, indicates objects, utensils, and instruments, and on the other, it also includes mental habits (Angle 1994:28).

2.1.5 Immanent/Inner Culture and External Culture

Immanent culture is the culture which an individual or social group possesses, and external culture is produced by an individual or social group and is a product of the external manifestation of the inner culture of people (Fuchs 1983:6).

2.2. Other Theories About Culture

The concept of culture, its characteristics, cultural processes, and the relations of culture and personality of the people are complex subjects for rich literature analysis and generalisations, but no general theory of culture yet exists (Tucker 1973). Some theorists trace the beginnings of the conceptualisation of culture with the period of enlightenment in Europe (Erasov and Singh 2017:20-23) with thinkers like Voltaire, Vico, Montesquieu, Goethe, Herder, Schiller, and Wilhelm von Humboldt who stressed that culture was man's inner intellectual wealth, and gave importance to the search for truth, good, and beauty.

For Karl Marx, culture in society operated as a ‘dominant ideology’ where the ruling classes were able to promote their ideas and repress those ideas which do not conform to their own and represent the society in ways that promote their self-interests (Haslett 2000:52; Milner and Browitt 2003:60; Smith 2002:7). While explaining the Marxist cultural theory, Nayar (2011) describes ideology as legitimising inequality and creating false consciousness, thereby restricting oppressed people from even recognising that they are being oppressed in society. In this case, social relations are structured through power relations.

Gartman (2012:42) discussing the cultural theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Theodor Adorno, argues how culture legitimates inequality in society. For Bourdieu, the dominant class imposes its standards on the whole society, which in turn creates superiority of their culture, while Adorno speaks about the universal criteria by which all the cultures are judged. Here too, only the high culture qualifies universal criteria, and that is why some cultures are seen as superior and others as inferior (2012:42).

Cavallaro (2001:122) discussing ‘the other’ emphasises on how the self and the other are connected inextricably and argues how western culture, the dominant ideologies defined themselves in relation to subordinate others, defining marginalised groups as the other. Cultural studies have also raised concerns about the issue of othering and how the dominant class maintains its powers through othering and labelling of social groups as savage and uncultured, thereby making them objects of knowledge and marginalised (Nayar 2006:18).

Frow and Morries (1996:345), while discussing about culture remark that ‘culture itself is imagined as a plastic medium which politically powerful social elites may rework and remould at will’. Michel Foucault writes about power and knowledge, where the people who have power or agency produce knowledge about those who lack power or who are said to be powerless, and this system of knowledge is termed as discourse (Nayar 2011:55).

The evolutionary theory of culture throws up two essential points; 1) that culture develops with the evolution of humankind and, 2) this development is linear, from simple to complex (Erasov and Singh 2017:20-23). Edward Tylor, the founding father of British anthropology, stated the theory of the evolution of culture. Taking into consideration that human mental processes are universal. Tylor says that human societies have developed culture along a similar path, and this is characterized by progress in the evolution of culture. In this theory, the main characteristic of human history has been viewed as progress. This progress is from simple to complex and from savagery to civilization (Moore 2011).

The symbolic theory states that people in society have a system of symbols characterized by their behaviour. People exist in society, mostly in a set of cultural symbols, which are indirect expressions of people's aspirations, hopes, fears, and illusions. This theory lays emphasis on culture as consisting of emotional aspects expressed by the people (Erasov and Singh 2017).

Herbert George Blumer, an American Sociologists, coined the term symbolic interactionism. The symbolic interactionists emphasize the symbolic meanings which people develop in the process of interaction with each other in society. This theory views and analyzes society from the subjective meanings people allot to objects, events, and behaviours.

Symbolic interactionism is a micro-level theoretical perspective that analyses society from the subject point of view of the actors. This theory is based on three basic premises firstly individuals act towards things based on the meanings that a particular thing have for them, these things can be physical objects, other human beings or institutions; secondly individual meanings are created in relation to their social and cultural contexts, and the meanings which are developed by the individuals in society only emerge from interactions with other individuals in the society, and thirdly these meanings are created and recreated through interpretive process by the individuals during interaction with others (Blumer 1969).

According to Carrothers and Benson (2003), in the process of developing meaning for objects which exist in their environment, people develop a mind that is said to be both 'reflecting and reflexive. ' Humans are both actors and reactors, shaped and shapers, definers of social reality and defined by social reality'(ibid:163).

Apart from the notion of cultural superiority of elite or powerful communities, even within some communities, such as the Gawda community, there is a gendered hierarchy of views about culture. Women are often victims, in a structured society wherein they are restricted both by society and by the males from their own community to even hold their own views about their culture. This thesis is an attempt to break this gendered lens by which culture has been viewed and brings to the centre, voices of the women in the community.

2.3. Culture and its Construction

The central focus of a cultural perspective has been how a symbol system enables people to interpret and even construct their experiences in a shared way (Gusfield 2006:44; Shepherd 2014:1008). Upadhyay and Pandey (1993) bring out the dilemma faced by anthropologists, namely the need to distinguish between culture and its construction. This dilemma is not a new one as in 1945, Linton discusses this in his book *Cultural Background and Personality*, in which he states that there are differences between the life of the people and what we study and write about their life experiences. According to him, the first former is reality and culture, and the latter is understanding of reality and a culture construct.

Richards (1972: xv) also supports this view of culture construct and says that, 'Culture cannot be studied directly, since it is ideational, but has to be inferred from the observable data. The description of a culture, therefore, is

a construct of the analyzer, based on his or her observations of behaviour'. This construction is problematized further when there is a cultural or social divide between the researcher and the researched. Culture has been the subject of study by many anthropologists and sociologists from the more privileged sections, and often the culture being studied is something very different from their own and also the culture of less privileged people. There is a tendency to judge another's culture from one's own cultural perspective. In this case, the researchers who are studying other people's cultures and have a feeling of Ethnocentrism (Fuchs 1983: 8).

Closely connected to the issue of cultural construction is essentialism, which we will briefly discuss below.

2.4. Essentialism in Cultural and Gender Studies

We have just discussed how cultural construction, mainly when there are socio economic disparities, poses specific problems in interpretation. Added to this problematic is that caused by 'essentialist' definitions of the community or a section of the community that is being studied, as in this case, the women. Essentialism is the view that there is a set of attributes that are necessary for the identity, function, and understanding of a particular entity. Among the people, there are also attributes that essentialize Gawda women in a specific way.

Culture has been termed as an 'essentializing' concept by Schmitt (2006:116). Keesing (1990:48) argues that the conception of culture by the anthropologists results in essentialism. He is of the opinion that the search of the 'exotic other' is still a persistent theme, and culture helps in its perpetuation (Keesing 1990:53).

In feminist theory and also in gender studies, gender essentialism is the attributes that are fixed for women. Essentialism sees things and people as

having a defining, underlying, and an unchanging core of features, which are referred to as an essence (Mooney and Evans 2007:81). Women's characteristics are assumed to be universal and are also generally being identified with the traits viewed as being specifically feminine. Feminist theorists state that essentialism entails the belief that the characteristics defined as women's essence are shared in common by all women at all times (Grosz 1994:84). This essence limits the possibility of change. It is not at all possible for subjects, in this case, women to act in a manner contrary to her essence. This kind of essence underlies all the apparent variations differentiating women from each other. Essentialism refers to the fixed characteristics, attributes, and a historical function that restricts the possibility of change and thereby blocking the social reorganization.

Narayan (1998) discusses cultural essentialism and gender essentialism. On the one hand, gender essentialism often equates the interests, problems, and locations of some groups of men and women who are socially dominant with those of all men and all women. On the other hand, cultural essentialism equates the values and practices of some socially dominant groups with those of all members of society.

2.5. Culture and Identity

It is essential to study culture and identity as separate concerns. While culture and the identity of the people who follow the cultural practices being studied are linked with each other, they are not necessarily the same. Culture is how an individual behaves as a member of a particular group, and identity relates to what the individual or group thinks about themselves, what they think about the people around them, and what they believe others feel about themselves.

Lewellen (2010:92) discusses the term identity in three ways; firstly, how the individual perceives himself, secondly how the person is popularly perceived and thirdly how a person is perceived by the social scientist.

Culture does play a major role in the development of a sense of identity in individuals. Yet, culture represents the larger society, whereas identity represents the viewpoint of an individual. According to (Stets and Burke, 2000:224), identity is formed through the process of self-categorization or identification. In this study, this researcher has attempted to bring out this difference between cultural practices or idioms and identity.

2.6. Dress and Cultural Identity

Dress and cultural identity go hand in hand. According to Battezzato (1999:343), 'Every ethnic group uses representations of clothing as a means of constructing its identity'. Woodhouse (1989) says that people use clothes to speak about their identities, to express their personality through their appearance and adopt different personality towards different people at different point of times. According to her, clothing can be used to signify different things like occupation, social setting, social status, sex, and gender.

The same holds true for Goa. The state of Goa uses the dress and the dance form of the Goan *Kunbi-Gawda* tribal community who are considered as the original inhabitants of Goa and who constitute just 10.2 percent of Goa's total population, to depict the traditional culture of Goa to the outside world. The dress of the *Kunbi-Gawda* women becomes essential in the portrayal. There are arguments that women have become carriers of essential traditional culture (Sabala and Gopal 2010). Lakshmi says that "whether it is a struggle for nationhood or a cultural identity, how a woman generates life, how she dresses, how she lives, what she reads – what she does with her body – becomes the most crucial issue of debate" (Lakshmi 1997:2953). While

speaking about the Berbers indigenous inhabitants in Morocco who call themselves Amazigh (free people), Becker says that “Women both create and wear the artistic symbols of Berber identity, making the decorated female body itself a symbol of that identity” (Becker 2006: 42).

Further, he mentions women play a significant role in the survival of Amazigh cultural and linguistic heritage. Durham (1999) highlights the fact that many studies of South African women’s dress reveal the fact that women bear the burden of ethnic representation. Women are always linked to cultural heritage. It is said that a good woman is the one who maintains the culture of the mother country (Lakshmi 1997:2953)

Among many other things that can be used to represent the Kunbi-Gawda community, it is only dress and dance that turn out to be an essential aspect to represent the community culturally.

It is imperative to explore the culture of the subordinate people as these peoples perspective has been neglected. The constitution of India prescribes equal rights to every citizen of the country. But despite this constitutional right which the constitution guarantees, the people from the lower sections of the society have been denied their rights. So that every citizen enjoys equal rights, it is crucial to take into consideration the perspective which stems from the lower sections of the society to give voice to them.

Culture is not static. It is very dynamic, and it varies from society to society and within that society over some time. Various factors that have brought changes in culture, such as globalization, technological innovations, diffusion, acculturation, etc. In some societies, evolution might have been brought about as a result of external influences, while in others, the move could have been due to internal pressures for change. The material culture moves at the faster space then the non material culture. This process is being termed as cultural lag.

2.7. Studying Gawda Dress, Song, and Dance

Why is it essential to undertake a study Gawda 1) dress, 2) song, and 3) dance? The dress, songs, and dance of the Gawda Community firstly are icons of culture that speak of women's agency within the community as all three icons are intrinsically woven into the lives of the women. A study of these aspects of Gawda culture would undoubtedly enhance our understanding of the role of women and the lives of women in the community.

The cultural icons of the Gawda community that are most used in the imaging of Goa, be it by the state, the tourism industry, or the society in general, as we will see through this study are largely that of the dress, songs, and dance of the community.

We argue through this thesis that a process of Gawdaisation has taken place in framing the identity of Goa. In the unconscious use of the Gawda icons as cultural icons of Goa, the idioms of one of the most vulnerable sections of Goan society is being used. As problematic as this might be for the Gawda community itself in accepting the uses as culture, this thesis brings out the dilemmas and positives of Gawdaisation of Goa.

CHAPTER THREE

GAWDA DRESS IN GOA

Dhentulli

Kunbi-Gawda women have their unique draping style of the saree, which is different from the dressing style of women from other communities. The *dhentulli* is the dress of the Kunbi-Gawda tribal women in Goa. Women from the Gawda community used to wear a saree, which was called locally as *dhentulli* or *kapod*. The *dhentulli* resembles a saree, except that it ends at the knees and it was initially worn without a *cholli* (blouse) as the *pallu* (flowing end of the saree) would cover the breasts of the woman wearing it and the *pallu* was tied in a knot on the right shoulder (Da Silva Gracias 1994:34). The traditional *dhentulli* was made of 100% cotton and 4 to 5 yards in length. In recent times the new *dhentulli* is made of a mix of nylon and cotton, and some are the same length as a saree. While a few women have preserved the old *dhentulli* for auspicious occasions, many have hidden them away in their homes or have gotten rid of them completely. Traditionally this saree had a maroon border, and the checkered saree came primarily in just three colours: red, blue, and black.

Different writers, when speaking about the Gawda community, have talked about their dress style. Mitragotri (1999) says that the Gawda women wore a *dhentulli*, which reached upto the knees. According to him in the Pre-Portuguese period, the *pallu* of the saree worn by the Gawda women was used to cover the breasts and that a blouse was not worn by the Gawda women. He calls this type of saree as *dhenthali*. (Khedekar 2010; Fernandes and Fernandes 2014:26) also talks about how the Gawda women drape a saree in a specific style, which was called the *denthli* or *dentli*.

Photo 3.1: Women wearing the *Dhentulli*

Source: Mozinha Fernandes (27 December 2016)

Today the *dhentulli* is popularly known as Kunbi sari, and it is worn by community members when they are performing their traditional dance, which is popularly known as Kunbi dance as in Photo 3.1 above. A thin white towel is tied around the waist.

3.1. The *Dhentulli* and the Fashion Industry

Wendell Rodricks, a well-known fashion designer from Goa, who had been titled as Guru of Minimalism, was awarded the Padma Shri in the year 2014. In the year 2010, Rodricks launched a project to revive the weaving of the Goan Kunbi saree, which was showcased at the Wills Lifestyle Indian Fashion Week.

This researcher had the opportunity in 2010 to be involved in the Rodricks project of reviving the Kunbi saree. I was involved in helping the Assistant Fashion Designer on this project in locating the *dhentulli* and to arrange for people who would wear the *dhentulli*. I had to arrange for persons

from the community who would show the fashion designer step by step how the *dhentulli* had to be draped. Photographs were taken by the Assistant Fashion Designer of each step of how to wear a *dhentulli*. As a report of the project, a photograph of two women wearing the *dhentulli* was printed in the local newspaper in Goa. As soon as the photograph, along with the article appeared in the newspaper, some educated people of other castes, who had seen the article, came to the house of the concerned Kunbi-Gawda women whose pictures had appeared in the newspaper and inquired about the project out of curiosity. People were shocked to see the photo in the newspapers of these women whom they consider as backward people and that too in their old traditional dress, the *dhentulli*.

According to Sabala and Gopal (2010), the gendered bodies of the lower caste people are projected as shameful, polluting, dirty and impure. So in the above instance, when the Kunbi-Gawda women and their dress were projected as a precious aspect of the Goan culture in the newspaper, the other caste members who consider the Kunbi-Gawda community as the backward community were shocked. The reactions of people from other communities towards the *dhentulli* was revealing of the social discrimination that exists and how the *dhentulli* was a marker of the lower caste. My experiences triggered certain questions and dilemmas within myself as a Gawda researcher about the project of the revival of the Kunbi saree and the silent voices of the women from within the community and culture. While speaking about women empowerment in the global world, Gupta (2014:9) remarked that in the backward societies, 'women are considered as commodities to be traded like slaves'.

Some of my questions to myself were; 1) were the Kunbi- Gawda people involved in the design of this project of the revival of the Kunbi-Gawda dress by the fashion industry? As at that time, the Kunbi saree to me was a mark of discrimination and a multitude of stereotypes about the community 2) Did the Kunbi-Gawda community even know that such a project was underway? 3) Why is this fashion designer taking the traditional

dress of my community to the outside world without consulting the community members? 4) Why is Gawda community's opinion about the revival of their very own dress, not being taken into consideration?

As we searched for the *dhentulli* and questioned people within the community about their saree, none of the respondents were informed that there was an attempt to revive their saree. While this project to revive the *dhentulli* was viewed by non-Gawdas as an important achievement of the fashion designer from the reports in the media, but within me who belongs to the Gawda community, it was a troubling moment. I personally, as a member of the community, had strong yet quiet resentment towards this revival of the Kunbi saree. Further, the saree, which was revived by the designer, was completely different from the original one. It also differed in colour. Are our traditions not good enough? Despite my troubled thoughts, the project of the revival continued, and in the year 2016, for the Serendipity Arts Festival in Goa, the designer presented an exhibition titled *Ten Histories: Goan Costumes*. This exhibition included samples of the designer's new avatar of the Kunbi saree displayed alongside a sample of the traditional *Kunbi* saree, which was taken on loan from Advocate John Fernandes from Quepem who is a member of the Gawda tribal community from Quepem.

Macleod (2004) quotes Anya Peterson Royce who said that,

The frequent resort to stereotypes by the dominant group is symptomatic of its lack of knowledge of the cultural rules and practices of subordinate groups. Because the dominant group makes the rules for society as a whole, it does not have to know details of groups under its control. (Macleod 2004: 684).

The fashion industry in Goa has tried to revive the Kunbi-Gawda community dress without taking into consideration the views of the concerned community.

3.2. The Iconic *Dhentulli* and Discrimination

Macleod in studying the dress of the Mayan tribe in Guatemala states that,

Mayan dress as a sign can mean different things for the same person at different moments. For example, for a ladino (non-indigenous person) in Guatemala, Mayan dress can symbolise 'backwardness': in this view, indigenous people need to be assimilated into Guatemalan society in order to achieve 'progress and development.' However, if that same ladino settles in Sweden and happens to see an indigenous woman in Mayan dress, he may be filled with nostalgia for his homeland, the traje being the sign which links him to his country; on this occasion, its meaning is positive and emotive. (Macleod 2004: 681)

Similar is the experience for people of the Gawda community around the *dhentulli*. Although the *dhentulli* often is an iconic symbol of the identity of the Kunbi-Gawda community, this research revealed that some women within the community said that they do not wear the *dhentulli* because they feared being identified as Kunbi -Gawda and then being discriminated against. There are women also who have stopped wearing the *dhentulli* because their children are ashamed of having their family members wearing the *dhentulli*. In one case, a son told his mother not to wear the *dhentulli* because he was ashamed of his mother wearing *dhentulli*, particularly when his friends visited him. The younger generation viewed the wearing of the *dhentulli* as perpetuating an old tradition.

In Goa, women wearing *dhentulli* as their everyday attire are seen as traditional and backward. However, the *dhentulli* may be a symbol of cultural identity when it is used during dance performances, stage programs, the carnival parade, or dances performed at the marriage. When the *dhentulli* is used by a dancer on a stage even if it is for the performance of a form of the traditional dance or by a model or a celebrity for the occasion such as is seen

in Photo 3.2 and 3.3 below, it is appreciated and admired. When the women locally wear the *dhentulli*, then they are seen as shabby, described as having no dressing sense, but when the same *dhentulli* is worn for dance or by a non-Gawda, then it is seen as the famous Kunbi-Gawda dress which forms the identity of Goa. During the Rodricks project in 2014, when I was in search of the *dhentulli*, this was the common lament of the Kunbi- Gawda women in Ambelim and Velim villages situated in South Goa.

Photo No. 3.2: Dancers wearing the traditional *dhentulli*



Source: Mozinha Fernandes(29 November 2014)

Photo No. 3.3: Improved *Dhentulli*



Source: <https://www.thehindu.com/life-and-style/fashion/reviving-the-kunbi/article17441541.ece>

Photo No. 3.4: Traditional Kunbi saree (red and blue) and revived saree (white) displayed at Serendipity Arts Festival 2016



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (22 December 2016)

Photo No. 3.5: Stages of Draping a Kunbi Saree

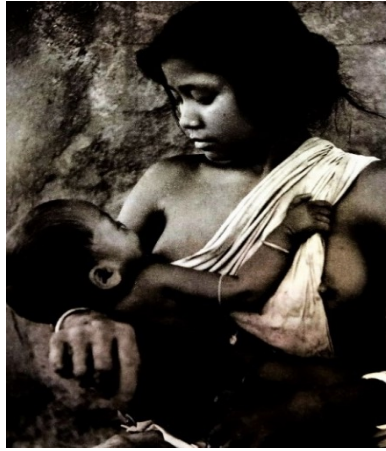


Source: *Rodricks 2012*

3.3. The *Dhentulli* and Essentialising about the Community

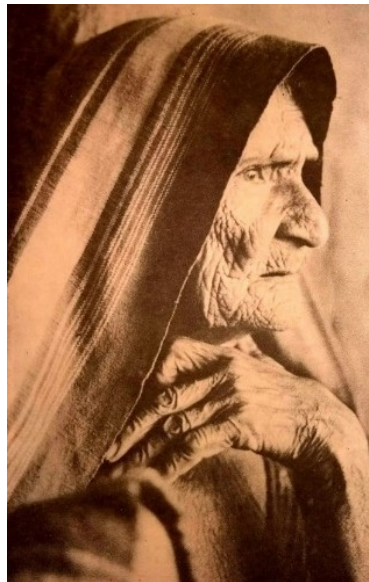
Connected to the uses of the *dhentulli* as either an icon of the community or as a point of discrimination, are the associated elements of essentializing or stereotyping about the community. According to Gans (1995), stereotyping means attributing characteristics and personality to the individuals belonging to certain social groups. Talking about dressing the feminine body Choudhury Lahiri and Bandyopadhyay (2012:20) state that, dressing the feminine body has become a critical aspect of all forms of cultural politics. Below are some stereotype images of tribal women

Photo No.3.6: ‘A Santal mother and her child’



Source: Janah 2003:12

Photo 3.7: ‘Chodhri Woman’



Source: Shah 1992:54

The above depictions of tribal women illustrate the stereotyping that exists in the imaging of tribal women. Wiseman (1998:241) has similarly argued how western painting created gendered symbols and played an instrumental role in the formation of beliefs, ideas, and attitudes about women.

The *dhentulli* used as an identifier of the Kunbi-Gawda women often is accompanied by stereotypes about the character of the tribal woman: old fashioned dressing style, talkative, loudly speaking, illiterate, etc. It is not only non-Gawda people stereotyping the tribal women in Goa, but the tribal women themselves have assimilated some of the mainstream stereotypes in discussing themselves. I would like to refer to this as self-stereotyping by the Kunbi-Gawda women.

To illustrate self-stereotyping, I use the example of an encounter with a Kunbi-Gawda woman during my study. Having undertaken this study, I had committed that I was researching my own culture from the point of view of the dress, songs, and dance. I was taken to an old woman who was wearing *dhentulli* and whose breast was uncovered and visible. The woman accompanying me told me to click a photograph of this old woman. I could not and felt it ethically wrong and intrusive. Then the old woman went in and put on a blouse and then I clicked her photograph.

I was also taken by my local guide to another old lady who was in a pathetic physical state and very sick. Again I was told to click a photograph of her. Do Kunbi-Gawda women like to portray their own as being very old, feeble, and not dressed up appropriately? Is this Kunbi-Gawda woman who is not wearing a *dhentulli* self-stereotyping about other women of her own community?

In the other case, a woman was working outside her house wearing a *dhentulli* without a blouse but whose breasts were not exposed. I asked her permission to click her photo wearing the *dhentulli*, and she agreed but said she needed five minutes to get ready as she was all tired from working. I waited for her to freshen up. When she came out, she was wearing the saree in the mainstream saree style and not in the style the *dhentulli* is draped. When I asked why she changed the dressing style, she told me that it is not the right dressing style to pose for a photo in. It was only after the person accompanying me told her specifically that I wanted her photo in the *dhentulli* that she once again changed back into the *dhentulli* style.

What is an 'Authentic Image' of a Kunbi-Gawda?. The photos below are all of the women from the community, including this researcher. However, in imaging the Gawda Community, it is often the stereotypical image of a woman in a *dhentulli* that is depicted.

Photo No.3.8: Elderly Woman dressed in the traditional *kapod*



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (22 May 2017)

Tribal women's daily dress at home. The woman at the left wearing *kapod* and blouse and woman at the right wearing dress called in Konkani as *vistid*.

Photo No. 3.9.: Women in Ambaulim, Quepem wearing *Kapod* at home



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (29 December 2016)

Photo No 3.10: Photo of this Researcher

Source: Mozinha Fernandes (14 June 2019)

The Photos above reveal a picture of the essentialist image of a Kunbi-Gawda woman alongside a photo of this researcher who is no less a Kunbi-Gawda but not stereotypically identified as one due to non-conforming to the *dhentulli* dress code and the common stereotypes attached to the label.

Simon et al. (1991:252) refer to this as self stereotyping or in-group stereotyping, meaning that the group members share the representations of their own group as a whole and ego-stereotyping to mean representations of their own person.

In Goa, when women wear the *dhentulli*, their identity is revealed, and women feel vulnerable that others might discriminate them. To take a more objective view of the revival project of the Kunbi saree from the point of

economics and the showcasing Kunbi identity to the outside world, it may be said that this could also be viewed as a move to rid the labelling and discrimination associated with the *dhentulli*. This otherwise marginalised community is, in a way, being exposed to the world through its dress style. A similar kind of situation was revealed by (Macleod 2004), where the Mayan traditional dress and identity in Guatemala become lucrative for the tourism industry, and when this happens Mayan weaving and indigenous handicrafts suddenly become attractive in the eyes of the other people affecting the status of the community positively.

3.4. Dance and the *Dhentulli*

In Goa, while the Gawda people are seen as backward, yet it is the cultural identity of this community, namely the Kunbi dance that is popularised for tourism promotion as the famous folk dance of Goa. Images of women dancing in the *dhentulli* also feature in coffee table books, postcards, brochures, and in media selling culture in Goa. Whenever there are folk dance competitions organized for school and college-going students, the Kunbi dance is performed by the students who may not belong to the Kunbi-Gawda community. For the cultural programs which are organized by and in the state like Lokotsav, the Carnival Parades, the River Cruises, etc. the Kunbi dance is performed before the audience as Goa's 'traditional' dance.

