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Deposited in *Repositório ISCTE-IUL*:

2022-05-19

Deposited version:

Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:

Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Pereira, C. (2019). Dance as world of senses, socio-cosmic order and mobility. Case study of Catholic women in Goa, India. In Pius Malekandathil, Lotika Varadarajan, Amar Farooqui (Ed.), *India, the Portuguese and Maritime Interactions*. (pp. 528-548). Dehli: Primus Books.

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## Female Dance as World of Senses, Socio-Cosmic Order and Mobility

### Catholic Women in Goa<sup>1</sup>

Cláudia Pereira

In 2007, after dancing at a ritual called Dhalo in Goa, one of the women says: ‘This is the moment when my body feels free, I think my ancestors felt the same when paying respect to Gaon-Purush’ (29 years old). Another woman, a 32-year-old, who performs the same dance during the ritual, but also in another displays for tourists, says: ‘Like this we get together and we also get the chance to know new places we did not know before.’ Other women share similar comments. These women are the Catholic Gawda from Goa. Besides going to Church on Sundays and praying the rosary every day at 8 p.m., they also follow Hindu-influenced rituals in which they dance. This essay is an analysis of the affirmation of these women through the dance performance, at the private space of their religious rituals around their homes and at public performances. It argues that the reasons for women to keep dancing include: the sensorial dimension, the socio-cosmic order maintenance and social mobility.

The sensorial and aesthetic dimensions of the songs and dances of the Catholic Gawda women highlight the connection between religion, ritual and touristic performances. On the one hand, in the village, the aesthetics of the ritual’s place acquires symbolic meaning together with the body experience shared by women while dancing collectively—reinforcing their ties through the individual bodies. By learning the dance steps through the imitation of older women in their yearly ritual, the Gawda demonstrate that ‘when sensory orders express cosmic orders, cosmologies are not only learnt through hearing or reading, but lived through the body’.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the objects, the

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgements are due to Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT, Foundation for Science and Technology) for funding my Ph.D., on which the essay is based. Many thanks to the Catholic Gawda from Avedem, Goa, for all the time, patience and generosity, since I began fieldwork there in 2006. I direct my gratitude to Shubha Chaudhuri for all the suggestions concerning this topic. I am indebted to Marta Prista, Maria José Araújo and Alexandre Oliveira for all the insights into this essay.

space's combination of nature and sacred symbols, the colours highlighting women's movements, the sound of their voices—all emphasize the non-verbal dimension of the ritual. On the other hand, during state events or touristic performances the aesthetical references change, and the songs, dances and clothes become standardized and shorter in order to provide identical reproductions for different audiences.

Few researchers have addressed gender and dance among the Gawda of Goa, concerning their caste/tribe or their type of musical practices, and little evidence is available on their performances in the tourism literature of Goa. Research on Goa's music and dance, with some exceptions, has been largely concentrated on the dominant culture, the Catholic elite's one and its Portuguese influence.<sup>2</sup> The vernacular dances and songs with scarce Portuguese influence were integrated in the frame of reference of Goan music only recently.<sup>3</sup> These musical practices were performed in the private space of the religious ceremonies of illiterate groups from the bottom of the social scale, such as the Gawda. They were, therefore, invisible to the other castes and researchers until the process of folklorization that took place in Goa and in the rest of India brought them to tourism-orientated settings and state-event performances.<sup>4</sup>

The musical heritage of the Catholic and Hindu Gawda started to be researched in the twenty-first century.<sup>5</sup> Goan folklorists and researchers collected data regarding the dances practised in their religious ceremonies, as well as the lyrics of their songs.<sup>6</sup> Their songs and dances were also gathered by the national Archive and Research Center for Ethnomusicology (ARCE) of the American Institute of Indian Studies (University of Chicago) in New Delhi.<sup>7</sup> More work is needed relating gender and dance among the Gawda, more specifically addressing the sensorial dimension and socio-cosmic order in their musical heritage.