In reality, although a majority of women do not wear the *dhentulli* in their everyday life today, the *dhentulli* is playing a significant role in the dance form of the community. When women perform the dance for marriages in the villages, outside their village, for carnival parade, or as a form of entertainment for the tourists in hotels and at museums, the *dhentulli* is now a vital aspect of the portrayal of Goan culture.

Unlike the situation of the women bar dancers in Mumbai wherein '(I) in the labour market of bar dancers, a woman had only a limited period of existence given that newer and younger women were always pushing the older

women out, and so the women working in the bars had to make the most of their time there' (Forum against the Oppression of Women 2010:53). The Gawda women who are middle-aged are considered as good dancers than the younger ones. The Gawda women who dance do not feel any threat from the young dancers, on the contrary, some of them teach the dance to youngsters so that they can perform the dance and they feel happy when the youngsters join the group and even get to wear the otherwise dying out culture of wearing the *dhentulli*. Most of the youngsters are, in fact, not interested in dancing their traditional dance, and the members who are involved in dance groups have the fear that shortly after them, there will be no one to dance their traditional dance.

3.5. The *Dhentulli* Today

Today only a few women from the community, so few that one can count them on one's fingers wear the *dhentulli*, but it is not the cotton *dhentulli*. They wear different cotton sarees, and even synthetic sarees draped in the style of the *dhentulli*. The cost of the pure cotton saree and the scarcity of the cotton *dhentulli* are factors that play an essential role in this change.

Few elderly women have preserved the *dhentulli* and have safely kept them in their steel and wooden trunks for auspicious occasions even if the saree has become old and the colour has faded away. The women who had preserved their *dhentullis* said that they do not wear them now as the colour has faded away, and it does not look good. They also explained that because everyone does not possess a *dhentulli*, they today do not wear the *dhentulli*. They did, however, boast that the fabric of the old sarees was perfect to wear since it was of cotton, and it was more comfortable when worn. The feel on the body was much better than the new synthetic saree that does not feel as good on the body. When questioned why they have preserved these old sarees, they were of the view that they have kept the *kapod* to give it to the school

children as well as other women who perform the Kunbi-Gawda dance. They also said that this saree is borrowed by dancers for their performance.

Women from Quepem in South Goa explained that they have kept the *kapod* as proof of their identity or tribal status ‘to show that we are the *Nizachim Gawdi*’(original inhabitants). When I went to interview the Kunbi-Gawda dance group members, they asked me whether they have to wear the *kapod* because if anybody for that matter if, tourists come they wear the *kapod* and show them. So, according to them, they have preserved the *kapod* to authenticate their identity.

Some women have preserved the *dhentulli* so that they can give the *dhentulli* to the children in their village for their dance performances at school or at the church. This old *dhentullis* are even displayed at the Tribal Festival organized by the Christian Adivasi Sangatnam in Quepem Goa.

Photo No: 3.11: Tribal widow women displaying the *dhentulli*



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (25 May 2017)

When the woman depicted in the photo above was interviewed, she was not wearing the *dhentulli* but was proud to pose with it to show how she had preserved it so that her children and other women could use it for dance performances. In the photo, she is wearing a cotton sari known in Konkani as *Kapod*. Some people refer to the Kunbi sari also as *kapod*. The above photo is not intended to provide an essentialist image but to illustrate that at times Gawda women wear the cotton, nylon saree at home, and they wear the blouse on top of the *kapod*, which may be worn in the same way as the *dhentulli*.

Some women said that they had their own *dhentulli*, which may not be the old *dhentulli* as they now wear *new kapod*. One woman took out a modern synthetic saree saying ‘*atam oslem ghaltat*’ (Now we wear this new type of material).

While some families had preserved their *dhentullis*, I also encountered a case where the son of the house had burnt his mother’s *dhentullis* after her death. Another woman whom I interviewed told me that she has her mother’s *dhentulli* and if I wanted it, I could collect it from her after a few days. When I went to collect it, she told me that the *dhentulli* was being used to cover her car.

Bhattacharya (1993:70) discussing the dress patterns in the Munda society states that,

It was observed that older women who are illiterate cling to the traditional costumes, rarely wearing anything above their waist. The educated younger women who are married not only wear blouses but also put on saree in the Hindu style. The unmarried girls, who are mostly educated, wear all sorts of modern costumes, notably the skirt and salwar kameez. Besides, they also use cosmetics.

The similar transformations in the dress can be said about Kunbi-Gawda women. Few Kunbi-Gawda women who are old wear the *dhentulli*, but it is with the blouse. Younger married women, as well as unmarried women, do not wear the *dhentulli*. They wear modern costumes like blouses or tops

and skirts, jeans and so on. Only for dance performances, women wear the *dhentulli*.

In Goa, there are different reactions of the tribal people regarding the *dhentulli*. Those who wear the *dhentulli* on special occasions reveal their identity. Others prefer not to wear the *dhentulli* and publically identify themselves as Kunbi-Gawdas. Some totally deny their identity as Kunbi-Gawdas. There are others who even commercially perform their cultural dance are very proud of their cultural heritage.

Recently there was an attempt to promote the Goan Adivasi sarees (Kunbi saree) at a program titled *Tracing the History and Heritage of Goan Adivasi Saris*, which was held at Goa Sanskruti Bhavan on 26 April 2017. This program also attempted to request the government to declare the textile as the signature textile of Goa.

Today there are three kinds of *dhentulli* in Goa. First is the traditional 100% cotton *dhentulli*, which is preserved by tribal women in their homes or preserved by the community members and displayed for tribal festivals. Second, the nylon mix *dhentulli* which is sold in the markets in Goa as a traditional *dhentulli* for Rs. 470 per saree. This price could fluctuate depending on the demand of the *dhentulli*, which is in high demand during the time of the carnival. Then there is the *dhentulli*, which has been revived by the fashion industry and which costs Rs. 6,500 or more and is unknown to the Kunbi-Gawda people.

As a Gawda researcher, I search for the *dhentulli* for three reasons: 1) As a researcher belonging to the Gawda community I am concerned about the fast disappearing *dhentulli* as a cultural icon of my community, now a rare commodity 2) I wish to document the traditional *dhentulli* least it gets drowned by the adaptations by the fashion industry, and 3) The community members need it for performances and to perpetuate a cultural form.

As a member of the community, I was interested in finding out why people do not wear the *dhentulli* in their everyday life today and why they

wear it only in times of performance. I was curious to understand the way the community members view their identity as some members are very proud to reveal their identity while others are reluctant to reveal their tribal identity. Those who happily reveal their identity are practicing their old age cultural practices. While others, due to discrimination, are not following their cultural traditions and do try to hide their identity.

Dhentulli has become a rare commodity, and a valuable cultural symbol which has been preserved by the people and they are also scared to lend the *dhentulli* to anybody because they think that if they do not preserve the *dhentulli*, then people might question them about their cultural identity

My search for the *dhentulli* was done in South Goa in the villages of Verna, Nuvem, Quepem, Ambelim, and Velim, where large sections of the tribal community live. Being a member of the tribal community, I was able to get more insights from the people as to where the *dhentulli* was and why they do not wear it today. Although differences existed in the views of the community members regarding their identity, when it comes to *dhentulli*, there was a common search or anxiety about the disappearance of the *dhentulli*, which at the very least is needed for the performance of their dance commonly called the Kunbi dance.

3.6. Novel uses of the *Dhentulli*

Below is a pictorial demonstration of the novel uses that the *dhentulli* has been used for today within the community. Some of the images below reveal that some women from the community do not feel the need to preserve this dress as they think that this is something old, and it can be made use to cover some things and not for dressing. In this way, they try to disconnect this dress from themselves. In the same community, others hide their dress but do not completely disown it. They hide and reveal this dress depending on the

situation. They acknowledge this dress and their identity linked with this attire only when others appropriate this attire.

Photo No 3.12: *Dhentulli* is used to cover a motorbike in Betul Goa



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (4 June 2016)

Photo No. 3.13. : *Dhentull* is used to cover a car



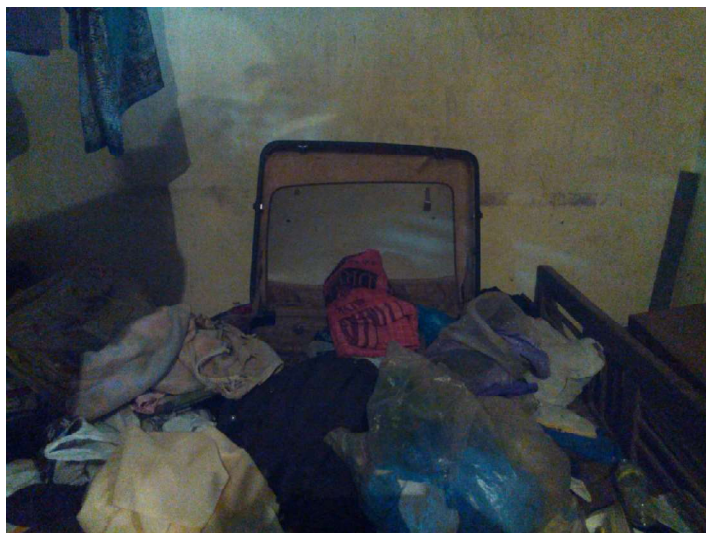
Source: Mozinha Fernandes (30 May 2016)

Photo no. 3.14: Traditional *Dhentulli* displayed at Tribal Festival 2017



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (8 January 2017)

Photo No. 3.15: *Dhentulli* kept in the trunk



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (25 May 2017)

Photo No. 3.16.: Kunbi- Gawda women wearing *dhentulli* which are available in the market



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (16 May 2017)

The *dhentulli* is sometimes hidden into the houses of the people because that is meant to be the old traditional dress which is only supposed to be worn by the old women and not the young, but when it comes to competitions this identity of the dress is praised, and everyone is in search for the *dhentulli*.

Searching for *dhentulli* has rendered me with different answers and different perspectives of people about *dhentulli*. When asked women from Quepem Goa why they have kept the *Kapod*? They said that if somebody asks us for the proof, then we have kept it as a proof to show that we are the *Nizachim Gawdi* (Original inhabitants). They even went to the extent that they told me that if anyone questions us to confirm the proof of our identity, then we can show the *kapod*. When I went to interview the Kunbi-Gawda dance group members, they asked me whether they have to wear the *kapod*, for the interview. This is probably because if tourists come to meet them, they wear

kapod and show them. This is a consumerist notion of culture as well as an essentialist understanding of the community. The Gawda women interviewed say that they have preserved the *kapod* to authenticate their 'identity.'

Some women have preserved the *dhentulli* so that they can give the *dhentulli* to the children in their village for their dance performance at school or at the church. We also discussed earlier that these old *dhentulli* are even displayed at the Tribal Festival organized by the Christian Adivasi Sangatnam in Quepem Goa.

Although the *dhentulli* serves as the symbol of the identity of the community in some cases, I found out that some and infact, most of the people said we are not wearing *dhentulli* because people will identify us as *Kunbi - Gawda* and then they will discriminate us. There are even examples where the women have stopped wearing *dhentulli* because their children are ashamed when they wear *dhentulli*. In one case, the son told her mother not to wear *dhentulli* because he was ashamed of his mother wearing *dhentulli* when his friends visited him. The new generation thinks that it is an old tradition of wearing *dhentulli*. So here, the *dhentulli* becomes functional and becomes the symbol of cultural identity only when it comes to the performance of the dance, may it be stage performance, carnival parade, or dance performed at the marriage.

Twigg (2009:1) argues that 'clothes display, express and shape identity, imbuing it with a directly material reality'. By this, it is implied that identity and dress are intimately linked to each other. In Goa, the responses of Gawda women to the *dhentulli* has been varied. For some, this traditional costume was the dress of Gawda women in the past, and today most young women do not see it as an essential aspect of their lives. Some women would consciously choose to suppress these cultural symbols and hide such symbols of identity like the *dhentulli*, by choosing not to wear it. Yet in the framing of identity, traditional dress is often the icon that is a marker of identity.

Photo No. 3.17: Gawda women asking the price of the *dhentulli*

Source: Mozinha Fernandes (6 January 2019)

It is important to note that it is the dress of the women, which plays a significant role in the representation of the community and not the clothing of the men. Even the proof of their identity that is their clothing style lies with the women and not men. So Gawda women and their dress are inherently important in the cultural identity of Goa.

CHAPTER FOUR

GAWDA DANCE

In the earlier chapter, we discussed about the traditional dress of the Gawda community. In this chapter, we will shift our focus to the dance of this community. Singing, dancing, and music have been an essential aspect of the Gawda culture, and the *dhentulli*, as mentioned earlier, has always been an integral part of the community's culture of dance. All occasions or celebrations, life cycle rituals around birth and marriage, feasts, and festivals within the Gawda community are even today despite all transformations, not complete without singing and dancing. In the community, the songs are closely linked to the dance, so while this chapter is primarily about dance, there may be mention of the songs. In chapter five, however, we will attempt an understanding of the community from the lyrics of the songs.

The study and understanding of dance, which is a very conspicuous part of the culture, helps in developing a deeper understanding of the structure of society and brings to the focus new insights to understand other parts of culture as well (Kaeppler1978:32). Scholars studying dance, focussed on dance ethnology, ethnic identity, minority status, gender, concepts of body, self, and personhood, as well as, changes in dance overtime in keeping with the background of social relationships of people dancing (Kaeppler 2000:118-120). In this chapter, the dances of the Gawda community will be analysed, taking into consideration the social and cultural background of the people under the study.

In the past, there were some occasions when only women sang and other occasions when songs were sung exclusively by men. With dance too, there were some dance performances like the *fugdi* (a fast-moving group dance), which were done exclusively by women and *intrimez*, which were performed only by men. Today, while there are some groups from within the

Gawda community that only perform the dances for non-commercial occasions such as festivities within the community and church even when it is an invited performance, there are others who are known as commercial performers who are more organised and who will perform for remuneration. The commercial dance groups may even perform in hotels, on the boat cruise, for carnival parades and other invited performances, including on stage. These commercial groups include both women and men in their performances. In a *fugdi* performance done on stage, men might play the *ghumot*, and for *intrimez* where only men used to participate, now women also participate. Both men and women are involved in this cultural activity of singing and dancing to the beat of musical instruments. A woman respondent stated that even in the period when women were not permitted to actively participate in the cultural forms, it was the women who played an essential role in cultural preservation. The same respondent narrated how it was she who would remember and teach the men the *intrimez* songs which she had learnt from her father. Although women were not allowed to participate in the *intrimez*, they played a significant role in its perpetuation. Then, is it the women who would then be blamed for the cultural practices dying out?

We will try to understand the culture of the Gawda community associated with dance. To begin with, it might be pertinent to mention that where the dance was traditionally performed was significant. The space identified within the community for the performance of the traditional dance was considered as a sacred place called the *maand*.

4.1. The *Maand*

The *maand* is a sacred place where the Gawda community get together and dance and even showcase their talents. This space was one that was identified by the community many generations ago but was a space that was

prominent in the village. The sanctity of the *maand* as a sacred place served in the past as a source of collective consciousness among the community members. However, conversion to Christianity, construction, and development, as well as social change, has altered the significance of the *maand* in some areas. Today, within the Gawda community, there are differences in the dynamics around the *maand*. Many Gawda tribal people converted to Christianity, and today on most of the *maand* spaces, chapels have been built. Many reported that the priests had warned them that worshipping on the *maand* meant following a pagan religion and even referred to it as *kuddiya devachi puja* (devil worship). Today only in few places we can find people gathering on the *maand*. The bond which was developed between the Gawda people on the *maand* for their cultural expression has been dismantled in most of the places. Some members of the older generation talked of how the *maand* was a platform on which the community would pass on their cultural forms to the younger generation. Those lamenting about the changes that have taken place and the transformations within the community even saw the recent trend among the younger generation in denying their identity as Gawdas as something that was resulting about the physical disappearance of the *maand*

In Quepem, for example, in one ward, the *maand* continues to exist, and the women perform the *dhalo* (a community group dance done by women) on the *maand*. In Cumbeabhat Velim, however, the women do not perform the *dhalo*, and according to them, they were not even allowed to go on the *maand* in olden days. They would have to watch the performance of the men from a distance. According to them, they never danced the *dhalo*. The Gawda women in Cumbeabhat Velim would dance the *fugdi* at the time of *sutti* (the celebration on the seventh day after a child's birth) and sung *erss* at the time of *ross* (pre-marriage celebration) and marriage. Today several performances that were earlier done on the *maand* are taken on to the stage.

4.2. Gawda Dances in South Goa

Some of the different Gawda dances include the *dhalo*, *fugdi*, and *ghumta nach*, and these dances are now performed both in the village as well as outside, and as mentioned earlier, they may be done commercially for remuneration as well as non-commercially as part of the community celebrations. This study was done among the *Gawda* community in Cumbeabhat Velim, Quepem, Nuvem and Verna in South Goa and revealed differences within the community in these areas

In Cumbeabhat, Velim, there were no traditional *Gawda* dance performances. They sometimes performed at the church for folk dance competitions, while in Quepem dance performances were held for the tribal festivals and sometimes at the church for functions. In Quepem, especially the groups from Ambaulim only performed in their village, and one group from Paddem Quepem perform the dance at regional, national, and also at the international level. Groups from Verna and Nuvem, however, performed the *ghumtacho nach* in their village, as well as outside their village in other *Gawda* villages and also performed at the houses of non-*Gawdas*.

Dances are performed on various occasions like for marriage, competitions, and for other festivals. The performances were performed separately by females and males. There was compartmentalization of the performance. Traditionally the women would dance *fugddi*, *dhalo*, and sing *erss* (marriage songs), whereas men used to perform their cultural activities for pre-lent on the *maand* (sacred place). *Fugdi* and *dhalo* were performed by women on the *maand*, and *erss* were sung one day before for the *pitta* and at the time of marriage when the newlywed bride and the bridegroom enter the house after the nuptials. The *erss* are also sung at the *ross* ceremony one day before the marriage.

There were various songs like on the seventh day when the *sutti* was celebrated there were *sutti* songs, for marriage there were *Erss* (marriage songs), during the pre- lent there were *intrimez* songs and *khell* songs.

Like for *sutti*, marriage, only women used to sing. Whereas for *intrimez* and *khell*, only men used to sing and dance, but in contemporary times' women act in the *khell*. If we take the aged old traditional *khell*, men alone acted as women and dressed like women if there was a role for women. Women were not allowed to act in the *khell*. This scenario of singing and dancing is totally changed today in few respects. Firstly there are some of the rituals which have totally vanished from the culture like *sutti*, but in some places, the *sutti* is held as a mere ritual where the *chuvolio* (a sweet dish prepared by mixing wild beans and jaggery) and distributed, but there is no singing and dancing. The *erss* (marriage songs) are which was sung by a group of women is reduced to only one or two women singing them only for the *ross* (coconut juice). The *ross* ceremony takes place one day before marriage or even two days before wherein everyone from the village, including the relatives, come and pour the coconut juice on the bride and the bridegroom at their respective houses. Today in most of the places, these songs are not at all sung.

Secondly, the *intrimez*, which used to be a happening at the time of carnival, is no more performed, but it is kept alive or renewed in Quepem in the form of the tribal festival where the Gawda people showcase their culture. It is no more practiced by them but only revived by them at the tribal festival and for other performances. This performance was only performed by men in the village.

Thirdly there has been a dismantling of the above compartmentalization in terms of separate performance. When it comes to specific performances like stage performance where both the men and women together perform but the songs are sung by men, and the women dance on the beats of the musical instruments like *ghumot*, *mhadallem* and *Kansallem*.

Fourthly these performances are only performed by some Gawda villages like Quepem, Nuvem, and Verna and Davorlim, whereas in the Villages like Assolna and Velim, where there are Gawda people they do not perform these performances especially the stage dance performances.

Although these people belong to one tribal group, they have different perceptions about themselves why they identify themselves as Gawdas, and others do not recognise themselves as Gawdas. There are various reasons like they do not like to identify themselves as Gawdas because they are discriminated against, and they feel very inferior to others when they identify themselves as Gawdas. In Assolna particularly with reference to Ambelim and in Velim, especially with reference to Cumbeabhatt, the people were reluctant to disclose their identity, whereas in Quepem, Nuvem, Verna and Davorlim people very proud to acknowledge that they belong to the Gawda community.

Those people who proudly acknowledged that they are Gawdas were involved in commercial dance performances, whereas the others who deny their identity are not engaged in commercial performance. People were very reluctant to speak about their identity, and it was challenging to gain information from these people because they did not wanted to talk about their identity.

The community also were engaged in organising festivals, and some of the dances mentioned above are performed during these festivals:

4.2.1. Tribal Festival at Quepem

Since 2011 the Christian Adivasi Sangatna of Quepem, which was registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860 (Central Act 21 of 1860) on 25 March 2008, and on 22 August 2016, its name has been changed to Adivasi Sangatna Kepem. This sangatna has been organising a tribal festival every year to celebrate tribal culture, and this festival sees significant participation of women, particularly from Quepem. On the day of the festival, women dress in the *dhentulli*, namely the traditional attire, and participate in the festival. There are stalls that are set up by women selling their traditional food items like *sanna*, *pinagr*, *donne*, *pattolleo*, etc. Women participate in the dance competition and other competitions like *moll* making (interlaced palm leaves), *san* making (broom-making). This festival in Goa is organised by the

Adivasi Sangatna with support from the Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa. At this festival people try to revive their culture, may it be in the form of dance, songs, traditional dress, playing traditional games which have almost vanished from their day to day life today. There are *fugdi* and *dhalo* dance competitions, and many dance groups of women participate in this festival. Women participate in large numbers for this festival, not only in performances of the traditional dances but also in the preparation of traditional sweet dishes for sale.

4.2.2. Lokotsav in Canacona

Every year a Lokotsav (folk festival) is organised by Balram Gram Vikas Sanstha and Adarsh Yuva Sangh in Amona, Canacona, Goa. The main aim of this festival is to bring to light the talent of the tribal communities in Goa. For this festival also various folk dances are performed. Different troupes of women dancers from Quepem, Sanguem and Canacona Talukas perform during this festival. This festival too sees the significant participation of women. For the *fugdi and dhalo* competitions, in particular, there are so many groups of women participating that judging the competitions becomes very difficult due to the number of groups.

4.2.3. Lokotsav in Panaji

The Lokotsav in Panaji is organised by Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa every year in collaboration with West Zone Cultural Centre, Udaipur, Kala Academy, Goa Sports Authority of Goa, Corporation of the City of Panjim, South Central Zone Cultural Centre Nagpur, Department of Art and Culture, Jharkhand to promote folk handicraft and folk culture from Goa and different parts of the country. Various folk artists and craftsmen from different states like Rajasthan, Gujarat, Assam, Manipur, Haryana, West

Bengal, Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Sikkim, Tripura, and Goa participate in this festival.

While all the tribal dance groups get to perform for the Lokotsav in Canacona, only few are selected to perform at the Lokostav festival held in Panaji.

4.2.4. Other Occasions where Gawda Dance is performed

It will be hard to make a conclusive listing of all the various occasions when the Gawda dances are performed but to attempt at a listing of some of these is presented below

1. The Carnival parades
2. Boat cruises
3. At conferences
4. In hotels for the guests
5. For competitions in educational institutions

Carnival

It may be pertinent to mention here that while there is much hype today particularly in advertising of the Goa Carnival which is celebrated over the weekend before the period of Lent, ending with Ash Wednesday, the Carnival celebrated in the villages is strikingly different from the former state-sponsored version of the Carnival where the parades in the city are completely controlled by the state. Who participates, where the parade begins and ends, the route taken and what gets on the floats are all controlled by state agencies. There is yet much celebration in Goa around the Carnival, and often tribal dance troupes participate in Carnival Parades.

On the last day of the Carnival people in groups with the accompaniment of drums, and *Kansallem* and dancing on the beats of the musical instruments people from the villages of Velim, Assolna, Baradi, Betul

come walking and climb the hill of Baradi to visit the Holy Cross of Baradi. When they reach the Cross, they stop the beating of musical instruments, prayers are said, and then the people climb the steps of the cross and take three or five rounds and pray for whatever they wish to. While climbing the steps, their slippers are kept out as it is considered as the sacred space.

This Cross is considered very holy not only by the Gawdas but also by the other community members. Most of the time, people pray for their wishes at this cross, and when the wishes are fulfilled, they offer a thanksgiving prayer in the form of *Ladhin* that is the Litany of Our Lady at the Cross. Although at other churches, chapels and at the Cross there are no restrictions for menstruating women, at the Holy Cross of Baradi it is said that if the woman is menstruating, she cannot enter the sacred space that is, she cannot climb the stairs which lead up to the cross. Women can pray from outside the sacred space.

Photo No. 4.1. : The Holy Cross of Baradi



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (29 June 2019)

Carnival in Goa has become famous all over the world. The Department of tourism in Goa promotes tourism. Tourism is a form of recreational activity expressed through travel or through a temporary change of residence (Greenwood 1972:80). Many tourists international as well as national come to Goa to experience the carnival floats. These floats are commercialised floats. This commercialisation of floats rather than portraying the natural, cultural expression of Goa mostly advertise products.

According to Bailancho Saad, which is a women collective based in Goa, which strives for equality of women, critiques the commercialisation of the carnival in Goa. This commercialisation has invaded people's lives; their festivals and the cultural expressions of people have become objects which are used for advertising the products of the companies (Bailancho Saad 1993:3). There is homogenisation and standardisation of culture, which in turn ceases the culture, which is an expression of the identity of people, and people become passive spectators instead of becoming active agents of their own lives and destiny (ibid. 1993:5).

Khell

Khell is also called in Konkani as *Phel*. This performance still continues in the villages. It is a performance on the ground, and especially it is performed in front of the houses of the people, but recently they are also performed on a stage, especially stages of the church or chapels.