There remains the need for analysing Gawda performances in the tourism literature of Goa, since previous work has focused on broader-scale phenomenon, such as the trance music festivals,<sup>8</sup> the impact of Portuguese heritage in Goa<sup>9</sup> or the development of the tourism industry,<sup>10</sup> among others. An alternative approach is necessary in the tourism literature of Goa regarding the performances of the Gawda, analysing their performances for tourists in the 'front stage' and the dance practices in the fields and religious ceremonies outside the events in the 'back stage',<sup>11</sup> which this essay aims to contribute.

The feminine gender dimension and consequent analysis of sensorial dimension, socio-cosmic order and tourism could only be approached with ethnographic methodology,

namely, through interviews, a systematized diary and long fieldwork. The field research was carried out for nearly a year (2006–7) among the Catholic Gawda from a village belonging to the predominantly Hindu southern Goa, in the *taluka*<sup>12</sup> of Quepem. Their self-designation is ‘Gawda’ and for this reason it is the term used in the text, which diverges from how they are mainly known to the outside, as ‘Kunnbi’.<sup>13</sup> Participant observation enabled a daily interaction with Gawda women in private and public spaces: at their homes; at the rice fields where they work; at touristic and cultural performances in hotels, palaces and state events; at their private religious ceremonies while dancing together with them. To better understand their reasons to keep dancing and to detail the movements, the dances’ meanings and the songs’ lyrics, for an *emic* (inside) perspective, several in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with Catholic Gawda. For the purpose of an *etic* (outside) outlook, to analyse their dances in the context of contemporary Goa, other Hindu and Catholic members belonging to other castes in the village, folklorists, tourist and cultural agents and tourists were interviewed.

The Gawda divide themselves in three groups: Hindu Gawda; Catholic Gawda, converted to Catholicism following the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century; and the Nav-Hindu Gawda, the Catholic Gawda who in 1928 took part in Hindu purification ceremonies, *shuddi*, and have become Hindu. In 2003, the Gawda (about 9 per cent of the Goan population) were recognized as Scheduled Tribes, benefitting from government subsidies; traditionally dedicated to agriculture, this classification allowed the Gawda to embrace economic mobility strategies. The Hindu influence in the rituals of the Catholic Gawda is believed to have come from their Hindu ancestors who converted to Christianity following the Portuguese arrival in Goa in the sixteenth century. They continue to learn these dances transmitted by older women till today, although with transformations through generations, in order to pay respect to their ancestor’s gods.<sup>14</sup> During the Portuguese colonial period, and in some villages today, these religious rituals were forbidden by some Catholic priests as they represented an ancestral way of living, prior to the Hindus’ conversion to Catholicism. Resisting, some of the Catholic Gawda continued to perform them secretly until the present day, despite conforming to Catholic practices at the Church and at home. The rituals with their songs and dances have been creatively recreated and objectified as a cultural product to be seen by tourists and other national members, as part of the Goan’s ‘authentic’ culture—a process of folklorization common in other groups in India.<sup>15</sup>

To the state government, the performances of the Catholic Gawda show the 'authentic' culture of Goa, a pan-Indian one, prior to Portuguese colonialism. As a consequence, the previous repressed religious rituals of an unprivileged social group are now a part of the intangible heritage of a state of India, Goa. Moreover, the Gawda broaden the appeal of Goa by multiplying the privileged objects of the tourist gaze.

Being a process of touristification of heritage, the Gawda's music objectification is used both for identity purposes and for economic interests. First, the Gawda identity was crystallized and standardized. Second, its touristification has contributed to the conservation and reinvention of their traditional practices, since their dances are still practised in their own rituals. Third, the Goa state recognition, through the Department of art and Culture, reinforced the authenticity of Gawda rituals and led the young to reproduce it. Fourth, performing in events allows this group an extra income and the chance to visit new places, thereby giving them economic mobility.<sup>16</sup> The heritage-making processes in Goa are no longer confined to the dominant culture, as they include alternative voices such as the Gawda women. Their visibility and integration in the state's collectiveness has, however, highlighted their subalternity, since this folklorization process is based on the standardization of the Gawda's rural and tribal identity.