Many years back, women were not allowed to participate in this performance. The role of the women was performed by men. Recently, however, women are allowed to participate in *Khell*. *Khell* has three parts called in Konkani as '*Tin Palti*'. Each *palti* or act is usually given a different title. Each *palt* might have a different story and issue presented before the audience. The topics include putting forth issues of the household, such as the need for both the mother in law and daughter in law to live in peace and understand each other, making the children aware that they are supposed to

take care of their parents and should not put them in old age homes and other social issues. There are songs sung, and there is comedy in each *palt*. For each *palt* there is an introductory song, two three songs in between, and an ending song. After every *palt*, there is a break of 10-15 minutes so that the actors can get ready with costumes and make up. The people from Cumbheabhat, Baradi, Betul, especially the Gawdas of these areas compose the *khell*.

The local MLAs, most of the time, sponsor the *Khell* performance, and people can watch this performance free of cost. Sometimes people can contribute towards the *khell* performance, and the director sometimes announces that people can contribute, and a container is passed around so that people can put the money as a form of donation for the expenses incurred for the *khell*. Today the carnival floats do not showcase the *khell* performance, but only the Kunbi dance is portrayed on the floats.

On three days of carnival, there is an environment of joy among the Gawda people. People throw balloons filled with water and even buckets filled with water on people. All day in Gawda wards, there is the beating of drums and dancing. There is also a lot of consumption of alcohol among the men of the community.

4.3. *Dhalo*

Dhalo is performed by both the Hindu and the Christian Gawdas women, and only in Nausi and Cakra Goa, the *dhalo* is performed by men from the Nav-Hindu Gawdas. *Dhalo* is performed on *maand*. *Dhalo* among the Christian Gawda community was performed after the harvest. All the women used to gather on the *maand* for five days, and they used to dance *dhalo*.

The *Dhalo* is performed in October, which is around harvest time. *Dhalo* is performed after the harvest of the crops. It is performed on the sacred

space of *maand*. At some places like in Cumbheabhatt and Ambelim, where women do not dance *dhalo*, they were never allowed to enter the *maand*, whereas, in Quepem, the Gawda women dance the *dhalo* on the sacred space especially in Avedem, Quepem.

When women are free from the harvesting work, and after their domestic chores, they come on the *maand* and dance *dhalo*. In the olden days, all the community members used to go to the mountains with their cattle and even cultivated crops such as rice and millets there. They built small huts of straw called in Konkani as *korod*, which was found in abundance on the hills or the mountain slopes, which were made of thatched palm leaves. All the necessary food items were taken by them because they had to be there for the whole cultivating season.

Throughout this season, the women of this community lived there. There was division of labour among men and women. Men and women did both agricultural works, but the activities like fishing and hunting of wild animals for food were done by men, and the women were entrusted with the duty of cooking. The Gawdas survived through a hard life without electricity, and they had to walk up and down the mountain to the spring to get water. There was sharing of food among the members of the society. When they came back to the village, the women narrated these stories of their life there on the mountain in the form of *Dhalo* songs.

First, the *devli* the lamp was lighted at the *maand* by the *maandkann* (wife of the *maandkar* the head of the village). When they gather on the *maand*, they would tell in front of everybody that say they wanted to pray for the well being of a person or they want something for themselves like one woman would say if I get relief from my knee pain, then I will give sweets to all people on the *maand* and then other women would ask others and says 'Aikil mhugho' (Did you all hear?) if she gets rid of her knee pain then she will distribute sweets'. Then others all present on *maand* would reply saying that they heard what is being said. There were various things which people prayed for like their children might pass with a good percentage, get a good job and

so on. They also thank God for the good harvest. Then they start dancing *dhalo*.

4.4. *Ghumtacho Nach* in the Non- Gawda and Gawda villages

It is very interesting to note the difference in the performance at the time of marriage in the Gawda village and in other villages of the non-Gawdas. According to the group leaders nowadays, there is more demand for the Gawda dance. They say that “*Atam ami voir*” (we are on top or popular) and this is because of our dance. One member from the community was of the view that “*Atam Sudir sarke podlem*” (Now Shudir caste people are low). According to that member, the non Gawdas copy their house design models when they want to build their houses. They feel that in the last 5 years, there has been demand created for the *Ghumtacho nach*, and this demand is created mostly by the non Gawdas and also the Gawdas. They invite the Gawdas to perform for them, and in return, the Gawdas get a chance to perform at the same time money for the performance. The difference can be seen in the performance in terms of time, the performance of the dance and songs sung in the performance, and who can dance.

When I attended the dance performance in the non Gawda village, I saw it was performed for a limited period of time say from 9 pm to 11:30 pm. Whereas the performance in the Gawda village was for a longer time, maybe from 9 pm to 1:30 am and even longer. In the performance for the non Gawda people ceremony, the songs which are set and restricted. They decide and keep which songs are to be sung. They sing and dance according to the sequence, and then the other people join them, but they dance separately in groups. Only sometimes, the women dancers join their group; otherwise, they will dance in their own groups, and other people dance separately. The male singers from the Gawda community drink beer when they are served, but the female dancers do not drink.

In the Gawda village, whenever there is performance, it is not only the women dancers who are involved in the group who dance, but other Gawda women wearing *dhentulli* dance and others dance wearing casual clothes like dress, jeans, and tops. It is a very enthusiastic performance wherein not only young but also elderly women, children, as well as men dance. In the dance group, the role of the women is to dance. Only the women sing the first song on the mike, and then they start dancing. The men play musical instruments like *ghumot*, *mhadallem*, and *Kansallem* and sing the songs. This is the usual pattern which is followed in all the performances but when they are performing in their own village anybody who knows the songs apart from the dance group members come, and they start singing the songs. In this performance, the women from the group, dance first on the beats on the first few songs, then the other women as well men join them in the performance. Since they know each other, women are more comfortable in their village to dance along with the men. Whereas when they perform outside the village, they restrict themselves dancing only in their groups.

One more important thing which was noticed by me as a researcher when I attended the *ross* ceremony in their village. When they performed the dance, women were served with vodka, and few women were drinking it. They also forced me to drink, but I did not. One woman told me we never drink alcohol otherwise and for our performances also but since they were served vodka and it was their relatives' wedding they had to drink.

4.5. Dance and Objectification of Women

The purity of women has been recognised as the cornerstone of the Hindu theory of caste and kinship (Beteille 1990:494). Much has already been written about the objectification of the bodies of the women involved in performances in dance bars as their bodies become the center of focus. It is said that men, by imposing femininity on women, tries to establish their power

and create objects which are pleasant to behold (Reynaud 2002:402). In the dance groups, it is the dress and the body of women that is the center of attraction.

Women's bodies have been more problematised than men, and women have been constructed as being more embodied than men. At the same time, women are treated as objectified bodies, and in a gendered social order, they are socially being defined through their bodies (Davis 2002:427; Morgan 2002:410).

In Kunbi-Gawda dance groups, although women dancers do not face any threat sometimes because of their weight of the body, they have a threat of not including them in dance groups. In one of the groups, the group leader said that he wants young girl dancers because he wanted to fit them into his vehicle. He says that fat women occupy more space in the vehicle. So may it be interms of beauty or for other economic purposes, women's bodies are viewed as objects. In earlier times the women from the community were not wearing blouse, and it was an appropriate dress for them but as time passed when people of the dominant caste began to see the dress of the Kunbi- Gawda community as shabby and began identifying these people based on their dress and then discriminating them by saying "*tum kunbiyachim, tumi Gawddeachim*"(You all are Kunbis and Gawdas).

4.6. Dance and Empowerment

Earlier in this Chapter at item 4.2, we discussed how the *dhentulli* has been used as an identifier and a cause for discrimination. In this subsection and contradictory as it may seem, we look at how the *dhentulli* can also be a source of empowerment.

In the Kunbi-Gawda community, when women dance, they wear red *dhentulli*, adorn their hair with flowers, and wear jewellery. Although widows

do not wear all the above things in their daily life, dance has provided them an outlet to wear all these things for their dance performance. So in their lives as widows, they have a lot of restrictions, but through this dance form, there has been the empowerment of women, especially the widows, to come out of their homes and perform the dance without any restrictions. Gangoli (2011:59), while talking about issues of sexuality and representation, says that 'To be acceptable, women are allowed to look 'westernized', but demonstrate that they have not lost 'Hindu' values of chastity and modernity'. In the same way, while dancing the traditional dance, the widows to be acceptable in the dance group wear a colourful *dhentulli*, wear flowers and jewellery, but when she comes off that cultural setting of dancing, she returns back to her normal life and follows all the restrictions imposed on her.

Dance influenced the lives of women not only in terms of economic benefit but also in terms of empowering women to the extent that they have been able to break the restrictions imposed on them and come out from the shackles of power of the so called patriarchal society. The empowerment of women, which I am talking about, is related to the empowerment of widows. Usually, society imposes specific rules and regulations on the widows. In the Kunbi-Gawda community, the widows do not have the right to dress in bright colours after the death of their husbands. The society expects them to live a simple life, to wear a dress of dull colours like black and blue. The widows are expected not to wear bangles and jewellery. The dance form has become an essential indicator of women's empowerment.

Although there are no rigid restrictions on women and especially the widows when they are dancing, there are few things through which we can come to know that still there are few restrictions such as the widows while dancing they do not put natural flowers for their hair instead they put artificial and handmade cloth flowers. Women always link themselves to men. 'These images stressing married life and motherhood as the only meaningful, virtuous one, apart from stressing home and nurturing, also perceived women only in relation to men'(Lakshmi 1997:2955). So in every aspect of their lives,

women relate themselves to men. The self image of women was created in terms of a specific ideal of motherhood, and this ‘femininity figured as an ambivalent construction to separate and stigmatize women’ (Dutta 2013:93). Even though the dance form gives them the opportunity to come out and dance, they still follow the standards set forth by society for widows, that widows cannot put flowers for their hair. In this way, although women are empowered, there is also an element of restriction which forces women to follow and construct themselves according to the standards prescribed by society.

Through this dance form, women also get economically empowered and independent. Some women say that this dance form has helped them to be financially independent and have even given them exposure at local as well as international levels, which otherwise as homemakers would be impossible.

Decision-making has been an empowering factor in the lives of women. They can decide for themselves. Being able to make decisions to dance their traditional dance, they are more confident to face the outside world, which for decades was not available to them. When they become financially independent, they are empowered and not dependent on their husbands. In fact, in most of the cases, it is Gawda women who earn the livelihood for their families and not the men.

In some cases, the money earned by men is spent on gambling and in the consumption of alcohol. So in such cases, the burden of survival of the family depends on the women. The gender roles which depict men as the sole earner of the family prove to be a faulty one, and in fact, Gawda women transcend these gender roles and prove themselves as managing the multiple tasks and are an excellent example of disapproving the gender roles associated with a particular gender.

As far as the position of the Gawda women is concerned in the larger society, they are always considered as subordinate to other women. Although even some Gawda women are treated as subordinate to men in the community,

in most cases, women have a say in the major decision making of the household. This has emerged because more and more Gawda women are empowered and are independent. This state of empowerment helps them to make their own decisions.

4.7. Problems faced by women related to dance

When asked what are the problems they face as women dancers. They were of the opinion that they love dancing, but while dancing, especially for carnival floats, they feel tired. According to them, they get good comments from people, but sometimes the men tease them, saying, “*Ami evpam zata gho nachpaku?*” (Can we come and dance with you all?). Some even throw balloons filled with water on us, and that is very distracting and hurting. Sometimes we have to dance barefoot. Some comment saying look at those Gawdas.

When women have to go for a performance, she has to make sure that she does all her household duties such as cooking before she goes to dance. In few cases, the in-laws helped their daughters in law and relieved them from their obligation of cooking at the time of the performance. Few husbands support their wives and encourage them to dance as dancing increases the income of the household.

Another reason why some men allow their women to dance is that they are also engaged in the dance groups as players of *ghumot*, *mhadallem*, or *Kansallem* and as singers. So here they have no problem if the women dance, but in some cases where men are not involved in the performance, there are difficulties faced by women in terms of their husbands, restricting them from dancing.

One woman who is a good dancer and singer had a different opinion about the dance. She sells fish in the market and earns her living. She said that

dancing and singing has been her passion and she loves to sing and dance. According to her, although she pursues her talents and passion, she as a woman has many restrictions, and one of the barriers in her dance was her husband and society. She said that whenever she dances and sings with other men from the village people tend to talk negatively about her that she is “*fulgoddem*” (a woman who has an affair with other men) and when her husband hears this comments, there are fights and even he tells her not to perform, but she says despite all these restrictions she has managed to continue dancing.

It is even more difficult for the widows. A widow is expected not to wear red and other colourful dresses but for the performance, they have to wear colourful clothes and even wear jewellery. When they dress in this attire, other people think that these women are women of loose-morals, and they do not live up to the norms set by society. The widows who dance see the dance in terms of a source of livelihood. Some widowed women explain that they need to earn for their family while others told that dancing gave them a sense of relief and empowerment to be breaking the social norms and restrictions which are set on them by the society.

In some cases and especially for *ghumtacho nach*, women revealed that they have to dance for long hours as the men who are drunk tell the dance groups to perform for a more extended time. In this type of dance, especially for *ross* ceremony, which is held before the wedding and at night, some members of the audience also dance along with the women. The audience consists of both men and women. In few cases, women have revealed that when men dance, especially the drunk men, they feel uncomfortable, even though they dance separately from the men. There are possibilities of harassment when space is less, and when men enter the space where women dance. Sometimes respondents said that ‘drunk men often come and start dancing along with the women, this makes women feel uncomfortable while dancing’.

Another problem which is faced by women is that they have to travel at night for the performance. Although they go along with the men in a vehicle like a tempo, they feel insecure because they wear their gold ornaments for the performance. They fear that robbers might attack them on the way and therefore they find it convenient to wear artificial jewellery.

Even when they are performing, and this is mainly related to the dances which are performed on the ground, they have a tough time in these performances. They have to dance the dances barefoot, and their feet get hurt by the stones on the ground.

According to most of the Gawda women, it is mostly the Gawdas themselves who criticize those who are dancing. They are not dancing, but they do not want others also to dance. The Gawdas who are not dancing comment on those who are dancing. When a group of Gawdas dance, especially in areas where the dance is performed once in a year for Christmas in the ward. Other members of the community who do not dance comment saying what type of dance these people are performing.

It is not only other people who have different perceptions of the Gawdas but also Gawda people from different areas have a perception of the other Gawdas in other parts of Goa. For example, the dance groups who are performing feel that the other Gawdas in other parts of Goa who are not performing the dance are not proud of their culture. They feel ashamed of their culture, and therefore they have abandoned their culture.

The Gawdas who are not performing think about the dance group members who are performing as being very straight forward people, they are not shy, and they have kept the culture of the Gawdas alive. Others think that these people do anything for money. What is there in the dance? Other few feel that they should have been performing like them, but because other caste people discriminate them, they do not want to perform. So here, we can see different perceptions of the Gawda people about their own community members.

Their views about others performing their dance were. If others perform their traditional dance, it becomes common they meant to say it does not remain unique. One woman said if the non-tribal performs our dance in our name than it is fake because they are not the Gawdas.

When asked what is their views on other people performing their dance, some said that it is good we are not performing, but at least the other people who are not Gawdas are performing, and they keep the tradition alive, but some were against this they said that this is wrong we being from the community should get a chance to perform and not the others. Our dance we should perform and not others.

4.8. Role of Gawda Women in Gawda Society

When the role of women comes to the forefront, it has always been that women are seen as homemakers and caretakers. Their lives are always related to others, may it be their father, husband, and children. Their whole life is interwoven or intertwined with the life of others.

Everyone expects a woman to fulfil all the roles given to them. These roles are to be fulfilled by the women for others. In their lives, women are never seen as individuals but are conditioned in such a way that they forget their individuality and always work towards what is seen desirable for women by society. In gaining this desirability, women just forget their individuality and always uphold the betterment of others at the cost of their deterioration. Their skills and talents are never recognised. Their skills and talents are just ignored as being a daily routine and responsibility.

In all this routine life, dancing and participating in cultural programs allows women to showcase their skills and talents. This participation in cultural activities gives them this environment where they are seen as individuals working for their betterment. Although this is the case where we

see women as individuals here, also the patriarchal society gives them the task of preserving the culture.

Although we see dance just as a bodily movement, it has various things encompassing it. Dance can be a form of expression for the communication of emotional feelings to the members of the group. It can be a source of identity for a specific group of people, and most importantly, it can describe the social aspect of the members of the society. While speaking about verbal art, PI-Sunyer and Salzmann say, 'By institutionalizing appropriate occasions and sanctionable forms of expressing what otherwise is unsayable, the members of a society are able to release harmlessly their feelings of tension or pent-up hostility'(1978:315).

When we talk about dance we talk about the group who perform the dance, we talk about the social settings in which the dance is performed, and we also take into account the significance or the purpose behind the dance. The different aspects of dance are the performer and the cultural settings in which the performance of dance takes place. Dance is usually constructed from a gendered perspective. From times immemorial, dance has been seen as a feminine realm. While noting aspects of femininity, it very important to highlight that the gendered bodies of the women are often being used in the performance of the dance with or without their knowledge.

In certain cultures, the women, apart from being home-markers, are also given the responsibility of conserving their culture as well as passing down their cultural practices from one generation to the other. The performance of the dance by women in some cases might be seen as the form of freedom to go out of their house, but at the same time, it is seen as the source of livelihood and an additional responsibility on the part of women which they have to perform along with their other stereotyped roles of being a good daughter, wife, mother and so on. In some cases, women dancers are being seen as not performing their daily chores because they are only concern about dancing. Performing at the dance performance gives the Gawda women only an additional source of livelihood.

Performances of the Gawda women have been viewed as entertainment. At the dance performance, there is a boundary that is created - they versus us. When the audience does dance along with the performers, it has invariably been men who are drunk, making the women dancers uncomfortable.

Taking note of all the above instances, I will now move towards the cultural expression of songs, which helps us to understand the culture of the Gawdas. First, I will divert my attention to some of the songs which will tell us about the state of the Gawdas. Through songs, we can know the culture of the Gawdas. The songs which I collected some songs were sung by men and the women danced and some songs I recorded from women.

CHAPTER FIVE

GAWDA SONGS

The songs of the Gawda community are closely connected with dance. In this chapter, we attempt to understand the community identity from the lyrics of the songs that are sung for different occasions by men and women. These songs are the depiction of the day-to-day lives of the people. The experiences of joy, sadness, and struggle of survival are narrated in the form of the songs. In the community, there were life cycle rituals that were performed by the members at birth, and at the time of marriage. For these rituals, different songs were sung by the members of the community. Various writers have written about the songs in Goa (Cardozo 1984; Pandit 2018; Pereira et al. 2005, 2011; Rodrigues 2015).

Songs were sung at the time when a child was born in the family. The ceremony of *sutti*. It was performed on the seventh day after the birth of the child. There is a belief among the Gawdas that on this day, the destiny of the child will be written by the '*sutti mai*' that is mother destiny. All the community members are invited to this ceremony, but only the women dance the *fugdi*. The wild beans mixed with jaggery and grated coconuts are distributed on a banana leaves and now in paper plates and utensils.

Two women hold the hands of each other both crossed, and they go round and round by singing songs. Many women dance in pairs of two. First, they move around in a circular motion at a slower pace, and after they complete certain rounds at the end, they move at the fast speed. Women, instead of holding each other's hand, also take a small steel tumbler, and both women hold the tumbler with their hands, place it in the middle, and dance in pairs. Another step was that, they stood horizontally in two rows facing each other, and one row of women went and clapped on the hand of the other women who were standing on the other side and vice versa.

The women who danced *fugdi* also made use of coconut shells to create sound, and while dancing, they made a sound like *fu fu fu* after every song. The men also participated in the singing of *fugdi*. Today only few members of the community, invite people for *sutti* at their house. Otherwise, they just distribute the sweet to their relatives and neighbours, but *fugdi* are not performed. Most of the people have completely stopped the *sutti*. The following, although not sung in Quepem, now were collected from Ambelim and Velim Salcete Goa, where there are girls who are married from Quepem. Some of the *fugdi* songs are as follows:

5.1. *Fugdi* Songs

Song No. 5.1: *Fugdi* Song 1

<i>Avo ghe ghor mhojem ambliya ku</i>	My mother's house is in Ambaulim.
<i>Tandu ghaliya topliya ku</i>	I have put rice in the vessel for soaking

Here in the women sing that their mother's house is in Ambaulim, Quepem and they tell others that the boiled rice is soaked with water to prepare *sanna or pollecho* which is prepared from rice, coconut, and jaggery.

Song No. 5.2. *Fugdi* Song 2

<i>Agddiyeo fugddiyeo ghaliya gho</i>	Let us hold hand and dance <i>fugdi</i>
<i>Tambiya gholov mariya gho</i>	By keeping the tumbler in hand

This song is inviting the women who are gathered at the house for *sutti* to sing *fugdi* songs and dance *fugdi*.

Song No. 5.3: *Fugdi* Song 3

<i>Ghos ghos siddiyeo</i> <i>Deva paie mudiyeo</i>	Pour the water from the copper vessel. There are rings for God's legs
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Gawda women used the copper vessel called in singular form *siddhi* and called as *siddiyeo* in plural for carrying water from springs, wells to their house. The copper vessel was also used to carry water from the pond to put water for different types of vegetables, which were grown in the *addho* that is a fence built of clay in the fields to protect the fruits and vegetables grown in the fields. An interpretation of this song could be that the women used the *siddiyeo*, and they wear toe rings. The tribal people used to wear toe rings before they were converted to Christianity, so when they got converted, they were prohibited from wearing the toe ring, and the songs which were sung by them. The wordings, instead of we wear the toe ring they said God has a toe ring. In Christianity the God statues do not have a toe ring.

Song No. 5.4: *Fugdi* Song 4

<i>Cor cor val fulloliya</i> <i>Damu bail fulloliya</i> <i>Kit re Damu bhagola</i> <i>Baile xirap laglam</i>	The creeper has grown Damu's wife has become fat Damu you have become thin Your wife curse is on you
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This song narrates the story of Damu and his wife. Wherein the wife is portrayed to be very fat, and Damu is described to have become thin because of the curse of his wife. Through this song, we can know that although the names of the tribal people were changed, but in the songs, their names were retained as they were sung.

Song No. 5.5: *Fugdi* Song 5

<i>Rostea kam kotto bailam chedem zale</i>	The women who are doing the work of road construction have given birth to the boys
<i>Fulam mattole bailam ghov mellem</i>	The women who are putting flowers for their hair, their husbands are dead

This song talks about the unmarried women who were working on the construction site and were pregnant before marriage and even have given birth to children before the wedding. Their story was narrated in these songs. The flower here symbolizes the married life. The woman who is married and her husband is alive only she can put flowers for her hair.

Song No. 5.6: *Fugdi* Song 6

<i>Respedad mhulliyelo</i>	Respedad is short
<i>Konkon dhuddi kulvollo</i>	The bottle gourd is bitter

The songs which are sung by the community are always connected to nature. These songs, when composed by the members of the community, they always took into consideration the surroundings or the environment in which they were living.

Most of the *fugdi* songs sung were all about their social life, and all of them were linked to nature, for example, to fields, the animals which they domesticated, the flowers, vegetables which they grew. Their life was revolved around nature, which could be seen in these songs. All the songs are a depiction of women's life.

Gawda women play a significant role in terms of the traditions and also in terms of understanding the Gawda culture. It is through the songs which

women sing and still continue to sing we get to understand the culture of the people.

Some women, especially Amelia Dias from Avdem Quepem Goa has contributed a lot to the understanding of the culture. She was the one who is a great singer and conserver of the songs. She is the one who, with her leadership qualities, tried to involve other women from her area to come together and form a group and to keep the tradition of the Gawdas alive. She has become a very famous folk artist among Gawda women.

Although some women are ashamed of being called Gawdas. Amelia is an inspiration to all the Gawda women to always stay connected with their traditions in this phase of modernity, adjusting themselves and reviving their traditions and continuing with their age old traditions. Amelia has dedicated her life in bringing fame for the Gawda culture both at the national as well as the international level. In this patriarchal society where women are thought to be only the caretakers of the family, Amelia has moved out of this stereotype roles and gained for herself that empowerment, which allows women to live freely breaking the shackles of the male domination.

5.2. Marriage Songs

5.2.1 *Pitta*

Before marriage, there was a ceremony called *pitta*. On the handmill, women used to grind the rice for preparing the sweet dish like *pinagr*, or *ghodxem* (sweet). The *pitta* was performed one day before marriage. Many *erss* are also sung for this ceremony. *Pitta* was separately performed at the bride and the bridegroom place. Here when the women were grinding the rice to make flour on the handmill, there was singing. It was only singing, and no dance was performed. The songs tell the bride, and the bridegroom about the marriage letters read in the church.

Song No. 5.7: Song announcing the reading of bans in the church

<i>Dhantem nhu tem mandun</i>	The grinding stones have been assembled
<i>Dhantear podlea pitti, dhantear podlea pitti</i>	The flour is already made
<i>Aiz tini podlea chitti vokol tughelea kazrachim</i>	Today the bans have been read in the church
<i>Ani tughlem kazarachim.</i>	About your marriage

There were songs for this ceremony telling unmarried boys and girls to get engaged and to get married soon. Through the song, the singers said to them that they are eagerly waiting for their wedding. This song was sung, stating by telling them that there is a cross in Baradi that has steps to climb up and down the cross. This cross is significant as all the Gawda people from the olden days used to visit this cross at the time of carnival in groups in what was called as *Mhell* (a group of people from different villages visited the cross of Baradi during the carnival. People used to dance, sing on the accompaniment of drums and *kansallem*). Today people from Assolna, Ambelim, Cumbeabhatt all go at this cross but not the people from Quepem. Through this song, it is evident that the cross of Baradi was significant for the people of the Gawdas. Although there is no evidence now of the people of Quepem visiting Baradi through the song, which is mentioned below shows us that the Gawda people hold this cross as very important.