Nevertheless, to the Catholic Gawda women who perform the dances in rituals and events, they are alive through the body, more than by hearing, which relates them primarily to the world of senses, i.e. to their own perception of the world.

### **World of Senses, Socio-Cosmic Order and Mobility**

The dances and songs in the rituals are far more sensorial, allowing a more intimate perspective that allows the continuity of this group. The individual experience of the Gawda women in the rituals enables them to experience, in a sensorial and extra-sensorial way, the inclusion and exclusion necessary to the construction of social and cultural identity.

In fact, the cultural legacy of the Catholic Gawda was transmitted not only by words, but also through the body and the imitation of simple gestures, to maintain its socio-cosmic order. This is done by providing an arena for the worship of the local spiritual entity, to ensure the following year's prosperity, and revealing the persistent proximity between the Catholic and Hindu Gawda. Moreover, the rituals of Hindu influence celebrated by the Catholic Gawda, as Dhalo and Intruz, also influence their

perception of the world. If the women do not perform the ritual of *Dhalo* in November,<sup>17</sup> the men cannot sing and dance while performing the ritual of *Intruz* in February, and their *vaddo* is plagued by women out of their state of consciousness, in possession moments. These rituals not only structure their socio-cosmic order, but also influence their sensory perception of the world. Moreover, through the repetition of gestures and words between generations, space and time are rejuvenated, ensuring the continuity of the Gawda's social group.<sup>18</sup> The author could only penetrate profoundly into fieldwork from the time she danced with them in the ritual of *Dhalo*, in which the women dance for some nights, over several hours, in a gradual increasing of rhythm and speed. Only when she stopped being an observer and became also a participant, she could feel what they felt, and only then they relied on her on a deeper way. Thus, the use of the body and its non-verbal language reduced the distance of their difference.

The aesthetical and sensorial dimension of the Catholic Gawda women's songs and dances highlight the connection with a socio-cosmic order during their religious rituals. Concerning nature, it is already known that it has a central role in Hindu rituals: foods are given to crows after being offered to the gods, in honour of the ancestors; the gods are worshipped in anthills and trees; vegetarianism is practised to protect animals; the earth is appreciated for all prosperity. The Catholic Gawda follow these same Hindu practices, because they believe they should pay respects to the Hindu gods of their ancestors previously to getting converted to Catholicism. Simultaneously, the Catholic Gawda follow Catholicism by weekly attending mass at church and praying the rosary every day before dinner.

The most meaningful rituals for the Gawda are precisely those in which the worship integrates dances and songs in a more sensory construction of the worship that allows them a more affectionate closeness to the belief, and which matches the referents of Hindu Gawda that their ancestors belonged to before conversion. To the Catholic Gawda, the most important celebrations are the *Intruz* (carnival), performed by men, and *Dhalo* (coinciding with the Souls Day), performed by the women, when they dance and interpret their songs; followed by the feast of the patron saint of the church (the Immaculate Conception) and Easter.

In the rituals, the dances and songs of the Catholic Gawda have a very specific meaning, they are offerings to the spiritual entity that protects them in the area around their homes, the ward (*vaddo*, in Konkani, one of the languages spoken in Goa), and in the village where they live. This spiritual entity is called *Gaon-Purush*, a spirit that has taken on

human shape and whose name comes from *gaon*, meaning village, and *purush*, meaning first inhabitant of the village. The Gaon-Purush (or Gaon-Puris, as pronounced by some Gawda) is, therefore, a central figure in the rituals of the Catholic Gawda because it explains the origin of their ancestors as part of their cosmogony. The Catholic Gawda perform several rituals to the Gaon-Purush during a calendar year out of fear that the Gaon-Purush will punish them with diseases if they do not do it; but at the same time, they continue attending mass in the church and pray to Christian saints. The Hindu Gawda, neighbours of the Catholic Gawda, also offer similar songs and dances to the Gaon-Purush, but do it in a separate space.

The cult of the Gaon-Purush shows the importance of women in one of the rituals necessary for socio-cosmic order, the Dhalo. . The Dhalo is both a musical form and a ritual. As a ritual, it plays a prominent role in the calendar of Gawda when women dance in the village, away from sight of outsiders, distinguishing them from other Catholics who do not accept it as part of the Catholic rituals defined by the church. The Dhalo is performed after the rice harvest, before the *Alma Dis*, the Souls Day and All Saints Day (2 November), in the Catholic liturgical calendar. Women start dancing three or five days before 2 November, always on a Wednesday or Sunday (the days of Gaon-Purush, the only days in a week that are not dedicated to Hindu gods). On the day that the souls of ancestors return home, when the Catholic Church remembers dead relatives or friends, it is necessary to dance the Dhalo in order to appease the Gaon-Purush, so that 'He' does not disturb the dead and their living relatives. According to the Gawda Catholic women, the origin of this ritual goes back to Diwali, which takes place a few days before or after the Dhalo. Diwali follows the Hindu lunar calendar and, therefore, does not have a set date. Catholic Gawda women by performing the Dhalo prior to Catholic celebration days, have adapted it to the liturgical calendar, but still continue their relationship of interdependence with nature. The realization of Dhalo marks a time of plenty, the rice harvest, essential for daily feeding, together with curry and vegetables. Timekeeping, as systematized by Norbert Elias to other contexts,<sup>19</sup> constitutes a social symbol for the Gawda, because it results from a learning process transmitted by the ancestors through the body and in an interdependent relationship with nature.

As a musical form, the Dhalo is performed by two rows of women facing each other; alternately, one of the rows, while singing, advances and then steps back, to which the other row moves forward. The synchronized but opposite movements of two rows refers to the etymology of *Dhalo-dhalop*, which means to 'fly' or to 'swing'. While dancing,

they sing Dhalo songs. The sensorial dimension of the Dhalo experienced by Catholic Gawda women allow them to connect to each other in a physical sense that is not allowed in their daily life. Through the body, women are united to each other while arm in arm, repeating for hours the same gestures of dancing. The proximity of their bodies and the dance helps to overcome the conflicts that took place between them during the past year. At Dhalo, they experience a freedom of movements and decompression only possible at this time of the year.

The cult of Gaon-Purush is very sensorial, related to the feminine body. For instance, menstruating women cannot celebrate this ritual because they are considered impure temporarily, which could trigger punitive action from the Gaon-Purush. This belief has a Hindu origin, being followed by Hindu women, within a logic of ritual purity. The sense of taste is also present: during Dhalo it is 'very good' to share the *prasad* (consecrated food offered to the gods) previously offered to Gaon-Purush. This principle is directly related to the female body and its power of fertility: *prasad* can only be distributed by married women, as they are considered auspicious and symbolizing fertility. Inversely, widows cannot celebrate this ritual because they are considered inauspicious. The Hindu ritual of purity continues contemporaneously to structure the ritual and social relations among Catholic Gawda, which expresses their uniqueness in a more global context of Catholicism. The fact that they experience simultaneously Catholic references, such as praying rosary every day and going to mass in Church on Sundays, also approaches them from the remaining Catholics in the village and in Goa.

Let us now turn to the description of the ritual and dance. On the day that Dhalo begins, women 'purify the *maand*' (sacred open place, usually in front of Hindu temples), *shudda maand karpa* with cow dung mixed with water (as the Hindu Gawda do in their rituals). At night, the *deuli* (sacred oil lamp) is lit by *maandkar*, the guardian with precedence in the sacred ritual space of the *maand*, also responsible for the offerings to Gaon-Purush (coconut, flowers, coconut oil, leaf and areca nut, which together is designated as *ront*). First, the holy lamp is placed at the centre of the *maand*, as in puja that Hindu Gawdas do in Shigmo. Then, after starting the Dhalo, the *maandkar* takes it to the cross located in *maand*, where Gaon-Purush is believed to be and to whom is prayed the 'Hail Mary' and the 'Our Father', invoking Goenchen Saibini ('Our Lady of the village', in this case, the Conception), Mallcazan<sup>20</sup> and Paik Dev.<sup>21</sup> These last two, who take on human shape, are family gods of the Hindu ancestors of some Catholic Gawda and for that reason they believe that they still receive the protection of these two deities.