Song No. 5.8: A song telling the bride that her wish for marriage is fulfilled

<i>Bharadeachea khursa,</i>	The cross of Baradi
<i>Sokoll voiri panvdem,</i>	It has steps to going up, it has steps going down
<i>Sokoll voiri panvdem</i>	Oh bride today you are climbing
<i>Aiz chodui yetai anvddem vokol</i>	The wish of your life
<i>Tughlea kazrachim ani tughlea kazrachim</i>	About your marriage

Another song which was sung was mentioning the names of all unmarried girls and boys telling them to inform others when they are getting engaged. The following song was an example of this:

Song No. 5.9: Song asking about the engagement of girls and boys

<i>Sodach nhu tim batlim</i>	Bottle of Soda
<i>Are pexadh tejim ghudi, pexadh tejim ghudi</i>	The bottle's cap is very decorative The bottle's cap is very decorative
<i>Kedon tughe muddhi</i>	When is your engagement
<i>Seby amkai regad dhadhi ani amkai regad dhadhi</i>	Seby, please let us know Please let us know

Songs were also sung to tease a person, for example:

Song No. 5.10: Teasing Song

<i>Amghe nhu te angnni,</i>	In front of the house
<i>Soldad mhatai yessai,</i>	Soldiers are practicing
<i>Bhenda bhenda pudem bhandhun,</i>	By tying cloth to the waist
<i>Kistozanv chochea disota Dessai.</i>	Kistozanv you are looking like the Dessai

Any person by taking his name was teased, saying that he was looking like Dessai (person from other castes).

Here in the above song, the name is of one boy Seby, but it could be any name of an unmarried girl or a boy who was present there for *pita* or for *matov* (all people are called at the house before marriage and food is served for them). If the person's name was taken in the song, then the person had to put money in the *dhali* (a small bamboo basket in which a picture of Mother Mary and *suroi tandul* (unboiled rice) was kept. Since there were many people for the *matov* most of the time, there was a lot of money which was collected, and the collected money was spent on buying flowers from the market the next morning on the wedding day. All the women used to put those flowers on their hair.

The name *matov* emerged because in the olden days, the pandal which was erected in front of the house was of interlaced palm leaves in Konkani known as *molacho matov*. Today still Gawda people call the get together where lunch is served for people from the village and relatives before marriage as *matov* but the pandal today is of colourful cloths and not of interlaced palm leaves. In the olden days, for *matov* people used to sit on the *vanso* (made from the trunk of the coconut tree) and food was served to them.

The Gawda people were more close to nature because from the pandal till the serving of food was done by using all items from the coconut tree and

jackfruit leaves and even banana leaves. The food was served on *patravol* that is a plate made by putting together the jackfruit leaves with the help of *vir* that is a thin stick taken out from palm leaves. The sweet dish or a dessert known as *dhal or soji* was served after food in the coconut shells. Even the spoons which were used to serve food were made from sticks and coconut shells. The food was cooked on the *randhon* (three stones were placed in a triangular position), and with the help of fire wood, the food was cooked.

Today this scenario is changed. Now people in spite of *pita* they prepare the *dosh* (sweet dish). *Pitta* is no more done. Using all these items from nature has stopped. These items are being replaced by modern plastic plates and other things. Reception is no more at the house but in the halls. Elderly people now are more nostalgic about the olden days remembering their olden days and today complaining that those days are no more and most of them do not attend the reception in the hall. The singing of the *erss* was when the reception was at home, so this has restricted people from singing *erss*. *Ers*s are sung at the *ross* ceremony. For *ross* ceremony, the bride and the groom are given a ceremonial bath with coconut milk and this *ross* ceremony and singing of the *ovis* was prohibited by the Portuguese in 1736 at the time of Inquisition (Da Silva Gracias 2012:97). The *matov*, which was held in the afternoon, is sometimes held at night. Some youngsters do not like these *erss*. They say these are olden things and as our reception is in hall there is no singing of *erss*. In most of the marriages before one day of marriage *ghumttacho nach* is performed by a group of *Gawda* people for *ross*; in this case, no *erss* are sung.

5.2.2. *Ers*s Or *Vers*s

Marriage songs are called in konkani as *Ers*s or *Vers*s. These songs were sung by women from the *Gawda* community after the nuptials when the bride and the bridegroom were entering the *matov* (pandal of colourful cloth in front of the house). Women sing these songs while standing in two lines facing

each other and holding candles in their hands. In one line are women from bride's side and facing them on the opposite side are women from the bridegroom's side. Songs are sung in a sequence to welcome the newly wedded couple. If the first *Erss* were sung by the women from bride's side then the second *Erss* would be sung by the women from the bridegroom's side or vice versa.

The first few songs sung are to ask for blessings from God and Our Lady, that is, Mother Mary. Some of the songs are presented below along with a translation in English done by this researcher:

Song No. 5.11: Asking blessings of God

<i>Voru cholon yela</i>	The bridal congregation has arrived at the doorstep
<i>Uboch ravlam Kampar</i>	And they are standing at the entrance
<i>Uboch ravlam Kampar</i>	And they are standing at the entrance
<i>Aiz poilem chepe kadi novrea</i>	Hey bridegroom today first you remove your hat
<i>Sorgim Deva Bapak ani Sorgim</i>	As a thanksgiving to the heavenly Father that is God
<i>Deva Bapak</i>	The heavenly father

In this song, the community is calling upon the newly wedded bridegroom to respectfully welcome his bride into his family as well as to give thanksgiving to God.

**Song No. 5.12: Welcoming the New Bridegroom and asking
blessings of Our Lady**

<i>Sogllembangar koddoun</i>	By melting all the gold ornaments
<i>Ekuck kela guddo</i>	We have made one single mass of gold
<i>Ekuch kela guddo</i>	We have made one single mass of gold
<i>Aiz poioli marya ulo amghe</i>	Today first call
<i>Popre saibinniko</i>	Our Lady of Pobri and
<i>Ani Pobre saibinniko</i>	Our Lady of Pobri

Gold is symbolic of many things like beauty, preciousness, and something valuable. The community is highlighting the fact that they have all come together for this auspicious moment as a single or as a composite family unit.

The first verse remains the same, but the local deity, namely Mother Mary which had different forms like Our Lady of Lourdes, Our Lady of Hope, etc., are called upon to bless the occasion. According to the local deity, the name of Mother Mary changes. This song reproduced above was the song sung in one ward of Quepem. The name of our lady is said as Pobri, but this name changed depending on the name of the Our Lady Patron of the church. This name differed from place to place. The same song was sung in another ward, but the name of Our Lady was said as Coisanv *Saibinn*.

Song No. 5.13.: Welcoming the Couple to be Married

<i>Voiri mhuz gha khantu</i>	At the choir sings
<i>Sokol misa santu sokol misa santu</i>	At the alter the mass begins
<i>Aiz kitkon dilo hatu Mhodhe dharvontearu ani mhodhe</i>	The bride and the groom are entering the church

<i>dharvontearu.</i>	
<i>Ani mhodhe dharvontearu.</i>	Behold the beautiful moment they walk hand in hand

The next few songs reflect the community view on the probable mental state of the bride on the wedding day. Like in many communities in India, marriages were social contracts in which women (particularly the bride) did not have much of a say. Thus it was rare that the bride would be happy on the day of her wedding.

Song No. 5.14.: Empathy song 1 for the Bride

<i>Pasu mhutto ponnu</i>	The monsoon having receded
<i>Mholba bhorliy khupa</i>	The sky is still cloudy
<i>Mholba bhorliy khupa</i>	The sky is still cloudy
<i>Aiz dholea bhorlea dhuka vokol</i>	The bride, her eyes filled with tears
<i>Paie tuzo mhonnu</i>	Her late father is not there to give his blessings

Song No. 5.15.: Empathy song 2 for the Bride

<i>Gholantulem khantu</i>	The rosary beads around the neck
<i>Khursa bhar bhor chutlem</i>	Having snapped
<i>Aiz vodruxtt tuzem futlem vokol</i>	You are miserable today bride
<i>Avoi tuji mhonnu</i>	Because your mother has passed away
<i>Ani avoi tuzi mhonnu</i>	is not there to witness the moment

Song No. 5.16.: Song for the couple to be blessed with children

<i>Pasu mhuto ponnu</i>	The rain having fallen
<i>Udok bhorlam mahga</i>	The fields are laden with water

<i>Aiz xinvtim roilea bhaga vokol</i>	Oh, bride, it is time to plant new
<i>Poilem xinvtem mhaka</i>	flowers together
<i>Ani poilem xinvtem mhaka</i>	And could I have the first flower

This is a fertility related verse where water is symbolic of life source and the flowers can have two meanings one is new life together as a couple and the flowering of new family with the children that are to be born with the arrival of the bride in the house. This also is telling of the community expectation of children to be born from the marriage.

Song No. 5.17.: Welcoming the Bride

<i>Vhodlea ghoichim popaiy,</i>	An fine quality fruit (papaya) from greater Goa
<i>Dhaklea Ghoiya pavlim</i>	has joined up with a fruit of smaller Goa
<i>Aiz arxantulim bhavlim vokol</i>	This doll of a bride from a showcase
<i>Bhoinn mhugho amchim</i>	A sister of ours
<i>Ani bhoinni mhugho amchim</i>	A sister of ours

The bride is here looked upon as a fruit of fine quality, which has come to a humble family, and yet she is considered to be one from amongst them. On the one hand, like a fine fruit with fine qualities and at the same time one from amongst them.

There were also songs, which tell the expected roles played by wife and husband like in the songs below:

Song No. 5.18.: A song about Gendered Roles of the Couple

<i>Ghoram sokol xetto</i>	Down the house there is field
<i>Dhoie padya zotto</i>	The man is ploughing with his oxen

<i>Dhoie padya zotto</i>	The man is ploughing with his oxen
<i>Aiz nibor matta votto vokol</i>	Oh, my bride, the sun is blazing too hot today
<i>Savlle hadh gho pezo</i> <i>Ani savlle hadh gho pezo</i>	Can you serve the rice kanji in the shade

In this verse, there is a clear picture depicting the division of labour. Where the men went to the fields early in the morning, and women followed later with the meals. It was women who provided sustenance and nutritious food. While the men worked in the fields. It also highlights that women were meal providers and also actively participated in agricultural activities.

Song No. 5.19.: The song about the caring role expected from the Bride

<i>Dhandhear dhando mhannu</i>	Hammering sticks together
<i>Dhandheach khelea puddi,</i>	The sticks are broken
<i>Dhandheach khelea puddi</i>	The sticks are broken
<i>Aiz oskot zalea khuddi</i> <i>Vokol maicho sambal kori</i>	This body has now weakened by age
<i>Ani maicho sambal kori</i>	Oh bride take care of your mother-in-law

Song No. 5.20.: Song signifying the completeness of a family with the entry of a daughter in law

<i>Ghoram sokol xetto</i>	Down the house, there is a field
<i>Bharik teji mhero, bharik teji mero</i>	It has a delicate boundary
<i>Aiz dogui chogui dhero vokol</i>	All your brothers in law are together
<i>Bharala tujem ghoru</i>	Your family is full and complete
<i>Ani bhorla tujem ghoru</i>	Your family is full and complete

This song signifies the importance the community gives to the entry of a daughter in law into the family. The entrance of the bride in the house gives a sense of completeness to the family. This song mentions that there are fields nearby the house. This shows that nature was depicted in every song. Life itself is contrasted and linked to nature.

Song No. 5.21.: Song showing that material assets are not important

<i>Vokol inchatali kitli gha mhunn khudda</i>	The bride asks how many rooms in your family house
<i>Kitli gha mhunn khudda</i>	how many rooms in your family house
<i>Aiz amghe nhai khudha vokol</i>	the bridegroom answers
<i>Ghuinaid mhach gho fuda</i>	let us not think about that now
<i>Ani ghuniad mhach gho fuda</i>	we will lay the foundation next year

This song could be looked at in two ways. One is that it expresses the disregard for the material assets that the bridegroom may possess and what was important is building a life together. The woman is concerned as to her living conditions. The man reassures, and his primary concern is to get an heir for the family.

There were also *Erss*, which were called *zapatío mhartalim* means if the bride's side group of women sings something against the bride's groom side people than the bride's groom side people also used to sing something against them. The following is the song which explains this:

Song No. 5.22.: Song Teasing the bride and the bridegroom

<i>Mhogrech mhogrech nhu to khollo</i>	Just as a mogra bud
<i>Gholsam ghan fulliololo</i>	Which is made to bloom by confining it in a glass of water in the same manner
<i>Rostean rostean votolea chedeak</i>	The bride swept the bridegroom of his feet
<i>Voklen ghora ghan bhuliololo</i>	by inviting him to her house

This song depicts woman's flirting qualities besides hard work, care, and loyalty. The song also would be sung with the male counterpart instead of the bride; it could be the bridegroom.

5.3. Dhalo Songs

The first song for *dhalo* is the invocation song that is sung on the *maand*

Song No. 5.23: Invocation Song at the Maand

<i>Amghlea maanderi dovorlam devo,</i>	At the <i>maand</i> the ceremonial lamp has been lit
<i>Tiya deveako tumi pai podiyee ghe</i>	Pay your respect to the light
<i>Aichean dhalo tumi koria</i>	And from today commence the <i>dhalo</i>

In this first song, it was to all women that the lamp is lighted at the *maand* and that they have to bow down towards it. Likewise, mention was made to coconut, which is kept on the *maand*, and the women had to bow

down towards it and then start the *Dhalo*. The lighted lamp was held in the middle at the *maand*, and women stood on either side of the lamp. They stood in a row like one row of women consisting of five-six and even more stood on one side and on the other side one more row of women. All women were holding their hands on the waist of each other, and then one row of women moved towards the *devli* bowed down and went back. Then the other row also does the same thing. One row of women taking few steps moves towards the lamp bow and goes back. These steps are accompanied by their singing. If one row of women say that bow down to the lamp, then the other row of women said we are bowing down to the lamp and starting the *dhalo*.

In the same song, one row of women makes mention of flowers like marigold and *xivtim* and asks another group who has created these flowers. Then the other row of women answered that these flowers are created by God. There was also mention of making a garland of these flowers and offering to Goddess. They also sing of the chilly harvest that they will pluck the chilies and sent it as offerings to Coinsanv and Ruzai *Saibinn* (Our Lady). There is also singing like we have sold the rice, and we have also participated in the mass.

5.3.1. *Udhi*

Udhi means jumping steps. Here the women jumped by first putting the balance and touching the right leg on the ground and then jumped to take the step by touching the left leg to the ground. These songs had a faster tempo. They were sung fast. This song depicted the lifestyle of the women that she has to break the coconut, extract the coconut juice, and then serve the food to children. The name of any woman is taken here like Foransik that she is sitting on the chair and combing her hair, and her husband brings her flowers called *Xivtim*.

In *Dhalo*, there are different types or kind of steps and the songs which are associated with it. The following are the different types of steps, and all of

them are different in terms of steps and in terms of songs. The culmination of all these steps is called *Dhalo*.

5.3.2. *Khannar nach*

This dance is a part of *dhalo*, but it had different steps and different songs. In olden days people removed the husk of their paddy at home. Each household had a *khandonnem* that is one hole was there in the house on the ground, and people used to put paddy rice into the hole and then, with the help of a wooden crusher, remove the husk. Two women used to stand by facing each other.

They used to hit the wooden crusher on the paddy. One woman used to hold the wooden crusher hit it on the paddy, and then push the wooden crusher to the other women. This process continued until the husk was removed. This was the activity in which women were engaged in. As Gawda women required this rice for preparing *fov*. This activity from their life began to be enacted as a part of the cultural activity that is the *dhalo*.

For this performance, women were standing in the circle, and two women were enacting the act, one holding a big wooden crusher in hand was continually moving it, one end of the wooden crusher was on the ground, and the other end was in hand. The other woman danced by keeping one leg on the wooden rice pounder and then the other leg while the wooden rice pounder was moving. All other women also danced by clapping their hands.

This song was telling people or families to get together and to remove the husk of the paddy. In this song, all other women asked who is dancing, and others said the one who is performing is the daughter of the leader of the village and this chorus was repeated and every time it is repeated they used to take the name of the father of the women who were dancing like she is the daughter of so and so.

Song No. 5.24: A depiction of pounding the rice

<i>Atobha kutobha khannar sho,</i> <i>Khannar sho</i>	All families are at the rice pounder
<i>Khannar khelttim konnali dhuv,</i> <i>konnali dhuv</i>	Whose daughter is playing at the wooden rice pounder
<i>Khannar khelttim vodkhara dhuv.</i>	The leaders daughter is playing on wooden rice pounder

Then there were many verses for this song. In the olden days, they used to grow crops like millets, and the people used to tie these millets tight with the help of hay. These were called in Konkani as *chudyeo*. In this song they make mention to this and say that mother has made gold for the daughter.

The next verse tells that the fish cost one rupee, and the *Mama* (mother's brother) has given the sister's daughter *chubol* (made from *vaiyo-skin of some plants*) is used to carry heavy things on the head and then telling the girl to dance.

The last verse says that my mother has given everything for me, one *pett* that is trunk. In this trunk we will put flowers like *phatt, surgam* which provides fragrance.

5.3.3. Mor:

This is also a different category of *Dhalo*. For this performance, all women dancers were standing in the circle by holding each other's hands. In this performance there was a *mor* (peacock) and *morinnn* (peahen). One woman who is inside the circle represents the peahen, and one woman who stands outside the circle represents the peacock.

Here the peacock tries to catch hold of the peahen, and the peahen protects herself from the peacock at the same time the women who are in circle does not allow the peacock to entire inside the circle, and that is how the

performance continues with the singing of the song and after the song is sung finally the peacock, and the peahen meets each other. The following are the few lines of the song, which is very important to be noted because these lines show how the community in their songs made a mention to *Bahmon* (Christian high caste people).

Song No. 5.25.: Mor

<i>Aiz mor zamli, aghoil bahmna kambdir</i>	Peacock has pooped on the blanket of the <i>Bahmon</i>
<i>Aiz mor mandyear, aghoil bahmna talear</i>	Peacock has pooped on the head of the <i>Bahmon</i>

This shows that the people, through their songs, criticized the upper caste people or made fun of them.

Apart from this type of songs there was also enacting the role of eagle, hen and chicken. The Gawdas used to domesticate the hen. This song depicts the scene where the eagle comes to hunt or have preyed on the chicken.

There are *Dhalo* songs, which tell the story of the Gawda women who are working on the farm for one owner where bottle gourd is grown. They do the work of watering the bottle gourd and then tell the owner that there is a good bottle gourd harvest, and to their surprise, after coming back from the owner's house, they see the harvest is being destroyed by the wild animals. They go back again and tell the servant of the owner that the harvest is being destroyed, and the servant who was removing the husk of the paddy to cook food for them tells them that there is no food for them now. They go back to the field and hit the dogs, which were the owner's dogs kept to safeguard the farm and remove the root of the bottle gourd and take it to show it as proof to the owner and sing the song.

5.4. *Ghumta Nach* Songs

Through songs, the lifestyle of the Gawdas can be understood. The songs are sung by men while the women dance on the beats of the *ghumat*. These songs are sung in the performance called *ghumta nach* (dance on the beats of the *ghumat*). Although women do not sing the songs in this type of performance they play a very important role in the dance. So both the women and men complement each other in these performances. *Ghumta Nach* (dance), *ghumot* is played by the men and the *nach* is performed by the women. This performance is performed only by the Christian Gawdas.

The performance start when the parents, relatives and then the other people started pouring coconut juice on the bride, bridegroom and the brides mate. The *ghumta nach* is not only performed by Gawda dance groups in their village among their own groups but the Gawda people are invited by the non Gawda people to perform the dance at their place on different occasion like christening or baptism celebration, for birthdays and specially at the time of marriage. The dance groups also participate in the carnival parades, which are held at different places in Goa like Panjim, Margao, Vasco and Mapusa during the time of carnival. The following are the songs which are sung by the groups while performing *ghumta nach*.

There are various steps which are involved in this dance. They are *Utto* and *Dhed paiencho*.

The first song which is sung in this performance is when the coconut juice is poured on the bride or the bridegroom and the bridesmaid. Is telling people that today we are very happy because today is *ross* ceremony and announcing this happiness in front of everybody. After this when the parents of the bridegroom or bride and the relatives pour *ross*, the singers sing by telling others that now the father and the mother are pouring *ross* on the would be bride or the would be bridegroom.

After this the women start dancing on the accompaniment of the musical instruments and the songs. These are some of the songs for the *Ghuntacho nach*.

Song No. 5.26.: Song to tell a story

<i>Eke tempachi tumkam sangtai kobhoro</i>	We are telling you the story of one period
<i>Sangonk kalliz zat mhojem fuggaro</i>	Our hearts are sad to tell you that story But today we are telling you
<i>Micko lavunnu ganvam bhonvddailem motorro</i>	This story, in the whole village through a loud speaker by rooming on the vehicle

Song No. 5.27.: Song exposing the discrimination of the landlords

<i>Ani goriba kelo bhognnaro Somzonn apunn vhoddle mhunn bhakarro</i>	The poor people were made to suffer by the big landlords
<i>Kai boro also amghe Goiychem hem xharro</i>	How beautiful was our state of Goa
<i>Punn tem toddean kel re pildaro</i>	But few of them have spoilt it
<i>Atam tum hayaym shukem bhangddiya parro</i>	Now you eat <i>parro</i> prepared from dry mackerels

Song No. 5.28.: Song depicting the extra martial affairs

<i>Hanv eklechem randpinn</i>	I am care taker of one man
<i>Mhaka hondpi dogo</i>	But there are two others using me
<i>Amghe purgaddor as to saiba ravanna oggo</i> <i>Soglle rat bhor matta bobo</i>	This husband of mine Will not leave me alone at night

<i>Caitan tum mhaxe nidd re hanv ravtam zag</i>	Caitan you sleep for a while, I will keep awake
<i>Caitan tum mhaxenidd re hanv ravtam zago</i>	Caitan you sleep for a while, I will keep awake
<i>Murgova astona dogai bor marl mouzo</i>	When we were in Mormugao, we had so much fun
<i>Fotto fotto konn hanve vazoilo dhobo</i>	Playing and drumming

Explanation- Some songs originated outside the community. This song originated in a port town, and they reflect the changing morality of men and women who left the village in search of employment in the big cities. Some songs reflect how women fell prey to the temptation or vices of city life or urban culture. Some songs depicted the changing morality when people left the village to work in cities that were so strong that they were co-opted into *ghumtacho nach*.

The above song was sung in *zagor*. The people who were working in the mines noticed whatever bad was happening around them, and they composed songs; for example in the above song a woman is having relationship with two men, one among them is Caitan. This was seen by the people and one person composed a song based on their relationship, and he also mentions the real name of one man who had entered into relationship with the woman and this song was sung in the *zagor* when they came back in their village after the completion of their work in the mines.

Song No. 5.29.: Song narrating a story of the robber

<i>Mottituli khobhoro tumkam ailiyay ami sangonko</i>	We have come here to tell you all the news which is in our mind
<i>Zaito tempu mottitu amchea etalem hem kolloko</i>	From many days we were trying to tell you'll

<i>Akshi sannu tekxint ghannu Hadlolo chorako</i>	A thief was brought in the car from Akshi (Aggassaim)
<i>Dukra bhaxen bhandhun teka dovorlolo dorako</i>	He was tied to a rope-like a pig

Song No. 5.30.: A song depicting the negative image of women

<i>Vislilya asto vavrako</i>	When I left the village for contracted work
<i>Shoirik keli Gowlliya cheddyako</i>	She was engaged to marry milkman
<i>Shoirik keli Gowlliya cheddyako</i>	She was engaged to marry milkman
<i>Eke rati mhaka mellya puro</i>	I would be satisfied
<i>Adboponn bhend halopako</i>	If I had her for one night only

This song shows how the community looked at the image of their women. In this song the man says that he desires to be with the women whose marriage is arranged. In some songs women are negatively portrayed but when the men sing these type of songs everyone including women get entertained and the women also dance on the beats singing the same songs which negatively portrays them.

In the performance of *ghumtacho nach* negative or the acquisitive aspect is downplayed is not considered within the community such songs have entertainment value.

Song No. 5.31: Song where the husband criticize his wife

<i>Bail mhoji kamavoita</i> <i>Sokan padiya koddem</i>	My wife goes to work early in the morning.
<i>Sogllemandop podt mhukodde</i>	The work is to collect the coconuts

	from the landlords land
<i>Voit tem gadyekoddem</i>	All the cooking work I have to do
<i>Soglle hallon yeta ghora koddem</i>	She is going to the bar
<i>Bailem mistake mhenn</i>	She comes drunk at home
<i>Zogdo ghovam koddem</i>	She does not get any mistake of the husband to fight with him
<i>Soglle rati zogd tem soriya koddem</i>	Therefore she fights the whole night with alcohol

Here in this song the woman is depicted as a woman who drinks alcohol.

Song No. 5.32: Song where a married woman says that she is being married to an alcoholic person

<i>Mir vanttita</i>	Grinding the masala
<i>Mir vanttita rogdea koddem</i>	Grinding the masala on the grinding stone
<i>Maien mhaka kazar kelam bebdea koddem</i>	My mother has married me to an alcoholic

Song No. 5.33: Song depicting the role of men

<i>Kusmodechea pulla ponda uddo bhor nitollo</i>	Water under the bridge of Kusmode is very clean
<i>Ami dogai rat bhor ravon pant bor marl pitodd</i>	Both of us caught the fish staying awake the whole night
<i>Mhuko baba pevo zaina Kallele fatorro</i>	I cannot swim, there are black stones in the water
<i>Hatti donnu voir kadiy re jiv zat mhozo fuggarro</i>	Help me, hold my hand and take me out of this water, I am scared

<i>Hatti donnu voir kadiy re jiv zat mhozo fuggarro.</i>	Help me, hold my hand an take me out of this water, I am scared
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This song depicts that the men from the Gawda community, apart from working in the fields, went fishing to meet their daily needs. This song is narrating an experience when they went to catch the fish and how one man had difficulty in swimming, and he tells the other person to help him. Through this song they narrate their experiences of what happened in their day to day life. All the above songs are sung by men while playing the *ghumots*, and the women dance on the beats of the *ghumot*. In this kind of commercial performance, apart from all the above songs there are also other Konkani popular songs.