The sequence of dances and their movements are similar every night, increasing in intensity until the end of the last song. On the night of 1 November, the day of 'All Saints', just before the dead souls 'return' home, the celebrations extend to coincide with the time when the souls visit their loved ones. In the third dance, the rhythm accelerates, and in a moment of possession, *bhar* 'enters' in the body of two women who get into religious trance. In other words, Catholic Gawda believe it is the spirit of Dhalo, a divine entity that appears annually to incorporate women, *bhar*. For the Catholic Gawda women, possession assures the socio-cosmic order of the village, just like for Hindus of other villages of Goa, to whom 'possession' is an essential aspect of every ritual in the village because it is a sacred part which is responsible to maintain the structure of a village. No ritual is complete without possession or 'Bhar'.<sup>22</sup>

Possession in women is very rarely observed in the territory of Goa, and only among Gawda and Kunbi, being absent in Hindu temples, where *bhar* is only incorporated by men.<sup>23</sup> The women in whom the 'bhar enters', *bhar aila*, have characteristics that escape the social norm: one of them is single and already more than 30 years old and the other woman is married in her *vaddo*, disrespecting the village exogamy. The first mentioned is too far from 'normality' expected for women whose aim is to get married before 30s, and the second one is too close to it because she married in her *vaddo* (ward) disrespecting the social rules, since there is the danger of having ties of consanguinity with her husband or ancestors. The fact that the Dhalo *bhar* 'enters' two women means that this entity is closer to its devotees and will easily listen to their requests, as happens with men when Intruz *bhar* 'enters' them. Gawda women have, therefore, a power of socio-cosmic rejuvenation through their dance, usually only attributed to men.

The auditory sense announces the end of the dances, when Catholic Gawda women are attentive to the bell of the Catholic chapel that will mark the beginning of the worship specially dedicated to Gaon-Purush. The *maandkar* inquires the women about their *sangnem*, 'requests' for next year (as it happens with Hindus regarding their deities). At the end of the requests, the women prepare the coconut and jaggery to share among them (like Hindus do in temples with *prasad*, food consecrated to the gods which is then distributed among devotees), along with soft drinks. In 2007, these have been offered by a mother who thanked the wish granted to his son, who had gotten a job following the celebration of Dhalo. After eating, they repeat exactly the same gesture they make during the annual visit of the image of Milagres Saibini (Our Lady of Miracles) to their homes:<sup>24</sup> dip their finger in coconut oil and put it on the forehead, making the symbol of the Catholic cross in their

face, in order to receive the blessing. After the end of Dhalo, women go to the chapel of St. Sebastian of their ward to ring the bell, one of the pathways through which Gaon-Purush walks. On the morning of 2 November, all attend the Mass at the church and then go to the cemetery, where the graves are colourfully decorated with flowers.

This ritual of Catholic Gawda reveals a religious pluralism with influence of Catholicism and Hinduism. The Catholic references, such as blessing and praying Catholic prayers, show the different outlines that a same religion can assume in various parts of the world. Despite the convergence of different religious references, to the Gawda their religion is always understood as eminently Catholic.