In these songs we can see that the whole life of the Gawdas is revealed. Even there are songs of their intimate relationship. There are even songs which negatively portray women. One very essential point to be noted here is that these songs for years were only sung within the Gawda community but today, are sung all over Goa.

CHAPTER SIX

CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURE AND GAWDA IDENTITY

Women's Voices from the Field

We have discussed the dress, songs, and dance of the Gawda community in the earlier chapters. In this chapter, we will look at some of the instances when the icons or essentialist images of Gawda culture are used to portray 'Goanness' or the culture of Goa. It is particularly ironic considering the fact that the Gawda community themselves are trying to shed or disown many of these images as their realities are experiences of discrimination based on the identification with being a member of the tribal community. In this chapter, we will try to contrast the uses of these images with the voices heard from the field regarding what culture is according to women of the Gawda community.

6.1. Using Essentialist Images of Gawda Culture

Essentialist images of Gawda community dress, dance, and songs appear in books, on posters, paintings, for exhibitions, in the museums such as Ancestral Goa Big Foot Loutolim, for Serendipity Arts Festival, Lokotsav and for various folk dance competitions held in schools and colleges.

Photo No. 6.1: Poster at the Ancestral Goa, Big Foot Loutolim



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (20 May 2017)

Photo No.6.2: Gawda house at Ancestral Goa, Big Foot Loutolim



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (30 November 2014)

In this photograph, the house of the Gawdas is built of mud with other images like the dress of the Gawda women and men, *ghumot*, wooden rice pounder, and bamboo basket.

Photo No. 6.3: Statue of Gawda woman at Ancestral Goa



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (30 November 2014)

Photo No. 6.4: 'Kunnbi' woman at Serendipity Arts Festival 2017



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (21 December 2016)

Photo No. 6.5: Sketch of Gawda woman at Serendipity Arts Festival 2018



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (21 December 2018)

Photo No. 6.6: Gawda Sarees exhibited at Serendipity in 2018



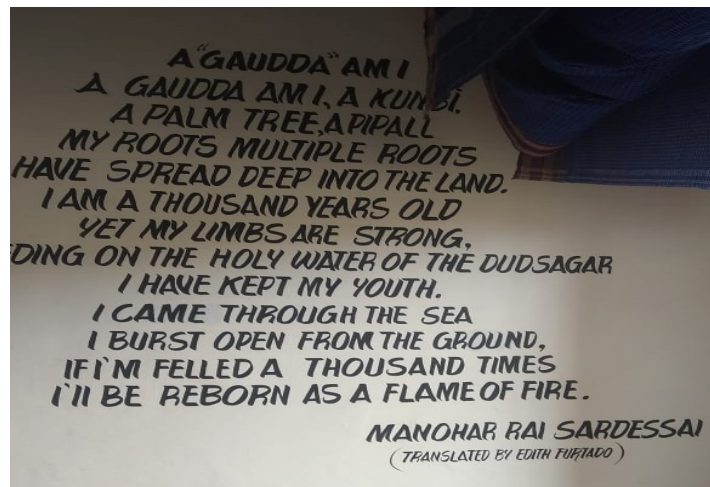
Source: Mozinha Fernandes (21 December 2018)

**Photo No. 6.7: Gawda Sarees exhibited at Serendipity along with a poem
'Gaudo Hanv' in Konkani by Manohar Rai Sardessai in 2018**



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (21 December 2018)

**Photo No 6.8: Gawda Sarees at Serendipity 2018 with a poem
'Gaudo Hanv' in English by Manohar Rai Sardessai**



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (21 December 2018)

In this poem, the writer says the words in the poem '*Gaudda Hanv, Kunbi hanv*' (I am gaudda and kunbi). Depicting the Gawdas as the original inhabitants and the point that the dress of the Gawda woman is exhibited in an exhibition, this itself shows how there is Gawdaisation of Goa. The culture and identity of the Gawdas become essential for the formation of the identity of Goa.

Photo No. 6.9: Statute of Gawda Woman and Child at Big Foot



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (20 May 2017)

Photo No. 6.10: Display of Kunbi Sarees at Big Foot Museum



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (20 May 2017)

Photo No. 6.11: Sketch with instructions on draping a Kunbi Saree, Art Gallery at Big Foot



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (20 May 2017)

Photo No. 6.12: Clothes from Kunbi Saree at Big Foot



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (20 May 2017)

Photo No. 6.13: Photo of Gawda women on Goa Today Cover Page



Source: Goa Today, February 2009

Photo No. 6.14: Portrayal of Gawda community, Carnival Parade-1



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 6.15: Portrayal of the Gawda community, Carnival Parade-2



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 6.16: Portrayal of the Gawda community, Carnival Parade-3



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 6.17: Portrayal of the Gawda community, Carnival Parade-4



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

The depiction of the Gawda community at Carnival, women carrying the *moll* (interlaced palm leaf used), brooms, spoons made out of coconut shells and stick are showcased.

Photo No. 6.18: Portrayal of the Gawdas as *Niz Goenkar* (original Goans)



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 6.19: Portrayal of the Gawda community at Carnival Parade-6



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 6.20: Portrayal of the Gawda community at Carnival Parade-7



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 6.21: Portrayal of the Gawda community at Carnival Parade-8



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 6.22: Painting of Gawda women dancers outside the White Cloud Hall at Assolna, Salcete, Goa



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (27 May 2019)

Photo No. 6.23: Folk Dance Competition 1 in a local College



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (12 December 2014)

Photo No. 6.24: Folk Dance Competition 2 in a local College



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (18 December 2012)

Photo No. 6.25: Women playing *ghumot* for the Gawda dance



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (27 December 2016)

Photo No. 6.26: Image of the Gawda women at Ravindra Bhavan Margao



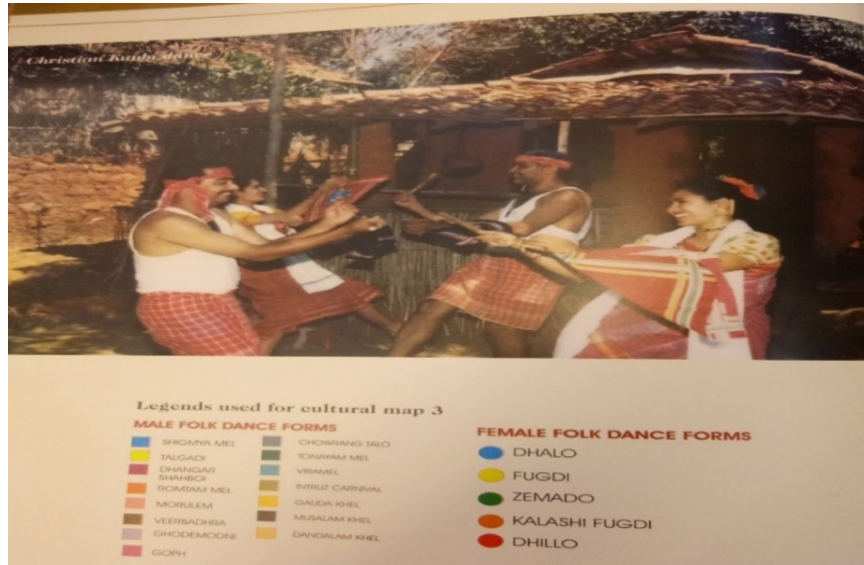
Source: Mozinha Fernandes (2 February 2020)

Photo No. 6.27: 'The Kunbi (tribal) woman in traditional costume'



Source: Phaldesai 2004

Photo No. 6.28: The Christian Kunbis dancing Kunbi Dance



Source : Phaldesai 2004

Photo No. 6.29: A Picture of Goan Handicrafts – Image of Gawda women



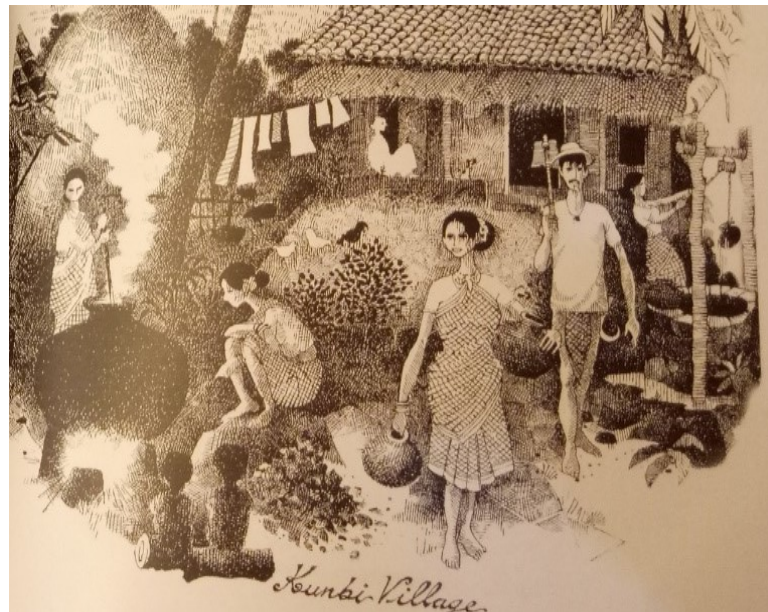
Source: Fernandes 2006

Photo No. 6.30: The Kunbis are depicted in the book *Goa*



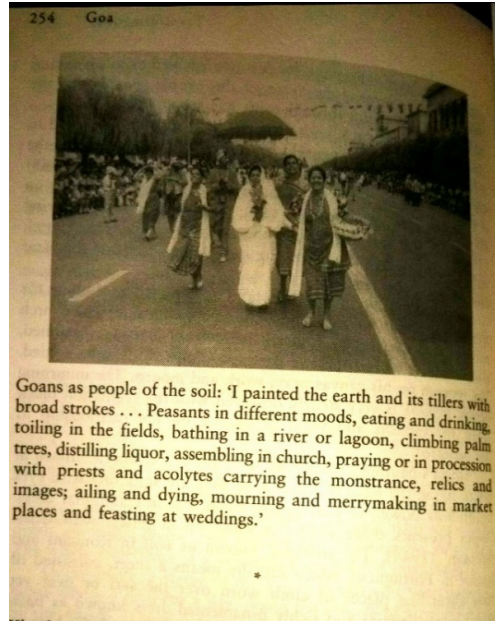
Source: Miranda and Cunha 2010

Photo No. 6.31: 'Kunbi Village' represented in the book *Inside Goa*



Source: Malgaonkar and Miranda 2004

Photo No. 6.32: Gawdas portrayed as 'Goans as people of the Soil'



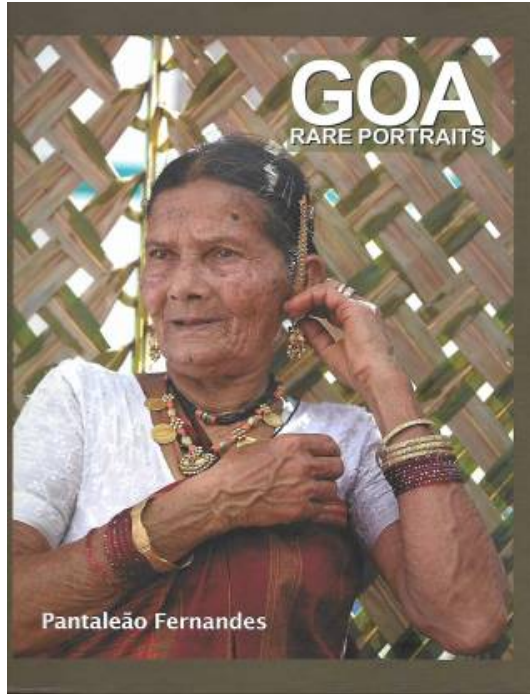
Source: Couto 2004

Photo No. 6.33: Children performers of Kunbi Dance



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (28 December 2016)

Photo No. 6.34: Image of Gawda women



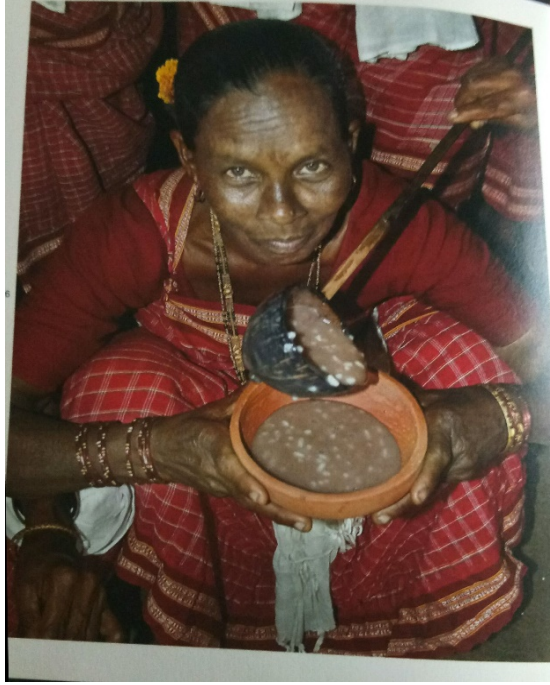
Source: Fernandes 2018

Photo No. 6.35: Image of dancing Gawda women



Source: Fernandes 2018

Photo No. 6.36: Image of Gawda woman eating *ghodxem/ dhal*



Source: Fernandes 2018

Photo No. 6.37: Photo of Gawda couple in their traditional attire



Source: Fernandes 2018

Photo No. 6.38: Photo of Gawda women eating *Ambhil*

Ambil, a porridge made of *nachne* (millet) flour and rice, is the staple fare, the elixir that provides the tribals with the energy needed to sustain the long hours of hard work they do in the fields and elsewhere.

For centuries, they cultivated the millets on tiny patches of forested land that they cleared and burnt, until the forest department banned the practice. The *ambil* is cooked in an earthen pot, which is then set on a *neune* (a thick loop woven out of hay) that serves as a trivet. A *doulo* (ladle) made out of a coconut shell is used to spoon the porridge into a *mattul* (an earthen eating bowl), though some prefer to slurp it from a leaf that is folded to form a cup.

Source: Fernandes 2018

Photo No.6.39: Gawda women portrayed in Goa Today



Source: Goa Today, April 1967

Photo No.6.40: Sculpture of *Bhadel* woman in Margao



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (30 June 2019)

Most of the above images to portray or to talk about Gawda culture are of women. So if this is the case, then not only portrayal of the images of women should be used to talk about culture, but also their voices about their culture have to be heard. Through this research, an attempt has been made to bring to the forefront the unheard voices of the Gawda women.

6.2. Culture according to Gawda Women

What is Culture, according to the Gawda women? The Gawda people consider the material things with which they work, like agriculture tools as their culture. They say these things are essential for their survival, and hence they reveal that agricultural tools like a sickle, *Attor* (large bamboo mat) on which the paddy grains are dried, the *Bhann or Ahando* (large vessel for boiling paddy grains).

Some say the type of clay pots that they use and the *dhante* (handmill) is their culture. One woman had safely kept a clay pot in which her mother used to cook even though it is broken. She says that I do not like to throw it out because in that pot her mother used to cook, so she says, 'I have kept it safely in remembrance of my mother' that is her culture.

Some say working in the field, growing vegetables, and doing hard labour is their culture. In some instances, the artifacts mentioned above, like the *dhante* (handmill) was not used, some clay pots were just kept outside the house, but still, people are emotionally attached to these things, and they consider it as their culture. Some associate their culture with the medicinal plants. They say that we are using the forest for various things, including firewood. We use the medicinal herbs, and therefore they associate their culture with forests. The grinding stone, the traditional *randonn* all these become part of the Gawda culture.

So when asked who are Gawdas, they said hardworking people are Gawdas, agricultural labourers are Gawdas. This was one of the response from Gawda woman; we are good at doing any hard work given to us, and we are very good at it; that is why we are called as Gawdas. Many said that our parents told us we are Gawdas and therefore we are Gawdas. Others call us Gawdas; consequently, we are Gawdas. One woman from Cumbheabhat Velim said that the Gawdas are better than other community people when it comes to hard labour.

In one of the interview one women aged 60 years spoke about a cobra which was a sign of their culture she said that although she is a Christian, she believes in her culture wherein in earlier times she used to see a cobra every evening behind her house at a particular place but she says now this place is *Bostovla* (polluted) and therefore she cannot see the cobra. In another case on being asked about the culture of the Gawdas, one woman started narrating her story of how significant it is for her to take part in the cultural practices which were followed by the community members. Every year she visits the Shree Shantadurga Ballikarin Prassanna Temple at Balli Fatorpa Goa and offers *nal pod* (coconut and garland of flowers). According to her, as per the instructions of their parish priest, she had stopped the offerings to the temple then she was mentally disturbed. Therefore she says now every year she offers the offering at the temple despite the instructions of the parish priest. Giving offerings at the temple is a part of her Gawda culture. Other women also revealed that some priests have tried to stop their cultural practices at the *maand* (sacred place), but they said that they cannot stop dancing the *dhalo* at the *maand* because it is their cultural identity, which their ancestors have been following from years and if they stop there are various dangerous consequences which they have to suffer.

Some women described their culture in terms of the food they prepared. Most of the women whom I interviewed said fish, curry, and rice as their main food. They depicted their culture in terms of sweet dishes they prepare like *pinagr* (prepared by mixing rice flour, jaggery, and coconut), *sanna*, *dhone*, *soji*, or *dhal*, which is prepared at the marriage celebration. Some people made a mention to *ambhil* (prepared from the flour of raggi) as an essential cultural item, although most of them do not cook it nowadays. Today most of the Gawda people who work as agricultural labourers prepare *pez* (prepared from boiled rice).

Different Gawda people have different things to say about what their food habits are. Most of the women said they cook and eat beef, pork, and

chicken. Only in two cases, women said they are not eating beef. One woman even mentioned that the Gawdas do not eat beef. In the other two cases, they did not eat pork, and only in one case, one woman said that 'we are *Mandkars* (Members of the *maand*-sacred place) therefore we cannot cook pork and beef, which is considered to be ritually impure.' Khedekar (2013:18) says that before liberation, the *Kulmis* or the Gawdas were not allowed by convention and community law to accept cooked food from other people in the society.

When we speak of culture, it includes every aspect of life, even the beliefs which people hold as important to their culture. People believe in the supernatural spirit called *apsi* or *rakonndar* (protector of the village). Although the younger generation might not believe in this spirit today, the women whom I interviewed revealed their belief that the *rakonndar* protects the village, and he moves at night in the village through a particular path or way which should not be blocked. Suppose anybody builds a wall that would block this pathway, which the *rakonndar* uses to move around the village, then something terrible is going to happen to that person or any family member. In the village of Cumbeabhath, the *rakonndar* feast is celebrated every year on the hill where a small cross is built which is called in konkani as *raknniya khuris*. *Raknno* means protector and is also called as cowherd. Earlier people from Cumbheabhath took their cattle for grazing on the hill.

Some women are of the view that the beliefs and the life cycle rituals which they follow at birth, marriage, and death are related to their culture. Today most people say we are not following the traditional beliefs and rituals, but when asked about what is the Gawda culture, they mention some of the other traditional beliefs and rituals.

Today when the word culture comes into the picture, the Gawda women think it is only the old people who know about the Gawda culture. Most of them are of the view that Gawda culture is something old, which exists in the minds of the old people. They perceive their culture as only existing in a particular space and in a specific time frame. This space where

culture exists, according to them, is in the minds of the elderly people, and this time frame is the early days where everyone used to follow all the traditional practices.

Although they are part of the same culture, they tend to perceive culture as something which exists externally, outside them and consider them as separate from their culture. Culture for them is only with the elderly people who are in a better position to describe the happenings of the past, and they perceive themselves as people who are ignorant of the past and, therefore, unaware of their culture.

There are Gawda people who acknowledge that they are Gawdas but say that they are unaware of their culture. Some are very proud to say that they are Gawdas and speak about their culture as very important to them. Few totally deny that they are Gawdas.

Now I am going to discuss the voices of the women whom I interviewed. Women are always seen as somebody who is supposed to listen to others, but here I made an attempt to know and hear their voices when I went on researching the Gawda women. I am going to speak about two groups of Gawda women. One group who are performing their cultural dance and the other who are not performing their cultural dance.

Those women who were not performing the dance for commercial purposes were more reluctant to speak about it. When I asked them whether they perform their cultural dance, they said that they are performing but only for Christmas programs at the church and sometimes when the nuns who are in charge of their self-help group take them outside the State for performing the dance. Some said we are not performing the dance at all. While talking to them, I felt that they did not openly want to say that they are Gawdas. They were always reluctant to say that they were Gawdas. Whenever the word Gawdas was uttered, they said that "*Tem poilichem*" (that is olden). They did not want to relate themselves to their identity. The Gawda identity was seen by them as something apart from them. They never said 'we' but talked of

Gawdas as 'they.' They perceived that the Gawdas were their ancestors, and they are something different. Apart from these women, other women said yes, we are Gawdas because we can work better than the others. When somebody calls us Gawdas and discriminates us, we get angry. We know that we are Gawdas, but we do not want others to call us Gawdas.

One woman openly said that '*Gawdi nhu ani ami ani konnu?*' (We are only Gawdas, and who are we?). She also went on to say that Gawdas are lower than the others. She narrated an instance and said if we go to the panchayat for any work, we are kept behind because we are Gawdas. According to her, they, as Gawdas, should show their talents to others that they can dance. The Gawdas are not using their abilities, they are keeping that talent within themselves.

A woman named Veronica said, '*Tem amkam sotaitai, tim ami bhovll matai mhunntai*' (that other caste people are making us suffer. They say that we are shouting). They are not treating us as equals.

Another woman Maria who is doing a government job said that we are Gawdas, but our parish priest has told us not to worship other gods, not to perform *maand* rituals but I go every year to Fatorpa to offer *naal pod* (coconut and flowers) and also oil to *Fatorpikan Saibinn* (deity in the Fatorpa temple) and with this offering I get peace of mind. While speaking of the *Gawda* culture, one woman told that first, the place beside their house was very pure, and she could see a cobra in a particular area, but today the site is polluted.

Those who are performing the dance from the community are very proud and say that they are pleased that they are keeping their culture alive on the other hand those who are not at all performing the dance feel it is ancient and it has to be done only when there are competitions and according to them now there are various other dances which their children prefer.

In some cases, when I went on the field, some voices of the women were not heard as they said that only men are in a better position to answer. This itself shows the dominance of men not only external dominance in terms of holding property, making a decision, but to the extent that they even controlled the thinking of women, which could have been totally different if they were given a chance and opportunity to tell their views and opinions. When I fixed the interview with women in some cases, they arranged for men who could answer.

There were even voices of women saying that we have to behave like Gawdas. They also pointed out to some people who they think are not behaving like Gawdas. They say that Gawdas are poor people, and when anybody financially excels in their career, they opined that their behaviour changes and they do not act like the Gawdas. They feel that Gawda people should not show their wealth and attitude they should be simple and anybody is financially well off and do not mix with the members of the community because he or she is wealthy then he or she is considered to be not a Gawda or somebody not behaving like a Gawda.

When I went for my research work in Quepem those groups who were performing only stage performances and were only performing for the Tribal festival, thought that I had come to invite them for the dance competition, and most of them asked me whether I have come to book them for a dance performance and told me to take them to perform. Most of the groups in Quepem are only performing the stage performances for the festival. Only sometimes they are invited for the Carnival Parade that is held in the Municipal areas. These groups have the wish to perform their dance, but they say that they are not getting the platform where they can perform their dance.

One group mentioned that sometimes the Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) of their constituency invites them to dance whenever he has a function like a birthday at his place. In Quepem, some groups are only doing stage performance. There are many groups which stage their performance for

programs and one group which have performed internationally and are invited mostly for all the programs which are organized by the Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa. Other groups, who perform only once or twice in a year, feel that they should also be invited for programs and stated that they think that they are unfortunate when they are not invited to perform. They sadly lamented that only one group is invited.

I attended one of the programs where the *dhalo, fugdi* performance was staged by women on the open space on the ground. The group which performed internationally was praised by the community member, especially a man who was involved in the Organisation Committee in his speech. He instructed other women to follow the footsteps of the internationally dancing group, and he stated that they are doing the best steps in the dance, and other groups also should learn from them. This also shows the level of competence among the groups. In the interview, it was revealed that only one group is being trained by one man, and there is no one to train other groups. Therefore, no one is inviting them.

One more difference which I noticed in the groups which are performing commercially and non-commercially was that whenever I went to interview the groups which were commercially performing the dance, their children and even their daughters in law always motivated them to sing or to answer the questions. Whereas in the groups who are not performing commercially, their children were not bothered by what was being asked.

There was one more group that was a commercial dance group, which I happened to interview with the intention that it was a Gawda dance group. This was a group of women who were performing their *fugdi* dance at different competitions, and even they performed for the tribal festival in Quepem. They were not Gawdas, but they said now our leader will teach us the Gawda dance, and shortly, they will perform the Gawda dance.

I had also interviewed the Gawda women who were Hindus, and they refer to the Christian Gawdas as Kunbis. Their occupation was agriculture,

and they were growing vegetables and selling the same in the markets of Assolna, Chinchinim, and Cuncolim. They also perform the *fugdi* dance.

Although I have mentioned above that the groups which are performing are very proud of their culture and their children support them, in one interview I came across a woman who is approximately 70 years old who said that if we wear our traditional dress that is *dhentulli* in church for marriage our children and other people do not like it and they say that this dress is not the appropriate dress. This same kind of experience was also shared by the woman who was not performing the traditional dance. She said that when we wear our traditional clothing in the church, people tend to look down upon us.

One woman also narrated her experience in the church when she and her relatives were decorating the church for a marriage in the family. They had used artificial flowers of a particular colour to decorate the church for this marriage, and the priest who happened to walk in commented that this was not a right combination of colours and 'the Gawdas are always using these colours!'. The priest pointed out, saying that they do not know the proper colour combination. These were the cases that were reported by the women who have stopped performing their dance.

In some areas where the Gawdas reside, the priest is against the cultural practices which are performed on the *maand*. While in some places we see priests responsible for the total deterioration of the cultural practices, we also have cases in some other places where priests appreciate the dance and give a boost to the people to perform the dance. Not only the priests, but in some areas, the nuns also take the initiative and form self-help groups, which often gives way to the performance of the cultural dances whenever there are programs. In fact, one of the group members from the dance group of Quepem said that because of the nuns, they were able to come together in the form of a self-help group, and they could stage their traditional cultural performance when there are programs.

I also got the opportunity to go to the area where they perform the *Ghumta Nach*. This dance is performed for the *ross* ceremony one day before the marriage. The parish priest was invited to say the prayers, and the priest did not have any objection against the dance; in fact, he said: “*Anik ek vazop marrai magnnem korche poilim*” (play your musical instruments one more time before the prayers).

Most of the women whom I interviewed were uneducated; others were educated up till 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, and 12th standards. Some among these said that they are housewives, others said that they are agricultural labourers, daily wage labourers, and even one woman who is 12th standard passed was selling vegetables, and she said that she will try for a job but at the same time thought that she earns quite a lot of money by selling vegetables and coconuts. Others, those who were daily wage labourers were earning rupees 250 per day. Some say that they do not get much income from dance because they are performing the dance once or twice a year. Almost all the women who were performing the dance were involved in some occupation or the other for their survival.

All women whom I interviewed were involved in occupations like agriculture, daily wage labourers, working at the other ‘caste peoples’ houses, some were growing vegetable, selling *urak* (cashew feni), selling fish, owning a shop and few were housewives doing productive work at home and also in the agricultural fields. For them, dance was a way to express their talents, a way wherein they socialize with other women and to earn an additional income. Almost all the women were working in the unorganized sector, only two women were holding government jobs, and one was working as a gardener in the water supply department.

In one of the dance groups, there was a girl aged 17 years who used to perform along with her mother, who is a widow. First, when I interviewed the girl's mother, she told me that she is a widow, but after the interview revealed that she is a divorcee. Her mother said that if we perform the dance “*Amcho disvodo suttam*” (we can earn our daily bread). She has built a small house for

her and for her daughter. The girl is doing her nursing course, and by performing the dance, she had saved money and has made a gold finger ring for herself.

One woman shares her experience of being a woman as being always dominated by her husband. She says dancing gives her a sense of freedom from all kinds of daily chaos of household. So this woman not only perceives dance as her culture but at the same time, her knowledge which she gained from her mother about the medicinal plants as very much part and parcel of her culture.

6.3. International Performers Staging their Voice

One of the dance group from Quepem, the women who are not educated but because of their dance they have been able to visit other Indian states for dance performance like Delhi, Rajasthan, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Orissa, Bombay, Jammu and Kashmir, Shimla, Mizoram, Nagpur, Udaipur and also outside the country like Moscow, Russia. According to them, they have performed 100 times outside the state of Goa. They felt proud of telling me that it is because of their dance performance they were able to see all these places. They hold their cultural dance as very prestigious for them in their life, and they say it is because of their *Gawda* dance they have survived and have become popular in the state of Goa.

One women spoke to the extent that just because we are Gawdas we are treated as low but through the traditional *dhalo* and *fugdi* dance and *dhentulli* she has gained fame and respect and to respect her tradition and dance and her *dhentulli* which has been an integral part of her life she has told her sister in law to keep the *dhentulli* in her coffin when she dies. According to her, the Gawda women are hard-working women; therefore, their dance steps are excellent and firm.

This dance group was very suspicious about the people who come to interview them. They said people come to collect information, record our songs, learn the dance steps, and then perform the dance. They were of the view that even if others copy their dance steps, they will not be able to perform like them. They said that some school teachers come to their place to learn the dance steps of their traditional dance to teach their students. Now they say that they have stopped singing and teaching dance steps to others. According to them, they only sing and dance when they are performing. Since I was researching on this group as a part of my work as a research field assistant for the Archives and the Research Centre for Ethnomusicology, American Institute for Indian studies, before registering for Ph.D., they knew me and therefore they agreed to answer the interview. This group performs *dhalo* and *fugdi* performance. In their performance, the women dance, and men play *ghumot* and one woman sing. Whereas in the other groups who locally perform once or twice a year, in some groups one woman sings as well as plays *ghumot*, other groups one-man play *ghumot* and the women dance as well as sing, and even there are few dance groups of women who dance on the accompaniment of a piano.

This is about the groups which are performing their traditional dance in Quepem. Now I will speak of the reactions of the people who are not performing their traditional dance. They feel this dance is an old dance. According to them, this dance has demand only in times of performance for Christmas and whenever there are traditional dance competitions. These people have only preserved their *dhentulli* only for dance performance. Some have burnt the *dhentulli*, and one woman has covered her car with the *dhentulli* of her mother. In Betul when I went to my relative's place, I happened to see the *dhentulli*, which was used as a cover for the bike, and when asked is there any *dhentulli*'s with the women, they said no. This place was not included in my area of study, but when I went to visit my relatives, I saw the *dhentulli*, and I inquired about the *dhentulli*. In this area also there is no dance performance. The woman said since we are not wearing the

dhentulli, we are using it to cover our vehicle. Today in Goa, there is this whole thing wherein the Government of Goa is trying to revive the age-old tradition of the Gawdas and their saree and fabrics, but some Gawda people who have the saree do not value it.

There are various views of women about *dhentulli* and their dance. Some feel their dance is very old and only has to be performed by elderly women. Others think this dance is only meant to be performed when there are traditional dance competitions. There are still others who criticize those who are dancing from the community, and they feel ashamed to reveal their identity as Gawdas. Some are very proud of their tradition because it has given the name, fame, and respect at the same time they are getting an economic benefit from the dance.

6.4. Gawda Women from Velim speak on culture

Some voices from the field were in the form of narratives in which they talked about their old days like one woman angrily spoke and said: “*Gwadiya resped as to tek asa sudrank?*” (Whatever respect we as Gawdas have, the same respect is there for the Shudra people?). She spoke very harshly against the other caste people who have exploited them, saying these people are cursed. She was of the view that God has created the people equally, but men have divided themselves based on their occupation, everyone will die and go then why this exploitation of people. She has preserved one vessel of mud in which her mother was cooking, which is broken. Remembering her old days, she says that in our childhood *Ambil* (which is made of ragi) was always prepared in the Gawda houses.

Another woman named Pasence says that now the Gawdas are ashamed of their work. Today Gawda people have got money, they are not

concerned about their neighbours. In those days, people were united. They were working hard in fields; therefore, they were very healthy.

Next, women Socorrina said that in olden days, people only used to cook rice, curry, vegetables, and *ghodxem* (sweet). They did not know to prepare meat as to how we prepare nowadays. They just used to roast the meat on fire. Now the modern generation does not respect their parents and grandparents. If we dress, they do not like it. Our children say that by wearing the *dhentulli*, we show others that we are Gawdas. They do not want to see us dancing. We being Gawdas do not like our dance, but other people like our dance.

Teodorania Fernandes was of the view that Gawdas used to live a simple life. Gawda women used to wear *dhentulli*, *cholli* (blouse), and wear sleepers. They used to put flowers on their hair. There was a barter system. Women were not allowed to enter the *maand* (sacred space). Nowadays, everything is changed. Our culture is abolished. In the self-help group, the Nuns had taken us to Mangalore and Bombay to perform the dance. We were also performing on women's Day at the office of the Bailancho Ekvott, and each dancer from the group was paid Rs. 200. There was some issue with some members of the group; they assumed that they were given less money and said that now they are not performing. Some Gawda people do not want to avail of the schemes launched by the Government for their betterment because they are scared that others will know their identity that they are Gawdas, and others will call them Gawdas, which they do not like. She revealed that her daughter told her not to dance. She says that now they are modernized; her daughter has changed her life. Her daughter takes her to the parlour, which has helped her to look beautiful, and her daughter's boyfriend is from another caste. This woman perceived that Gawdas are the people who do not dress up appropriately, and she thinks that going to the parlour will help her to deny her identity as Gawdas.

Filizmina Simoes- According to her everywhere she goes, she has to prove that she is a Gawda. She has to produce the caste certificate. Everywhere our identity has to be revealed. She said that the houses of the Gawdas were of mud. They do agricultural work; therefore, everyone comes to know that they are Gawdas, and those who go for other work then their identity as Gawdas is not revealed. She feels ashamed when others call her Gawdas, but, at the same time, she has performed the dance in Mumbai and Mangalore. She performed this dance as a member of the self-help group.

Riva Fernandes- is an educated woman from the Gawda community who feels that now, through education, they have become civilized, but in the past, they did not have any right to talk, but today they are educated, are equal and also aware of their rights. She says that she feels uncomfortable to reveal that she is from Gawda community.

6.5. Language - As an Identifier of Community

Language is an integral part of the community. It is the language through which we communicate with each other at the same time, pass our beliefs and traditional on to the new generation. People speaking a particular language are bound to come together and identify themselves as people belonging to the same community.

In the Gawda community, people speak the Konkani language, which is the official language of Goa, but their dialect is very different from the dialect of other people who are speaking Konkani. People from Goa can identify Goans from different parts of Goa based on their dialect; for example, a person from Mapusa Goa North district speaks to the person from Salcete the South District; each one can come to know that they are from a particular place. In the same way, based on the dialect of the Gawdas, the other community people can identify them.

The language of the Gawdas is always seen as lower than the others. Whenever any person who is not a Gawda speaks loudly, some people say, “*Are tum Gawdi re? Gawdiya bhaxen uloitam*” (Are you a Gawda? you are talking like Gawdas). The society in which the Gawda live perceives them as loud, spoken people. This is only one part of reality. The other fact is that by this perception of other people towards the Gawda people, Gawda people have also become conscious about their talks when they are in groups with their people and other people around them. Sometimes when they talk, they are so conscious that one member will always tell them, please speak slowly, keep quite otherwise other people will say “*Him Gawdi tim Gawdich*” (They are Gawdis).

This is not only the reality among the illiterate people, but the so-called educated people also have the same notion of the Gawdas. Let me explain this with an example one woman who has a maid working in her house who is not a Gawda, but she says that this woman is talking and behaving like Gawdas. There is so much of negativity which is diverted towards the language and especially the dialect which the Gawdas use, that the outcome of this negativity and perceptions of others is such that the Gawdas themselves have internalized these perceptions of other people about themselves. This negative outcome has also made the Gawdas and especially the younger generation that their dialect is not correct, it is low, and they have tried to imitate the words of the other caste people, and they think that it is the proper dialect, but in reality, the upper caste people have kept a hold on the minds of the Gawda people. To subordinate and suppress the Gawdas and tend to show that what they speak is superior and whatever the Gawdas speak is inferior and improper.

Today in the community, a situation has occurred because of these perceptions of others about the Gawdas. Most of the younger generation have completely started talking differently, and most of the time, they correct and laugh at their parents for using certain words that are only used by the

Gawdas. They think that their parents are uneducated, and therefore they talk in this dialect.

It is not only the youngsters, but some women feel that because of education, the Gawdas have been civilized. According to them, they were using words like *Avio* (mother) and *Abb* (father), but now children use words like Mummy and Daddy. The youngsters are of the view that if they use their olden words, their children will be ashamed of them. One woman said that now they are civilized, they have changed their way of speaking and no one comes to know whether they are Gawdas or not based on their dialect. She pointed out that in the neighbouring village where there are Gawda people, if they talk, people come to know that they are Gawdas.

Some of the difference in the words which the older Gawda generation use and the younger generation use:

Terms used by	
Younger Gawda Generation	Older Gawda Generation
<i>Lok</i> (people)	<i>Nok</i>
<i>Ladu</i>	<i>Nadu</i>
<i>Lol</i> (stupid)	<i>Nol</i>
<i>Chal go</i> (Start walking)	<i>Chomk gho</i>
<i>Kam Kor</i> (Do your work)	<i>Vaur kor</i>
<i>Suri</i> (Knife)	<i>Piskat</i>
<i>Ami Noko</i> (we do not know)	<i>Am Nonai</i>

There are several other words, but I am not going in detail with these words. Infact, when I went for my fieldwork, I happened to meet two young college going girls whose reactions were “Are you researching on Gawdas? These old people use that old language which we do not know, and we are ashamed when they talk to others”. They said that old people perform all these

rituals, which they do not attend. In my view, these girls could understand each and every word from the community, but because of the perception of other people towards their language being inferior, they were ashamed, to tell the truth, and were talking like other caste people including the modulation of the voice. I can say this because I am also a member of the same community, and I can clearly know who the Gawda is and who is not even if they try to hide it from me.

The language of the Gawdas, as I have spoken above, is considered as low, but now through their songs, the words which are used in the song are seen as the appropriate language when it comes to the performance of the dance for the purpose of entertainment. The same dialect, the words which are used by the Gawdas, are seen as very important and their music for the purpose of entertainment. There are two extremes of the dialect when it is used or spoken by the people at the grassroots level it is considered as inappropriate taking into consideration the dialect of the other caste people, but when the same dialect of the Gawdas is used in songs for dances it is seen as very appropriate, and the people do get entertained and appreciate the songs and dance.

Here at these two levels, on one hand where their dialect is seen as inferior and on the other side where their songs are seen as a superior form of entertainment. These are the rules made by the so-called others the high caste people. The dialect of the Gawdas is appreciated and discarded according to the wishes of the other people. The Gawdas themselves have accepted this different notion of the other community people of when their dialect is appropriate and where it is not suitable for them to use their dialect. This impact of the non-appropriate dialect have a negative effect on the minds of the Gawda people especially the younger generation who deny their identity as Gawdas and sometimes the members of the community themselves have left their traditional culture of singing and dancing because they are made to think

that it is something uncivilized, but those Gawda people who are performing the dance are very proud of their dialect, their songs, and their culture.

6.6. Researcher's Voice

My voice as a women researcher from the same community- field exposure was an outstanding experience for me as I could know the views of my community members that are the Gawda women. I think being a women researcher from the community gave me a better chance to communicate with the women freely. Apart from this, there were various notions that were perceived by women about me. When I went into the field, most of the women thought I was a government employee who has come to inform or brief them about the government scheme. Secondly, the commercially performing dance group members felt that I came to invite them for the performance so much, so they told me that they will reduce the rates of the performance for me since I am from the community. Women started talking freely and comfortably when they came to know that I am from the same community.

Thirdly in some places, women said why you want to do research about Gawda women. What you are going to do by studying. Some of my relatives who were women said: "If you are going on studying when you are going to get married?" One woman even said that she can fix my marriage, and in their wards, there are many good boys. It might be a concern of the people towards me, but as a researcher, I feel most of the Gawda women are being socialized from the beginning that a woman is only meant to do household work and not to study much. They think that education can be a barrier in marriage in the Gawda community because the more you are educated, there are fewer chances of you being getting a suitable mate. Let me also reveal the other side of the reality in one area one man told the women from the community that they should be like me studying and not always

feeling shy and he appreciated me for doing a Ph.D. but overall in the community now we find most of the girls giving importance to education.

6.7. Role of the church

The Christian church played a significant role in the Gawda culture, mainly those Gawdas who follow Christianity. From the beginning, the church always intervened in the cultural matters of the Gawdas. Some priests in few villages insisted that the performance of the dance at the *maand* that is the sacred space for the Gawdas should be stopped. According to them, by doing rituals at the *maand*, the Christian that is the Gawdas are going against the first commandment of Christianity that is we shall bow in front of only one God. The priests consider this as evil practices.

This sacred space was used for the performance of the rituals, such as there was the lighting of the *maulam*, a lamp, and the dance performances with the accompaniment of musical instruments like drums, *ghumot*, *Kansallem* were held at this place.

As per the information in places like Cumbheabhatt, Assolna, and Ambelim, only men were allowed to enter the *maand*. Women were not allowed to enter this space. If they were watching the performance, they had to watch them from a distance. In Cumbheabhatt, Assolna, and Ambelim, the church has been very powerful in stopping the *maand* rituals of the Gawdas and made people believe that the *maand* rituals are evil practices. Today inspite of praying at *maand*, there have been small chapels which have come up at the *maand* places and at the time of Carnival the prayers which were done on *maand* and now been performed in front of the chapels.

In places like Quepem, it is women who dance the *dhalo* at the *maand* and in front of the house of the *mandkar*. In Quepem, although the church

insists on the vanishment of these practices, people still perform at the *maand*. One woman from Quepem, who is the leader of the dance group, says other people have left their ritual practices because the priests told them, but we cannot we have to perform them because if we do not perform '*Amkam boreak podna*' (We do not prosper). Although the priests have stopped people from going to temples and told them to stop offering flowers and coconut women from Cumbheabhatt says that she cannot stop. If she does not offer flowers and coconuts to Faterpekann *Saibinn*, she becomes mentally ill.

This is in terms of the dances performed at the *maand*. These same dances, when performed at the church for competition as folk dances, are seen as appropriate. They are appreciated by the people as folk dances of Goa. This year there was a tribal cultural program of making all traditional things in Nuvem, which was held in the Church premises. At one *Ghumtacho nach* performance where a priest was called for prayers at the time of ross ceremony. He encouraged the dancers to dance. For folk dance competition, the dress of the Gawda community is seen as very valuable, and it is worn by the members of the other community also, but whenever the Gawdas wear the Kapod at church, they are seen as uncivilized and out of fashion. This view is not only popular among the members of the other community members, but it is also prevalent among the members of the Gawda community. To support my statement, there is an example of a woman who told me that when she wears the *kapod* at the church for marriage, people tell her that this is not an appropriate dress for the wedding.

It is not only church and the other members of the other community who disapprove the culture of the Gawdas. It is also the members of the Gawda community themselves in the case of the younger generation who disapprove of the culture of the Gawdas. There is a difference among the youth regarding their views about their community. Firstly from the place where there are no commercial dance performances or no dance groups, the youth and even people from this place see their culture as disappropriate and

lower and inferior to others. In areas like Quepem, Nuvem, and Verna, where there are dance groups and especially women dancers, they tend to see their culture as appropriate and more valuable than others. The youth in these places, mostly those who join the dance group, especially young girls, tend to know the value of their culture. In Quepem, the revival of the tribal culture through Tribal festival has given a boost to the Gawda culture and the way they see and value their culture; at the same time, there are many more in these areas who still see their culture as inferior. Whereas in places like Cumbheabhatt, there is total vanishment of the culture, but at the same time, they deny their identity as Gawdas at the grassroots level, but as an administrative category of Schedule tribes, some take benefit of their status but hide their status as Gawdas.

By denying their identity, some Gawdas tend to think that they have become like others that is the process of Sanskritization, a concept coined by M.N. Srinivas wherein the people of the lower castes imitate the culture of the high caste. Although this research is about the tribal people; this pattern of sanskritization is seen among these communities. They think as they become like others, their identity or the label of the Gawdas will be removed. However, the region where they live itself becomes their evidence of being Gawdas. Some people try hard not to be identified as Gawdas, but the ground reality is that they still remain Gawdas and not others.

6.8. Preservers of the Gawda Culture

Women are the sole preservers and continuers of the Gawda culture. They are the one who has helped in the transmission of the culture. In this patriarchal society, although men have always placed themselves in the realm of superior and in a dominant position, it is women who are mainly responsible for the cultural survival of the Gawdas. When I say this, I do not

undermine the role played by men in upholding their culture. With due respect to men who have worked for the survival and the revival of the Gawda culture, my intention here is to highlight the role of the women in preserving the so-called Gawda culture.

It is imperative to be noted that Gawda women, even in the subordinate position at the hands of the male members and also as Gawda women being marginal, always worked to carry forward their culture. When I say culture, it is not only the dance, songs, and dress.

The dress of the Gawda women is being given importance. All cultural aspects that the Gawdas identify themselves as, for example, the mud pot, the hand mill all these cultural aspects were used by women. Even take, for instance, the broom which is made from palmed leaves it is made by women. The sweet dishes of the Gawdas are prepared by women. So although all these things are made by women, they are allotted the status of homemakers. It is vital to note that, but these things, the women make are the part of the cultural aspects of the Gawdas, so indeed, it is women who are to be credited for the culture of the Gawdas.

Then comes the dance, in most of the dance performances it is men who play the musical instruments and women dance or sing. Without the dancing of the women the performance is not complete. Without women being dressed in the traditional *kapod*, the dance is not a kunbi dance than who are the essential components of the culture of the Gawdas.

Women, although played an essential role as the preservers of the culture their role was never brought to the forefront. Women were only seen as homemakers, and their cultural role in the culture of the Gawdas was not brought to the forefront. With no education or less education and most other opportunities denied to women, they still are the main components of the Gawda culture not only the portrayed state Gawda culture, not only Gawda men made and shown culture but also what they perceive as Gawda culture.

Photo No. 6.41: Gawda women performer in the village of Ambelim



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (26 January 2019)

The above image somewhat contradicts the other essentialist images of the Gawdas. This image depicts the dress of the Gawda women, but the way she posed for a photograph by wearing sunglasses shows a new dimension to the attire of the Gawdas.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IN CONCLUSION

Gawdaisation of Goa: Using Gawda Cultural Icons in the Imaging of Goa

Scholars who have discussed the culture of Goa have used the binary images of Goa *Dourada* (Golden Goa) (Alvares 2002:206; D'Souza 2008) and Goa *Indica* (Ifeka 1985; Newman 1988). The image of Goa *Dourada*, glorified by travellers as 'the Rome of the East', was marked by Portuguese culture and western civilization. The second perspective, namely that of Goa *Indica* coined by the British anthropologist Caroline Ifeka, emphasized India's contribution to Goan identity. What this thesis has brought to light is a third perspective which is the 'Gawdaisation of Goa', where the identity of Goa is influenced by Gawda icons of dress, dance and song. We have discussed in the earlier Chapters how Gawda dress, dance and songs now represent Goan identity be it on a carnival float or an exhibit for the Serendipity Arts Festival, souvenirs for the International Film Festival, coffee-table books on Goa, calendars, festivals in educational institutions and public entertainment.

Rojek has argued that culture is a 'ruling class possession' and while the non-elite might also have their culture, the culture of the non-elite is considered to be 'inferior' (2007:6). Contrary to this position, this thesis points to the cultural icons of the Gawda community, a community that is mostly landless labourers, often treated and made to feel like they belong to the lowest strata of the society, which has become the culture of Goa. The Portuguese rule for almost 451 years tried to abolish Gawda cultural forms and prohibited different practices of the people relating to the social and cultural lives (Desouza 2000). Despite a repressive regime during the colonial rule in

Goa, the people of Goa and here, in this case, the Gawda community, irrespective of their religion have retained their cultural symbols, retained cultural forms namely dress, songs and dance which are now markers of Goan culture. Pereira argues that ‘the development of the tourism industry facilitated the establishment of folklore groups and traditional dances and music was objectified as genuine culture and a sign of the ‘Gauddes’ and Goa’s authenticity’ (Pereira 2014: 99). However, this thesis has shown that while the tourism industry and the need for the hard-selling of the culture of Goa may have given some impetus to the uses of Gawda icons, the critical role that Gawda dress, dance and songs play in the identity of Goa today cannot be denied.

Routledge (2000:2651) talking about Golden Goa says that ‘historically, official Goan culture has tended to be represented as that of the Catholic upper-caste elites, being symbolised by the state’s Portuguese architecture, and the food, dress, and leisured lifestyle of the elites’. Also, talking about the Goa *Dourado* image of Goa, Perez (2011:3) comments that ‘these representations turned out to cement individuals and groups in post-colonial Goa and ...the Indian government trying to make the most of the exoticism springing from Goa’s Portuguese past’. While we do not deny the role that the ‘exotic other’ image has played in Indian cinema for example, as this thesis has focussed on Gawda dress, dance and song, we can only stress on the Gawdaisation of Goa through the uses of Gawda icons in the imaging of Goa and Goan identity.

According to Newman (2019:41-42), it was the culture of upper-caste that is the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas which was idealized as ‘Goan Culture’ and that the culture of the majority of the population that is the lower-castes consisting of farmers, fishermen, toddy tappers, craftsmen, tenant cultivators and labourers was considered as folk culture. Yet this thesis on the ‘Gawdaisation of Goa’ has pointed to the fact that the culture of the marginalised, exploited, subordinated people, namely the Gawda community is influential in producing the identity, symbols and culture of Goa. Bourdieu

has cautioned personal perceptions and the influence of dominant ways of seeing the world by those possessing dominant power (Robbins 2007:143). This research has taken this caution warning seriously by focussing on the inclusion of the voices of the less dominant section even within the Gawda community, namely the perspective of women.

The Gawdaisation of Goa is a new theoretical perspective of looking at culture and contributes to filling the gap in knowledge, namely about the contribution of the Gawda community in framing the identity of Goa. This research will help the community in emancipating themselves and hopefully help the community to look at their culture with pride and not with shame. The concept of Gawdaisation we hope will 'remove the cultural hierarchies that tend to divide social science practice into theoretical Brahmins and empirical Shudras' which Gopal Guru commented while discussing *Egalitarianism and the Social Sciences in India*, in which he urged that Dalits need theory as an inner necessity (Guru 2012:27-28).

7.1. What does it mean to be a Gawda?

In Section 1.3 of Chapter One we discussed the inclusion of tribes in the Scheduled list in 2003 and that Kunbi and Gawda communities have been listed as two distinct communities, however, in Chapter Three we have shown that community members themselves often refer to the communities as Kunbi-Gawda. The dance of the Kunbi-Gawda community has generally been referred to as the Kunbi dance as also the *dhentulli* is popularly referred to as the Kunbi saree.

'*Tumi Gawdiya bhaxen bob kiteak martai*' (Why are you shouting like Gawdas?). This expression is used in Goa by people from outside the Gawda community to mean you are talking rudely and loud, without being civil. This is commonly the way we are used to being treated or being talked about, as a

member of the Gawda community. The sad reality is that most Gawda people are so intimidated by people from outside the community that they never talk in a raised voice outside the community. 'Behaving like a Gawdi' is often used in Goa to mean someone who is behaving badly. Is it that the Gawda people do not talk properly? Do Gawda people behave poorly?