The transition of the dances from the private space of the ward to the touristic stages enabled the affirmation of Gawda women not only among their own group, but also towards other Goans. This transformation accompanied a contemporary trend of Indian culture: the visibility of subaltern groups' performances, and its display for tourism purposes and national events' celebrations. In the Gawda's case, this happened through the processes of touristification of the musical heritage of Gawda women, which led to the aestheticization and visual consumption<sup>25</sup> of their culture in the national and international arena. Two major factors have contributed to their public recognition in Goa: the statehood in 1987 and the need to affirm a distinct culture from other Indian states;<sup>26</sup> and the struggle of some groups for Scheduled Tribe status and consequent economic benefits, which requires their cultural singularity.<sup>27</sup>

For public performances, around 15 women (young, adult and old) dance and sing, while three men play musical instruments. This is a difference regarding their rituals in the village, the dance's 'backstage', where men and women perform in different cults, although the public presentations belong to women, since they compose the large majority of the group. The presentation begins with a male Gawda playing a crescendo rhythm with sticks on *ghumat* (an oval shaped clay drum covered on one end with lizard skin), followed by the rhythmic stomping of the dancers' feet, intensified with the jangling of their bracelets. Soon they are joined in by other local percussion instruments, such as the *kaansaalem*, *dhhol* and *taaso* and finally is added the voice of a Gawdi singer, the manager of the group.

Besides the gender differentiation, there are three other striking differences between the religious practice and public presentations. The ritual is absent from the public performance and longer dance practices in the religious cult are shortened for touristic

presentations. Lastly, the composed costumes and the format of the dancing are uniformized in order to perform standardized touristic performances, keeping spontaneity in dance to the religious cult.<sup>28</sup>

These performances are the only chance for many of the Catholic Gawda women to visit new spaces in Goa, India and foreign countries (such as Russia, where they performed), other than the ones around their homes. Still, they show unease in these surroundings; for instance, they avoid using the toilets at hotels or palaces where they dance, preferring to stay near the stage. This process is understandable taking into account that adult and elderly Gawda had been farm labourers (*mundkar*) in the rice paddy fields and coconut palms belonging to large Catholic and Hindu landowners of more statutorily valued castes, receiving a share of crops, i.e. paid with no exchange of money. They were scarcely familiarized with owning money that provided them with economic opportunities, being widely targeted by government policies of dominance. This extremely unequal social structure prevented them from gaining social mobility and in a way limited them to only socializing in a restricted circle within their own group. The transformation came after the implementation of agricultural reforms that took place after the annexation of Goa in 1961, as well as the government subsidization for a children's school and other benefits after their classification as a Scheduled Tribe in the early twenty-first century.<sup>29</sup>

Together with these government benefits ensuring equal opportunities in Indian society, the Gawda women have been recognized by outsiders for their cultural heritage that has empowered their self-confidence and paved the way for new physical and social horizons. An illustrative example is the manager of the dance group being a woman, which also singularizes this group in Goa. The dance performances for the Gawda women are also an instrument of social mobility to overcome their subalternity. It is a mechanism aimed for social change, but fundamentally for their recognition by others, the other that will legitimize their self-representation.

Performances at tourist and state events offered the Catholic Gawda women the possibility get in touch with new social actors and places, disclosing their recently acquired economic and spatial mobility. This touristification process played a part in the Catholic Gawda women's social cohesion and their cultural visibility within Goan society today. On the one hand, the shift of the performances from a religious ritual to the tourist stage exposes an identity that the Gawda have tried to mask in the face of its social discrimination within India's caste system. On the other hand, performances through

tourism have helped the Gawda's relationship with their own social identity, facilitating its endogenous transformations.

### **Conclusion: Tourism and Sub-Hierarchies of the Caste System**

The dances of the Catholic Gawda women are transmitted by hearing, but mainly through the body, through which they maintain their socio-cosmic order, while influencing their sensory perception of the world and paving the way for mobility through tourism. The Hindu influence in these religious dances singularizes Catholic Gawda women in Goa and the government promoted this cultural legacy in state events, which has led to their current performances at touristic stages. The visual consumption and aesthetization are common in all parts of the world; still, in the Gawda's case it is not only the reconfiguration of their cultural identity that takes place, but the sensorial experience too, which allows both the inclusion and exclusion needed for the continuity of their social group. Through tourism, the cultural heritage of the Catholic Gawda acquired widespread visibility from an exogenous recognition of their identity, in construction, which allowed their integration in Goan society.<sup>30</sup>

In a rural and patriarchal society, the affirmation of the feminine gender among the Catholic Gawda takes place annually, when they dance alone and the men watch. The updating of feminine power is renewed in the ritual of Dhalo when women ensure the socio-cosmic order and the continuity of the group through the movements of their bodies.

Through the transformation of the dances of Catholic Gawda women in public performances, tourism led to the change of women's role in the public sphere. The women's affirmation is not only renewed annually into the group of Catholic Gawda, but it came also to be so at various times of the year outside of the group: Goans, Indians and international tourists. To put this transformation into perspective, the Catholic Gawda live in a village, like most (69 per cent) of India's population,<sup>31</sup> where previous governments' policies left them largely illiterate. Few have profitable resources and due to recent efforts in education initiated towards the end of the twentieth century, only the younger generations became educated. Therefore, dances were the only social field for women with scarce economic and social capital to affirm their power and obtain some mobility. Besides being an extra source of money, through touristic performances they could explore previously unknown physical spaces, national and international. For some Indian women,

the transformation of women's role was possible only through emigration outside the borders of India.<sup>32</sup> Still, for some women in India, their self-affirmation in a patriarchal society came from their own methods in women's culture (e.g. language), such as oral tradition through songs and narratives reveal.<sup>33</sup> I would add that tourism was an important promoter to transform the female role, especially among illiterate women and with few profitable resources. More research is needed concerning the transformations of the masculine gender.

The remaining castes either regard the Gawda in the social space between the Sudra and the Untouchables at the very bottom of the scale, or class them as tribal (hence excluded from the caste system), placing them in the lower fringes of the traditional social scale. Still, no one is permanently at the margins and this is the case of the Catholic Gawda, since no status is continuously stable, they also position themselves at the top of the social system.<sup>34</sup> Whilst the Catholic Gawda recognize the marginalization forced upon them by other Goans, they also negotiate their status presenting their own version of hierarchy by claiming to integrate the upper social scale. Their argument is built on Hindu purity criteria for their position on the Catholic social classification in the traditional caste system. More precisely, they abstain from eating beef and pork, in accordance with the Hindu criteria of ritual purity. Such as other Hindu and Catholic castes, the Catholic Gawda follow endogamy and commensality to maintain their purity. Nevertheless, commensality among Catholic Gawda has the singularity that they can only accept cooked food from the Hindus (Hindu Gawda), the only ones who they regard as pure because other Catholic castes consume pork and beef. This process demonstrates how caste for the Catholic Gawda also has a status that is mainly ritual, based in the criteria of Hindu purity to structure their social relations.

Grounded in a traditional structure, caste is also permeable to transformations and malleable to sub-hierarchies.<sup>35</sup> The tourism provided the dance performances of the Catholic Gawda women recognition by an outside audience, which has led other Goan castes to value their status. Goans perceive nowadays the Catholic Gawda dances as representations of an ancestral Goa, i.e. of genuine Goan identity that needs to be preserved. This outside recognition also granted an awareness to the Catholic Gawda of their own group's identity value. If the Catholic Gawda have a Hindu criterion to raise their status within the limits of the group, tourism has allowed the increase in their social status outwards: among other Goans. Though their caste or tribal classification remains undervalued socially, through the ritual pollution and endogamy criteria, there was a rise in