Stereotyped notions about the Gawdas are that they talk too loudly, do not dress up appropriately, have no manners, they eat too much and that they are uneducated. So the Gawda community has been stereotyped in a negative way. Negative stereotyped notions of the Gawdas have led to Gawdas holding inferior impressions of themselves and a low self-image. Some Gawda women themselves, when speaking about Gawda women in general, perceive them to be older women, shabbily dressed up, those who know about their old traditions, and those who wear the traditional dress *dhentulli*. These are the reactions of some women about whom they call Gawda women. Some Gawda women say that we are poor, and therefore we are Gawdas. We are Gawdas because we do not have an education, we dress differently from others, and we work at other people's home.

Here I would like to reveal the reality which I found out while I was interviewing a young college going student from the Gawda community. She said that when there are schemes for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, students are called into the college office and are explained about the schemes. In that meeting, she said she was shocked to see a girl who was very fashionable in her attire yet belonging to the Scheduled Tribe community. Through this instance, I am also exposed to another important reality that Gawda people themselves have a notion that they have to maintain certain limits while dressing. This perspective of the Gawda people matches the perspective of the other people who are not Gawdas, who are very suspicious about the dressing of the Gawdas and openly show their discontentment over their modern dressing.

Further, when the Gawdas tries to mix up with people from outside the community, for example, at the church, the non-Gawdas feel ashamed of them

and do not mix easily. So here, we discuss three perspectives of looking at the Gawdas that is; 1) the perspective of the Gawdas identifying themselves, 2) the way the other people look at them, and 3) the way Gawda community looks at others from their own community.

This thesis has shown that the culture of the Gawda community, which is made to feel like it belongs to the lower strata of the Goan society, is the culture that is used to image Goa. At the grassroot level, these people are looked down upon by the other people, but when it comes to the identity of Goa, this community's dress, dance and songs are promoted as the Goan identity and culture. Symbols are part of the real world, and they function as effectively (that is material) in western societies as well as in exotic settings (Herzfeld 2008:143). The symbols of the Gawda community become very important in the Goan scenario for the formation of identity of Goa.

While speaking about feminism and cultural studies Balsamo (1991:56) states that 'feminism literary studies and feminist cultural studies are equally preoccupied with the discursive construction of identity and subjectivity, and what might be called the politics of representation' and this is true with the state of Goa where there is politics of representation and debates among authors as to which correct image of Goa that can be used to portray Goa to the world outside. At the local level, the Gawdas are seen as uncivilized, but when it comes to their dress, dance and songs, these are used as the identity of Goa. This is despite the controversy that exists even within the Gawda community about these icons of culture. The *dhentulli*, for example, which makes its way at the various festivals as a mark of identity of Goa, has been for many Gawda women a symbol of discrimination. Yet an undoubted reality is that the dress of the Gawda community is vital for the cultural heritage of Goa.

The symbols of the Gawda community act as the significant aspects of the Gaon culture and thus become the most important symbols of the Goan culture and identity. What is essential to be noted is that today, there is the Gawdaisation of Goa, which cannot be denied. As far as the songs of the

Gawdas are concerned, there are only few songs the community themselves brings to the limelight outside the community for public consumption. There are other songs like marriage songs that are personalized and preserved by the Gawdas.

7.2. Limitations of the Study

This study of the Gawda community only was the study done among the Christian Gawda community. It did not cover all the Gawdas from Goa.

The ideas people hold dear to them from the beginning of their upbringing the so-called the learned culture is distorted by the notions of the other people's gaze which from time and time exerts pressure on the individual of a particular group to behave in a specific way which is seen superior to theirs. It is this external constraint over the individual, which makes one believe that there are superior and inferior cultures. The individual from a tribal community is made to think that their culture is inferior.

Over the years people who are made to believe that their culture is inferior, imbibe or internalize this concept of being inferior and try to move away from the customs, rituals and the behavior which are considered to be inferior. In this way, there is disintegration of culture and results in changes in a particular culture. So, although the process of socialization acts as a vital force to transmit the culture to the members of a specific cultural group. This process of socialization with the members of the other group then brings changes in the culture of one's own group.

In the Gawda culture, particularly a few aspects like dance and the dress, are essentialized as the markers of Gawda identity to promote Goa's tourism or for commercialization of the Gawda culture. Two types of commercialization. Firstly, Gawda people using their cultural aspects for the purpose of commercialization, and secondly, other people, meaning non-

tribals using the cultural forms of the Gawdas and using them for commercial purposes.

As a researcher when I went to the Department of Tourism to find out how they promoted tourism in Goa and asked them whether they have any brochures in which they promote Goa's tourism or portrayal of the *Gawda* culture, they said they used to print the images of the Kunbi dance, but now they do not have any record of those brochures. One staff who was dealing with the advertisements said that she had taken all the brochures at home and burnt them and now they do not have any records.

In defining what Gawda culture is, members of the Gawda community living in different areas of Salcete and in Quepem taluka have different perceptions about their culture. There are also different perceptions of what is Gawda culture for the non-Gawdas and different perceptions within the state of Goa on what is Gawda culture. Before defining the opinions of people about their culture, I would like to point out the two groups, that of essentialists and anti-essentialists, as stated by Narayan (1998:92). The group of essentialists see culture as they were naturally given, not changing entities that exist distinct and separate in the world. The other group called anti-essentialists argue that instead of seeing the centrality of values, practices, and traditions as given, they argue that there is a need to trace the historical and political processes by which these values are constructed and how they become the main components of a particular culture. When we look at the portrayal of the Gawda culture by the state, we can see that the dominant group, the minority decides about the essential cultural components of the marginal people to be portrayed to the outside world.

Culture has been defined in the social sciences in different ways. According to Upadhyay and Pandey (1993), some anthropologists regard culture to be subjective as it is followed and practiced by the people from their subjective perspective.

We have already discussed how studying culture by an outsider is always considered as a constraint as they study culture of the 'other' from the perspective of ethnocentrism. This runs a risk of producing a biased account of the culture which they are studying. In researching my own society this hurdle has not been faced.

One more critical concept which poses a threat to the study culture is cultural relativism. According to this any society's culture has to be examined objectively and has to be understood concerning that society which is under the scope of the study, but for a researcher, it becomes challenging because what is happening, in reality, is one thing and when it is written and interpreted it becomes a cultural construct. When as an insider I experience culture it is different to my role as a researcher. When I write about the Gawda culture I run the risk of constructing culture. It does not mean that I am constructing the reality but I am constructing a meaning that can be understood by the outside community of what I have understood as an insider about culture. It reveals the field reality which is not constructed by me but which has articulated a meaning of a reality created and deep-rooted in the mind set of the individuals for whom this is cultural 'reality'.

7.3. Self Reflexivity

As I began researching what role culture had in the lives of the people, I was confused at first as to how to go about approaching people and asking them what is meant by culture and the place of culture in their life. I begin to question myself too about culture. By reading various books on culture, the meaning of culture, as I have described above, the information given by different authors was in fact complicated. It was not easy understanding this concept - culture. But as I began reflecting on what culture meant to me as a person from a particular community who went on researching as an insider of the community things became clearer. This study for me is bringing to the

external world an insider-insight into the interiors. By interiors I mean internal aspects of the lives of the Gawda people, especially women.

As an insider, I agree I had more advantages of gaining knowledge about the community, but as a researcher researching the community sometimes made it difficult. The experiences shared by Nongri (2017: 327) ‘while my closeness to the field helped me in significant ways in collecting my data, it also often put me in a problematic situation’, was similar in my experience. On the one hand, as a community member I was accepted by the community but being a researcher researching the community, with the young, I was placed in a different zone of - knowledgeable knowing it all, that there is no requirement to gain any further insight as they assumed I was already bestowed with the privilege of expertise. Then, on the other hand, the seniors in the community would on occasion tell me who I should talk to and what I should do.

As a researcher, I thought in the beginning that being an insider there might be absolutely no issues in dealing with the complex issues of culture and identity as I too belong to the same community but to my surprise being an insider posed a lot of questions about why I was studying only culture and identity and that too taking into consideration chiefly the point of view of women.

7.4. Encounter with Culture in Reality

Usually understanding ambiguous cultural theories from texts is a difficult task. For me as a researcher, understanding the texts was much easier as compared to the understanding of the existence of culture in the field, particularly when reflecting on the text one finds that what happens in the field is entirely a different reality.

Although being an insider and that too a woman from the community, it could be an easier task in having a discussion about culture. It seems more comfortable, but when I ventured into this process of an understanding culture from the standpoint of women, there were various kinds of encounters and hurdles I faced. Firstly culture being a privilege of knowledge only stored with certain people of the community, and that is the so-called men.

Here when I encounter this reality that anything about culture is mostly the men privilege, and women are just mere representatives of that culture. When asked about the cultural aspects of life, women always pointed out to men as the narrators of the cultural aspects of the community. To this, there is one more reality which I encountered when man who belongs to the community and is being considered the knowledgeable person to tell about the culture said about culture that elderly women will be better able to explain the Gawda culture and when approached the elderly women as referred by this man they said that man has knowledge we have already narrated our culture to him. Both the former and the latter incidences happened in the community of the Gawdas but in two different places. So although the tribal culture is characterized as a homogeneous culture in the state of Goa the way people thought of narrating their culture differed.

In another case, when women were asked about their culture, they mentioned the names of the elderly women and said that those elderly women will be able to tell you what is Gawda culture. I remember one woman middle-aged took me to a woman who was very sick and almost bedridden and told me to ask her about Gawda culture. I felt sympathy for her that she is ill and to get the information I had to disturb her. The woman who took me to her loudly in her ears said one girl is come to ask you something tell her. She replied in her feeble voice, "*Bai jiva borem disna*" (I am not feeling well). In this case, although the woman belongs to the Gawda culture, she perceived culture as being something that is known by elderly women.

Gawda people hold many things as their cultural symbols. These symbols are in the form of material things. Sometimes the people are not using

those symbols or elements, but still, they identify themselves as close to those things, and it creates a sense of belongingness to the community. Most of the members of the community say that agricultural tools like sickle, *horem*, the kind of food they prepare or used to prepare like (*pez, ambhil, folantlem tor, karem nustem, pinagr*), dress, earthen pots, vessels, bamboo mats, the type of agricultural work, knowledge of medicinal plant, growing of vegetables, the *randhon, dhantem* (hand mill), bamboo baskets known as *pidleo, handdo* in which they boil rice, *dholo, dhai, vatti, pett*, as their cultural symbols.

Among all the things described by the Gawdas as their symbols of culture, only a few things are essentialized as their cultural aspects and also portrayed as the culture of Goa. The cultural symbols which belong to the Gawda community and which are represented as the symbols of the community are dress, dance, and to some extent, the songs of the community. These symbols of the Gawdas are being portrayed as the cultural symbols of Goa, and they are packaged as the culture of Goa for the commercial purpose.

7.5. Shifting of Roles and Dilemmas about my identity

At the time of the fieldwork mainly for the dance performance, I had to shift my role from just an observer of the event to a participant observer. Desouza (2017:352) also makes a point saying that “ During some of the public meetings and programs organized by Bailancho Saad, I was only an observer, while at the other times I was a participant observer.” Here I want to bring in that sometimes when I went to observe the dance performance both onstage and on the floor. The former being the stage performance in the Christmas program at other places apart from their village and the latter being the performance which takes place one day before the wedding at night in their own village. For most of the parts of these performances I was just an observer observing the performance, but sometimes I was called by my respondents to dance along with them.

Although I danced and learned a few steps from them as a member of the community participating in the performance, I reflect on myself as being from the community, but at the same time, it gave me a feeling that being from the community I am not like them in terms of performance because I come from a community of Gawdas where there was no performance. So although I belong to the community, I could not relate myself as a member of the community while performing. I could not dance the way my respondents could dance. In this sense, as a member of the community I had a sense of belongingness to the community, but at the same time whenever I was involved as a participant-observer in the performances, I was in a way detached from the performance as I did not as a member of the community performed the dance before.

I also had this dilemma of insider and outsider although I was an insider to the community I was researching, but at the same time somewhere I felt that I belong to the community, but in terms of the heterogeneity of the tribes I felt that I belonged to the other *Gawda* community which was different from the communities I was researching of course in terms of geographical distance and also in terms of the views of the people about their culture. Collins (1990:xi) uses the concept of an outsider- within. This concept refers to the experiences of being part of the community but, at the same time, set apart because of the personal attribute.

While doing this study I always felt reading the works which were done by the people who were not belonging to the community and there was not much available literature on the community written by members from the own community. In this case, all the works which are in the central discourse are the works not from the community members. This has always given a view from a different perspective.

Writing a Ph.D. in English was very difficult for me as my first language is Konkani, and that too, I am comfortable writing in Romi script. Tribes have been studied by researchers from the outsiders' perspective. They as outsiders lacked the insights which I had access to as an insider and the

member of the community studying one's own society as Chaudhury states that 'every culture is unique for its members and it should be looked into or studied from the insider's perspective' (Chaudhury 2015:158).

Studying one's own society has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is because you are from the community, an insider who will get valuable insights but there are also disadvantages associated with studying one's own society for example although I belong to the Gawda community being educated sometimes puts me in the position where my respondents place me in a higher position as being knowing everything about the culture. Another important thing which I need to make a mention to is about my identity of being Gawda women from the community. Some men make me think that you are a woman, and you should be dealing with household work and not studying culture, which is the domain of men. In the community itself, it is the women who are the carriers of their culture from one generation to another, but always it is seen that the so-called men know more about culture.

Although there are disadvantages attached to studying one's own society, there is a need to minimize the disadvantages as suggested by Srinivas in his essay 'Some Thoughts on the study of One's Own Society'. 'It is evident, however, that a sociologist engaged in the study of his own society enjoys advantages as well as disadvantages, and pedagogically it is very important to ensure that the disadvantages are minimized while the advantages are retained'(Srinivas, 2009:161).

Although my study was on the Gawda women, and my respondents were women who show me sometimes as one among them at one time and sometimes placed me in a different zone as not being one among them and educated on one hand and on the other hand men who were an interference in the interviews when women told me something they interrupted them and said "*Ago ug rav, texem nhu tem*" (please keep quiet, your answer is wrong) and they stayed entirely silent. This inturn, leads me to state that although women have so many views and opinions about their culture, men always show their power, and this is because of the patriarchal system and also because they

have an attitude that they know much more than women. In some cases, the silence of women is to the extent that they have imbibed in themselves that they do not know anything. According to them, men know more than them. These power relations, which work at grassroots level distort knowledge and at the same time does not give space to the voices of the women.

Culture cannot be detached from humans, as Archer (1989:72-73) states, “In other words ‘culture’ should never be detached from human ‘agency’. It is neither a floating property which becomes possessed through internalization nor is it a property created by one group which then possesses others through incorporation.”

As stated by Srinivas (2009:165) that by conducting fieldwork in an alien or a different segment of one’s own society, a researcher is in a better position to study his own society. This is a plus point for me as I was working as a field research assistant for the Archives and the Research Center for Ethnomusicology; I had worked among the *Gawda* community not only in my village but also in other parts of Goa, to record the songs, transcribe and translate them. I had also done recordings of the *Mando*, which is an elite form of entertainment. So this makes me in a better position to study my own *Gawda* community.

7.6. Self Reflexivity on being a *Gawda* woman through Poems

As said by Abbott and Wallace (1990: 211) that it is essential to reveal one’s experiences and feelings, and also we should accept the validity of our own experiences as women. Taking this point into consideration while discussing self-reflexivity, there is a strong need to make a mention of my poems, which were released on youtube in the course of my Ph.D. work. It is my expression of being a *Gawda* woman and my sense of coming out of this discrimination, which I went through. Following are my poems that explain

my reflexivity of being a Gawda woman, and writing and narrating these poems gives me a sense of relief.

Poem 1

***Hanv Mhonnem Vo tuvem kelem Mhonnem? - Am I dumb,or
you have made me dumb?***

By Mozinha Fernandes

Kitea bhita uloi gho

Konnak uloun dikoi tgho

Kantar mhunnpa konna zalear stager

Kitea ghelem gho?

Uloumch ani aye kitem?

Tuim kele mhak monne

Sangoch ani aye kitem?

Tughe tuim hor kelem

Mhunta mhaka uloi

Tuka zai tem uloi

Punn ulolear hanvem

Tuka dischem nam bore

Tuka dischem na mhunn bore

Hanv ug ravlear bore

Hanv ug ravlear bore

Hanv ug ravlear bore

Mhunnon hanv zal mhonnem

Vo tuk hanv uloilo disnam borem

Mhunn tuvem kelem mhaka Monnen?

Why you are afraid to speak?

Whom you are showing your attitude

If you do not know to sing

Why you went on stage

What should I talk?

You made me dumb

What should I say?

You did what was convenient to you

Telling me to speak

Whatever I want to speak

But if I speak

You will not like

Because you will not like what I speak

It's better for me to keep quite

Thinking that it's better if I don't speak

I became dumb

Or it's because you don't like me to speak

You made me dumb?

Poem 2

Discrimination

By Mozinha Fernandes

Jivit mhojem ek fulla sarkem

Dhukoun mhaka tumi bhavoilem

Kelem mhaka tumchea hatachem bhavlem

Tumkam zai toxem mhaka poi nachoilem

Hoi mhaka tumi bhavoilem

Hoi mhaka tumi rodoilem

Discrimination hoi discrimination

Zata poi tem discrimination

Anik sonsunk zaina tem discrimination

Tuka zai toxem tum korta

Punn mhaka kiteak adaita

Somazant mhaka fullum di

Tumchem bhaxen mhaka jivu di

Hoi mhaka fullum di

Hoi mhaka jieum di

Discrimination hoi discrimination

Zata poi tem discrimination

Anik sonsunk zaina tem discrimination

Naka mhaka tem discrimination

Jivench astana marpi discrimination

Mhaka naka, hoi mhaka naka tem discrimination

Discrimination hoi discrimination

Zata poi tem discrimination

Anik sonsunk zaina tem discrimination

This, my life, is like a flower
Under your pain how it withers!
In your hands I'm just a doll
As per your whims, you make me dance.
Oh yes, you make me wither,
Oh yes, you make me weep.
Discrimination, yes, discrimination,
What is happening is discrimination.
No more can I suffer this discrimination.
You do as you please,
But why, then, stop me?
Let me flower!
Let me live, just like you!
Yes, let me blossom,
Let me live.
Discrimination, yes, discrimination,
What happens is discrimination.
No more can I suffer this discrimination.
No, I don't want this discrimination!
It kills me with every breath, this discrimination,
It's not for me, this discrimination
Discrimination, this discrimination!

What happens is discrimination,
No more can I suffer this discrimination.

Poem 3

Hanv Koichem - Where am I from?

By Mozinha Fernandes

Hanv Koichem

Ago Bai Are baba

Konnak sang naka hanv

Mhunn Gawdiyachem

Lok hanstolo sangot zalear

Hanv mhunn hea castachem

Hench hanvem uloupachem ani aikopachem

Sang gho sang re

Anik hanvem ketem korpachem?

Ghora bospachem

Xetan vochpachem?

Kai xekpachem

Ghora bhoslear bekar

Xetan ghelear vepar

Ani xiklear?

Xikun kitem zatlem

Ho vichar

Teacher zalear boro zatlo fuddar

Hem mhunnop soglleanchem

Pun tuka distam gho, tuka distam re

Xikpann asa mhunn fuddar

Xiklear lok mhunnta tuvem anik kiteak xikpachem

Baravi korun jobak lagpachem

Teacher zalear lokanchem prasn sabra

Koslem kam, koi, kitem, konnak xikoitam

Hench kai hanvem sangpachem

Sangun sangun ailo bejar

Koslo kai ho somaz

Kitem ghai mhozo fuddar

Sodun dhi fuddarachem

Atam jivit mhojem koslem

Dukhachem vo sukhachem

Hem khub motvachem

Xiklear hany bekar

Xikna zalear bitem ani naal

Anik hanvem kitem sangpachem

Hany hea somazachem

VO hany koichem

Where am I from?

Ago bai, Arre baba
Don't tell anyone that I
Am a *Gawda*
People laugh when they are told
I belong to Gawda Community
Yes-No, Keep Quiet, Sit-Stand
This is all I say and hear
Tell me bai, tell me baba
What else am I to do?
Sit at home?
Go to the fields?
Or should I learn something?
When I sit at home, I am useless
When in the fields, I am useful
But when I study?
What's the use of learning?
This thought!
If I become a teacher, my future will be good
This is what everyone says
But can you see bai, can you see baba
In learning is there a future for me?
If I study people ask me how much more will you learn?
Finished twelfth, now get a job

I've become a teacher and the questions are many...

What work do you do, where, who do you teach?

This have I to say

I'm supposed to answer only these questions

Answering these I'm frustrated

What society is this?

What lies for me ahead?

Oh, forget the future!

How is my life now?

Sad or happy?

This is of utmost importance

After my studies, I sit idly

Empty as a dried coconut

What more can I say?

Am I from this society?

Where am I from?

Poem 4

Jivit - Life

By MozinhaFernandes

Tujem tuka mhojem mhaka

Itlo dharun zaum naka

Tujem tuka mhojem mhaka

Mhojem vatter evum naka

Tujem tuka mhojem mhaka

Mhozo sumar korinaka

Tujem tuka mhojem mhaka

Mhozo xirap gheum naka

Tujem tuka mhojem mhaka

Portun sangtam tuka

Tujem tuka mhojem mhaka

Mhozo rag vadoinaka

Tujem tuka mhojem mhaka

Hoch upkar kor mhaka

Your life for you, and my life for me

So rude, be not

Your life for you, and my life for me

In my way, please come not

Your life for you, and my life for me

Size me up, you do not

Your life for you, and my life for me

My curse, you take not

Your life for you, and my life for me

Again I tell you

Your life for you, and my life for me

My rage, increase not

Your life for you, and my life for me

This favour, for me you do

Poem 5

Mhojeh Savli Hanv - My Shadow is me

By Mozinha Fernandes

*Savli povun mhoji
Tum poise davnaka
Havu-ia monis re
Hem tum visornaka
Mhuj rupachi mhoji savli
Hanv kitkonn pois korum
Disa uzvadan na zata
Ratchea para toddeach uzvaddan
Mhaka mellpak yeta
And kallea kit kalkant tim lipun ravtam
Mhaji savlli polloun tum pois dhanvtam
Punn mhaji savli mhaka chitkun ravta
Tim mhaka apnaita
Mhaka veng marun ravtam
Disachim tim mhaka disti podna
Punn kednam vottachea bharan mhaka tim distam
Ani ratikodde tim nach zata
Punn mhojim savlim mhajim phat sodina
Ani hanv tika sodna
Kiteak mhajich savli hanv*

Seeing my shadow
You don't run away
I am a human being
Don't forget this
Like me is my shadow
How can I avoid it?
In day light it disappears
At night even in some light
It comes to meet me
And in dark it hides
Seeing my shadow you run away
But my shadow is attached to me
My shadow accepts me
It hugs me
In a day light I can't see it
But sometimes with the rays of the sun I can see it
Then at night it disappears
My shadow doesn't leave me
And I don't let it go
Because my shadow is me

Poem 6

Hanv paus zaunk xektam? - Can I become the rain?

By Mozinha Fernandes

Paus yeta

Soglo lok dhanvta

Paus varem vaddol

Apna barbor hadtam

Paus ani varem ogondd

Pausa mhottem tembem

Mhoj angar

Pod pod podtat

Hanv tenk adounk xekna

Pausa apli xokti sogleank dakhoita

Ani pausa xokoti konnachean

Addaunk zaina

Pausak polloun

Mhojea monnant ek vichar yeta

Kednam tori hanv paus zaunk xektam

The rain arrives

Everybody runs!

The rain brings

With it a big wind

The wind and rain are so strong

Fat drops of rain

Fall, fall, fall on my body

I cannot stop them!

The rain shows its strength to everyone

No one can stop the mighty rain

Looking at the rains

A thought slips into my mind . . .

Can I ever become rain?

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<i>Abb</i>	In the Gawda community people used to call their Father as <i>abb</i>
<i>Addho</i>	A fence built of clay in the field to protect the vegetables
<i>Adimjati</i>	In Hindi this word means tribes
<i>Adivasi</i>	In oriya language adivasis means tribes
<i>Ahando</i>	Large vessel for boiling paddy grains
<i>Ambhil</i>	Prepared from the flour of raggi
<i>Anusuchit janjati</i>	This word is used to refer to the Scheduled tribes
<i>Apsi</i>	Protector of the village
<i>Atavika</i>	In Sanskrit it refers to forest dwellers especially the tribes
<i>Attor</i>	Large bamboo mat on which the boiled paddy grains are dried
<i>Avio</i>	The Gawdas called their Mother as <i>Avoi</i>
<i>Bahmon</i>	Christian high caste people
<i>Bhadel</i>	Gawda woman who work in Margao to carry things of people on their head
<i>Bhann</i>	Large vessel for boiling paddy grains
<i>Bostovla</i>	Polluted
<i>Cholli</i>	Blouse which is worn along with the saree
<i>Chubol</i>	A cloth tied in a circular position with <i>vaiyo (skin of plants)</i> used for carrying heavy things on the head

<i>Chudyeo</i>	Made from hay to store millets
<i>Chuvolio</i>	A sweet dish prepared by mixing wild beans and jaggery
<i>Dhai</i>	A kind of spatula made of large stick attached with round wooden bowl to remove the boiled paddy from the large utensil
<i>Dhal</i>	Sweet Dish prepared at the time of marriage
<i>Dhali</i>	A small bamboo basket
<i>Dhalo</i>	A community group dance performed by women
<i>Dhante</i>	Handmill
<i>Dhed paiencho</i>	A dance step in <i>Ghumbacho Nach</i>
<i>Dhentulli</i>	Dress of the Gawda women
<i>Dholo</i>	Serving spoon made from coconut shell
<i>Dhonne</i>	Prepared from the flour of rice, coconut, and jaggery. This mixture is put into a jackfruit leaves corn and cooked
<i>Dosh</i>	Sweet dish prepared at the time of marriage
<i>Erss or verss</i>	The Marriage Songs sung by the Gawdas
<i>Folantlem Tor</i>	Raw mango preserved in salt
<i>Fov</i>	Flattened rice
<i>Fugddi</i>	Community dance performed by the Gawda women
<i>Fulgoddem</i>	A woman who has an affair with other men
<i>Ghodxem</i>	Sweet prepared with rice, jaggery and coconut juice
<i>Ghumot</i>	A percussion instrument of earthen vessel which is open

	on both sides and bigger opening is closed with the skin of monitor lizard stretched across the pot's mouth forming a drumhead
<i>Ghumta nach</i>	This dance is called as <i>Ghumta nach</i> because this dance is danced on the beats of the <i>Ghumot</i>
<i>Horem</i>	Hoe, agricultural tool used for tilling the soil
<i>Intrimez</i>	Song based performance on social life performed by men
<i>Jjanajati</i>	In Assame it is referred to as tribal people
<i>Kansallem</i>	Percussion Instrument. It is a large bronze or brass cymbol
<i>Kapod</i>	Type of cotton saree worn by the Gawda women
<i>Karem Nustem</i>	Dried Fish
<i>Khandonnem</i>	Wooden rice pounder
<i>Khell</i>	Performance before the three days of carnival
<i>Khuris</i>	Holy Cross
<i>Korod</i>	Long grass which grows on the mountain and used for building the roof of the hut
<i>Ladhin</i>	The Litany of Our Lady
<i>Maand</i>	A space which is considered as the sacred space for the Gawda community, where there were ritual performance as well as performances of the dance.
<i>Maandkann</i>	Wife of the head of the village
<i>Maandkar</i>	The head of the village

<i>Maandkars</i>	Members of the <i>maand</i> committee
<i>Mama</i>	Mother's brother
<i>Mando</i>	A musical form, especially among the elite Goan catholics
<i>Matov</i>	Pandal of colourful cloth in front of the house during the marriage
<i>Maulam</i>	Lamp lighted at the <i>Maand</i>
<i>Mhadellem</i>	Dual skinned terracotta drum
<i>Mhell</i>	Group of people from different villages visiting the cross of Baradi during the carnival. People dance, sing on the accompaniment of drums
<i>Molancho matov</i>	Pandal which was erected in front of the house of interlaced palm leaves during the wedding in olden days.
<i>Moll</i>	Interlaced palm leaves
<i>Mor</i>	Means Peacock. It is different category of <i>Dhalo</i>
<i>Morinn</i>	Peahen
<i>Nach</i>	Dance
<i>Nal pod</i>	Coconut and garland of flowers
<i>Nizachim Gawdi</i>	Original inhabitants of a place
<i>Niz Goenkar</i>	Original Goans
<i>Ovis</i>	Songs sung while grinding the rice at home on the hand mill at the time of wedding
<i>Pallu</i>	Flowing end of the saree

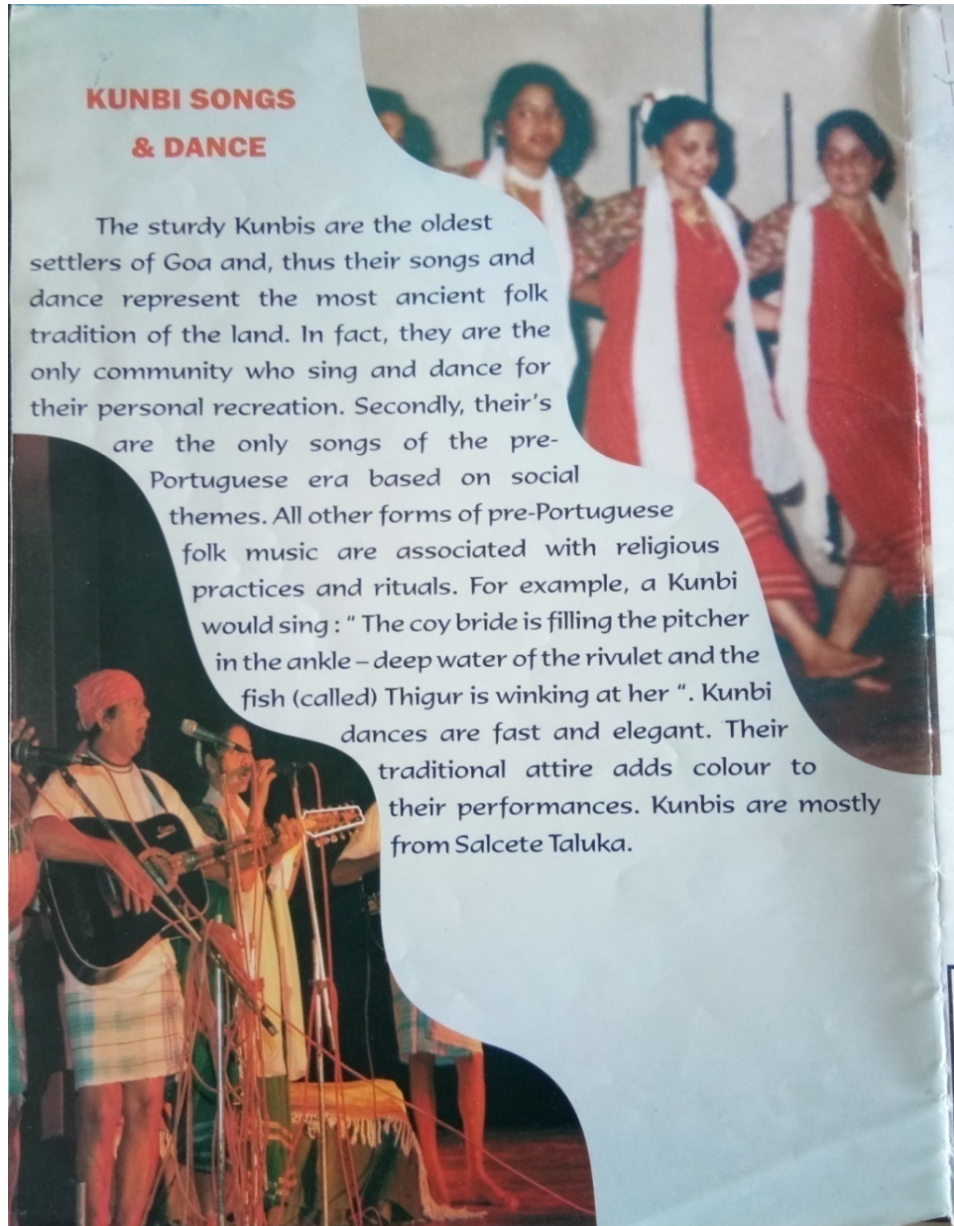
<i>Palt</i>	Refers to one act play which includes a story, few songs and comedy
<i>Patravol</i>	Plate made from jackfruit leaves
<i>Pattolleo</i>	Prepared with a paste of rice. The paste of rice is applied to a leaf and the mixture of coconut and jaggery is put on it and then the leaf is folded and cooked
<i>Pett</i>	Metal or wooden trunk used to store money, gold, cloths and other important things
<i>Pez</i>	Prepared from boiled rice
<i>Phatt</i>	Type of flower which gives fragrance
<i>Pidleo</i>	Bamboo baskets to carry grains, coconuts and other things
<i>Pinagr</i>	Prepared by mixing rice flour, jaggery and coconut
<i>Pitta</i>	Ceremony of preparing the rice flour to make a sweet dish before marriage on a hand mill
<i>Pollecho</i>	Prepared from flour of rice, coconut, and jaggery
<i>Raknno</i>	Means protector and is also referred to as cowherd
<i>Rakonndar</i>	Protector of the village
<i>Randhon</i>	Three stones were placed in a triangular position to cook food by using wood
<i>Ross</i>	Ceremony before the wedding where coconut juice is poured on the heads of the bride and the groom by the relatives, neighbours and friends

<i>Saibinn</i>	Our Lady or Deity
<i>San</i>	Broom
<i>Sanna</i>	Prepared from the mixture of flour of rice, mixed with toddy, coconut, and jaggery
<i>Siddiyeo</i>	Bronze vessels used to carry water
<i>Soji</i>	Sweet dish prepared at the time of marriage
<i>Surgam</i>	Flowers which gives fragrance
<i>Suroi tandul</i>	Unboiled rice or polished rice
<i>Sutti</i>	The celebration on the eighth day after the child's birth
<i>Sutti Mai</i>	Mother Destiny
<i>Tin Palti</i>	Three parts of the <i>Khell</i> performance
<i>Udhi</i>	Means Jumping. They are the dancing steps in <i>Dhalo</i>
<i>Urak</i>	Cashew Feni
<i>Utto</i>	Dance step of <i>Ghumtacho Nach</i>
<i>Vanso</i>	Made from the trunk of the coconut tree, which was used for the roof of the house and was also used at the time of weddings for sitting arrangements
<i>Vatti</i>	Metal plate
<i>Vir</i>	A thin stick taken out from palm leaves
<i>Vistid</i>	Dress worn by the women
<i>Xivtim</i>	Flowers
<i>Zagor</i>	The traditional musical drama with songs performed in the villages

<i>Zopatio</i> <i>Mhartalim</i>	These were songs which were known as taunting Songs
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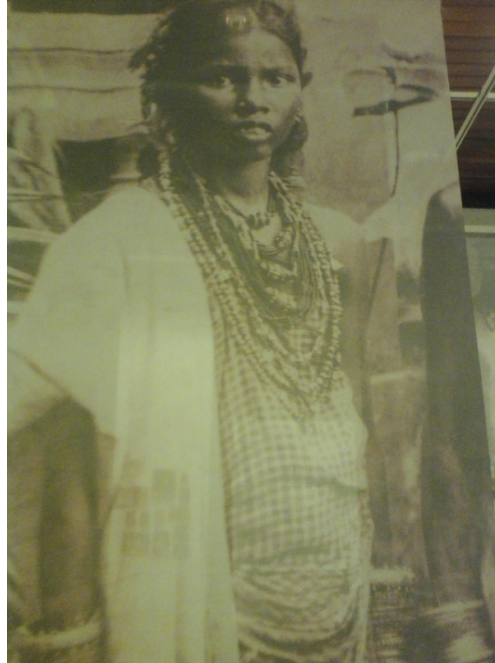
APPENDIX

Photo No. 1: The dance group of Kunbi women portrayal on the pamphlet ‘Cultural heritage of Goa’



Source: Directorate of Arts and Culture (Government of Goa)(nd)

Photo No. 2: Poster of the tribal women portrayed for the Serendipity Festival 2017



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (22 December 2016)

Photo No. 3: Depiction of Kunbi Sari while talking of heritage of Goa

the chequered heritage of Goa

JANICE RODRIGUES' BUZZ

Sometimes a little digging in your own backyard can reveal some valuable secrets, and this is just what happened. Figuratively speaking, when two cultural and historical enthusiasts chanced upon a valuable piece of history that was locked away in the trunks of the Advaisi homes. For Vinayak Khedekar and Rohit Phalgaonkar, the 'backyard' was the outskirts of the state's commercial capital Margão, where during their routine exploration of Goa's culture they came across some tribal pockets and this revealed an almost dead aspect of our culture – the Advaisi Kapoddis (sarees worn by the Christian Advaisi communities).

The 'buzz' with the Kapoddis began when upon enquiring, the two hands-on researchers realised the only reason the said tribals were reluctant to perform their dances commercially at government organised festivals was the lack of the traditional sarees. "That is when we thought of getting these sarees made for them so they could then perform the dances and contribute to Goa's culture," says Rohit. Initially Vinayak took a sample of the saree to the 'power-loom' weaver in Belgium, but was told that it could be done but only on bulk orders. Not entrepreneurs themselves, they then turned to a cloth merchant in Margão, but got a very crude version of the original textile for approval.

However before they could go any further, there needed a lot of ground work to be done, from listing out and visiting the tribal pockets across Goa to collecting original samples of fabrics. "John Fernandes, the secretary of the Advaisi Sangatana of Quezemp helped in listing out these areas. Most of these samples were in bad shape, some were woven into quilts, but most were destroyed," says Rohit. While on the quest, Rohit spoke to a friend, a cloth merchant in Hubli, who took samples and made replicas, however returned wasn't of four or five sarees but 1200. Though the consignment was all paid for, it still put Rohit in a dilemma as to what should be done with the textiles. "I gave them as souvenirs, a nakak company took some, but still there were many with me. Then I put it out on social networks where a dentist from Mumbai Sarita Subramaniam, who along with social activist Sushma Nair run an organisation called Pink Brigade, asked to see a sample. Later she asked for more. I was surprised, but sent a box of them. A few weeks later, she sent me a cheque of ₹1,20,000 for the Goa Advaisi community."

Later upon probing, Rohit got to know that the firm had sold the sarees and donated the money to various causes including buying torches for the Advaisi who were attacked by wild cats while coming from the Aarey Milk Colony into the city to sell milk. Thus this endeavour served a social cause and Sarita suggested the replication of more sarees could enable more social work.

This coaxed Rohit to further foray into the historical significance of the sarees and thus realised that the Christian tribals come to Margão very often since they're in the Salcette and Quezemp areas. While researching he came across two individuals who started their career only dealing with Advaisi sarees and after the death of the handlooms in Goa they stopped their professions. One person Narsinv Shankar Kamat based in Candolim started his career in 1935 with about 16 handlooms and 60 to 70 designs of the Advaisi (Christian Cavada) sarees. The other was Govind Sakharam Poi Panandikar who was the first retailer and promoter of the sarees, exclusively. His son Devidas continued the business till modernity and change in lifestyles forced them to close the business for the lack of clients," says Rohit.

Kamat's son Ranganath, currently in his 80s, continued in the father's profession – dyeing the yarn, weaving of the saree, designing the variants. Though there were others who were in the handloom trade as well – the Raquinhas, Shettigars, Satardevars in Bardes, Chafaskars in Ponda, the Tilves in North Goa – they either left the trade or got into weaving other items. "Of the Tilve family, Sonu Tilve is still living, but his family wasn't solely into making the Advaisi sarees as Kamat was," says Rohit.

The term Advaisi saree often leads people to think of the red and white chequered sarees, but the variety is much more. Considering the Advaisi were spread across Goa and known by different names – Cavada, Kunbi, Kumbi, and some of them following Hinduism, some Christianity, it would be truly ignorant to generalise their clothing. "The textiles we have been replicating are the signature of the Christian Cavada community. The colour red is used by Advaisi all over India, and these sarees are in varying shades of red, but checks are the signature pattern of Goan Advaisi," says Rohit.

The red must've initially been obtained from natural dyes however the duo has not come across people who can validate this fact. "There are references in their folklore; they sing songs about these sarees and their names 'ambadi' 'kopli'." We have tried to check the historic and cultural significance of each of these colours but now there are not many people who can tell us what each colour meant and we are losing out on the information by the day," says Rohit. The later weavers including Kamat used chemical dyes on the yarn that often left the textile red marks on his hands. "In fact his father is said to have died of a lung disease caused due to the dyes released by the dyes," says Rohit.

Though the duo have found seven to eight patterns there have been more in the past. There is lot of scope to study and the replica modes can serve this end. In fact, Rohit also points out that the Kamat family had made minor variations in the designs over the years. "They even made silk sarees of the same pattern to glamorise the garment, this was called the sedacho kapodd," he says.

The main aim of the duo, Rohit and Vinayak, is to propagate the preservation of the sarees and Goan culture, before everything is destroyed. "We want to fascinate the two people who were exclusively dealing with Advaisi sarees and to also request the Government of Goa to declare the textile as the signature textile of Goa," says Rohit.

When speaking about the signature textiles, often the question arises are there weavers in Goa to weave the sarees? To which Rohit says, "Margaritas has Patnam sarees, kamartaka has Ikali, but most of these are not woven in the places of origin they are either made in Varanasi or other parts of Karnataka in the same line. If we can get these sarees woven out of the state and bring them to Goa, they can become an identity of Goa, in keeping with the original style and patterns, and these can be taken as souvenirs."

(Tracing the history and heritage of Goan Advaisi Sarees will be held at Goa Sanskruti Bhavan, Panaji, at 4 p.m. on April 28)

The event will include

- The evocation of the only living exclusive weaver of Advaisi sarees in Goa Ranganath Kamat, and the son of the first and exclusive promoter of the Advaisi sarees in Goa Devidas Poi Panandikar
- The handing over of the cheque from the sale of Advaisi sarees to the Advaisi Sangatana of Quezemp by Sarita Subramaniam and Sushma Nair of Pink Brigade, a social activism group from Mumbai
- A short lecture by Vinayak Khedekar and Rohit Phalgaonkar on the history of the Advaisi sarees
- Release and launch of a prototype of a replica of kunbi saree

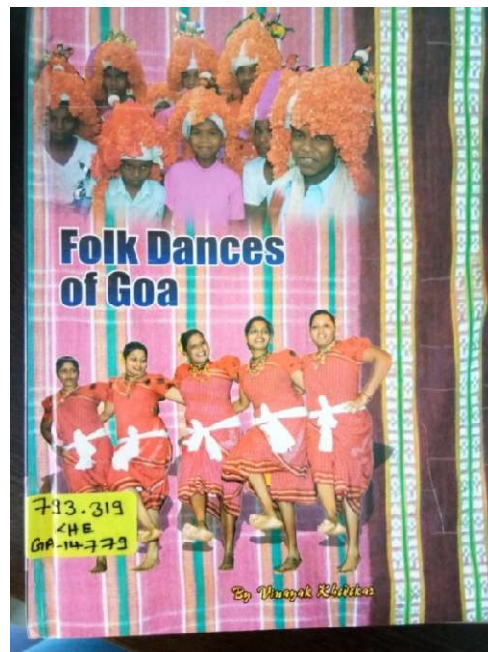
Source: Rodrigues 2017

Photo No. 4: Tribal women dance group on the cover of a book



Source: Khedekar 2013

Photo No. 5: Gawda women dancing group and the print of *dhentulli* on the cover of the book



Source: Khedekar 2010

Photo No.6: Dress of the Gawdas portrayed while talking about the Goa's cultural identity

Quiz Club Goa in association with Acron will be host an open Quiz Night at Earthen Oven Candolim on May 19 from 8 p.m. onwards. This casual pop quiz will be hosted by Quizmaster Anirudha Sri Gupta and will cover topics like movies, music and current events. Open to all. Details: 9922588088.

>SEQC Quiz: The Sunday Evening Quiz Club's annual Day of Quizzing will be held on May 21 at the international Centre Goa, Dona Paula, from 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. 13 different quizmasters will be conducting sets of 12 questions each. From 5 p.m. onwards the finals of the Decade-nice Quiz, a culmination of a three-month-long event will take place. Open to all. Details: www.seqc.blogspot.com.

>Vipassana meditation course: Goa Vipassana Trust will organise its weekly, one-day Vipassana meditation course on May 21, from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m. at Queen Laura, opp. Patrao Plaza, next to Axtle Height, Alto Porvorim, Goa. It is only for old students who have already learnt the technique as taught by S.N. Goenka, in the tradition of Sayagyi U Ba Khin. Details: 7776958088 / 9890544907.

>Robotics workshop: Xanthus will organise a robotics workshop for school students of VII to X from May 25 to May 28 from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at Xanthus Institute, Porvorim. Details: 9225902147.

>Poetry appreciation: Bookworm - Poetry Appreciation Group facilitated by Jugneeta Sudan will hold a poetry appreciation on May 6 at 5 p.m. at Bookworm library, Aleigao.

Personality Development Camp: Children's Personality Development Camp by Diana Charles for children (between the age of 6 to 15 years (2 batches) will start from May 29 to

details: 9921915858/9850935687 (Old Goa/Panaji), 9850555288 (Calangute/Mapusa), 9823738979 (Saligao/Mapusa), 9921915858 (Margao).

>Feast of St Ana: The feast of St Ana will be celebrated on May 21 at St Ana Solva Raja Chapel. Vesper will be on May 20 at 6.30 p.m.

WORKSHOP/SEMINAR/LECTURE

>Yes Plus workshop: Yes Plus workshop will be held at Mercas from May 17 to May 21 from 5.30 p.m. to 8 p.m. at Swami Samarath mutt, Mercas. Details: 9011370514.

>Summer workshop: A unique design summer workshop will be held from May 18 to May 31 from 3 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. and 4.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. at Tonca, Panaji. The workshop will be held for two age groups: 5 to 10 years and 11 to 15 years. The workshop will cover the basic essential skills required to enter these creative fields. Details: 9890955523/9975941142/8237372735.

>Workshop on using the right side of your brain: Samrat Sport Club Pajifond will organise a workshop on 'Using right side of brain' on May 19 at CD Blue Chip Hall from 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. at its premises. This workshop will be conducted by corporate coach Pravin Sabnis. The workshop is open to all above the age of 14 years. Details: 9423310707/8326688337.

>Mocktail workshop: Learn to make mocktails and shakes with Barboss John DSouza on May 21 from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. at FB Academy. Details: 9820220912/6520777.

>Talk by Suhani Shah: MDG Sunday

HAPPENINGS

>Goenkarness: An event highlight Goa's cultural identity will be held on May 20 at 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. at the Big Foot, Loutolim. Details: 2777034.

K Satardekar, Govind Silimkhann, Basil Mora, Darshan D Shetye, Omkar S Sirsat, Ramchandra A Shet Narvekar, Omkar Banault and Saish Parab. Details: 9326114395.

FAITH

>Family healing retreat: A three-day 'Family Healing Retreat' will be held from May 18 to May 20 from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at the DMIRC, Banda - Shetlem, Sawantwadi. The preachers for the retreat will be Brother Joel Lasrado (ex-preacher at Divine Mercy Retreat Centre, Potal) and team. For transport



Source: Navhind Times 2017 May 18

Photo No. 7: Gawda women for the tribal festival



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (06 January 2019)

Photo No. 8: Gawda women group for carnival float in Margao



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 9: Gawda women portrayal at the carnival



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (02 March 2014)

Photo No. 10: Souvenir for 48th IFFI 2017 made from *Dhentulli*



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (20 November 2017)

Photo No. 11: Sale of *Dhentulli* at the Tribal Festival in Quepem



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (06 January 2019)

Photo No.12: Gawda women travelling in a vehicle for *Ghumtacho Nach*



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (29 November 2014)

Photo No.13: Gawda Women doing make up for the performance



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (29 November 2014)

Photo No.14: Musical Instrument *Ghumots, Mhadellem* and *Kansalem* kept in boxes for Carrying them at the place of performance



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (29 November 2014)

Photo No.15: Women selling vegetables and other locally grown products for tribal festival



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (06 January 2019)

Photo No. 16: Gawda Women for the Christmas programme at Navelim



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (28 December 2016)

Photo No. 17: Representation of Gawda women



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (12 January 2019)

Photo No. 18: Goan traditional dance is shown as the Kunbi dance



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (28 December 2016)

Photo No. 19: Tourism industry uses the dances of the Gawdas to attract the tourist

Cultural Tourism in Goa



<div style="text-align: center;">  <h3 style="margin: 0;">Avedem Village</h3> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-bottom: 10px;">  </div> <p>Attractions : Lavo Mandri Christian Dhalo, Fugdi & Kannar Klier Dances</p> <p>Getting There Buses are available from Margao to Quepem which is the connecting point for Avedem. One can otherwise hire a taxi. You may contact the community (Francisca Lima: 9765209206)</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  <h3 style="margin: 0;">Gulem Village</h3> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-bottom: 10px;">  </div> <p>Attractions : Dhalo & Fugdi</p> <p>Nearby Places Palolem Beach Cotigaon Wildlife Sanctuary</p> <p>Getting There To reach Gulem, one can take a local bus from Margao towards Canacona and get down at Gulem. Else one can hire a taxi from Margao, Panjim or Canacona. You may contact the community (Anjali Gaonkar : 9158739374)</p>
<div style="text-align: center;">  <h3 style="margin: 0;">Thanem Village</h3> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-bottom: 10px;">  </div> <p>Attractions : Bamboo Craft Dhalo Dance</p> <p>Getting There Valpoi, 9 kms away from Thanem, is the connecting point. Buses are available from Panjim to Valpoi. From Valpoi, it is another bus ride to Thanem (Harijanwada). Or one can hire a taxi. You may contact the community (Suman Parwar: 758882416)</p> <p>Nearby Places Hivre Waterfalls</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  <h3 style="margin: 0;">Ibrampur Village</h3> </div> <div style="text-align: center; margin-bottom: 10px;">  </div> <p>Attractions : Bamboo Craft Dhalo, Fugdi & Ghoremorni</p> <p>Getting There Ibrampur is 35 kms from Panjim, about one hour drive. From Mapusa it is 27 kms. You may contact the community (Sonali Parwar : 7769880963)</p> <p>Nearby Places Zund Island Arambol/ Morjim Beach</p>

Contact: toureast@banglanatak.com, www.toureast.in

Source: Handout of Banglanatak.com 2019

Photo No. 20: The Places where the Gawda culture is portrayed is advertised in Goa Map with Guide

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 Govt. State Museum : EDC Complex, Near Bus Stand, Patto- Panaji Tel.: 2438006
 Monastery of Pilar : Pilar Hill, Goa Velha. Tel.: 2218529
 House of Menezes Braganza : One of the ancient descent of Portuguese House at Chandor-Margao.
 Shri Saunthan Gokarn Partagali Jeevottam Math : Located at Partagali Village in Cancona.
 Kesarwal Spring : Situated at Kesarwal - Verna, Salcete, Goa.

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Source: Published by Broadway Book Centre (nd)

Photo No. 21: Selfie of the Gawda researcher with the Gawda women for Carnival float 2019



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (03 March 2019)

Photo No. 22: Gawda (*Bhadel*) women for Carnival float 2020



Source: Mozinha Fernandes (23 February 2020)

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