status within the caste, which shows how the caste/tribe are dynamic categories,<sup>36</sup> and penetrable to economic influences and external policies, such as tourism. The feminine body of the Catholic Gawda in the touristic dance performances, therefore, enabled the production of new identities.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Constance Classen, 'McLuhan in the Rainforest. The Sensory Worlds of Oral Cultures', in *Empire of the Senses: the Sensual Cultural Order*, ed. David Howes, Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006 [2005], p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Cf.: Lucio Rodrigues, 'Konkani Folk Songs. No. 1: Mando', *Journal of the University of Mumbai*, 1954, pp. 65–8; Nita Lupi, *The Music and Spirit of Portuguese India*, Edição comemorativa da morte do Infante D. Henrique, Lisbon: Editorial Império, 1960; José Pereira and Micael Martins, 'Goa and Its Music', in *Boletim do Instituto Menezes de Bragança*, no. 144, 1984, pp. 75–82, and no. 145, pp. 19–112; Pratima Kamat, 'Political Life of nineteenth Century Goa as reflected in its Folk Songs', in *Goa: Cultural Trends*, ed. P.P. Shirodkar, Panaji: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Goa, 1988, pp. 229–42; Mira Mascarenhas, 'Impact of the West on Goan Music', in *Goa: Cultural Trends*, ed. Shirodkar, pp. 189–204; Mira Mascarenhas, 'Social Life as Reflected in Goan Christian Folksongs', in *Goan Society Through the Ages*, ed. B.S. Shastry, New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1993, pp. 80–90; E. Cruz da, 'A Study of Deknnis', in *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, no. 171, 1994, pp. 35–55; Victor A. Coelho, 'Connecting Histories: Portuguese Music in Renaissance Goa', in *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, ed. Charles J. Borges, New Delhi: Concept, 1997, pp. 131–47; Teotónio R. de Souza, 'The Portuguese in Goan Folklore', in *Goa and Portugal: Their cultural Links*, ed. Borges, pp. 183–97; Pramod Kale, 'Tiatr. Expression of the Live Popular Culture', *The Transforming of Goa*, ed. Norman Dantas, Goa: The Other India Press, 1999, pp. 137–67; Devendra Karapurkar, 'Withering Goan Hindu Folk Theatre Forms', *The Transforming of Goa*, ed. Dantas, pp. 168–72; C.M. Estibeiro, *A Garland of Mandos, Dulpods and Dekhni*, Panaji: Pedro Fernandes & Co, 2002; Zenaides Morenas, *The Mussoll Dance of Chandor: The Dance of the Christian Kshatriyas*, Goa: Fundação Oriente, 2002; Jayanti Naik, *Karlechi bamvad* (The Pandavan Ballads of the village of Karlem, Quepem), Borim, Goa Konkani Academy, 2002; Andre Fernandes, 'Tiatro: A Critical Study' [online], Ph.D. thesis, Department of English, Taleigaon, Goa University, 2004, see <http://library.unigoa.ac.in:8081/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/166/T-301.pdf?sequence=1>, accessed 3 October 2013; Vinayak Khedekar, *Goa Kulumi*, Panaji: Author's edition, 2004; José Pereira et al., *Folk songs of Goa: Mando-dulpods and deknnis*, New Delhi: Aryan, 2005; Ullas Prabhu Dessai, *Chandranadicha Dhalo* [The Dhalo Songs of Chandrawadi (Quepem)], Quepem: Author's edition, 2006; Mozinha Fernandes, 'Where Have All the Rituals and Songs Gone? A Case Study of Gawdas of Ambelim, South Goa', unpublished M.A. diss., Department of Sociology, Taleigaon, Goa University, 2009; ARCE, Archives and Research Centre for Etnomusicology, 'The Project', Audio, *Archives and Community Partnership* [online], 2010, see <http://www.music-community.in/>, accessed 3 April 2014; Alexander Henn and Alito Siqueira, *Staying Awake for God: Introducing the Jagor* [online], Film documentary, 2010, see <http://www.vimeo.com/12507263>, accessed 3 October 2013). Rosa Maria Perez, 'A dança dos deuses. Ritual e performance num templo hindu de Goa' (The dance of the gods. Ritual and performance in a Hindu temple of Goa), *Revista Camões*, A Cena e as Vozes – 500 Anos desde O Auto da Índia, ed. Rosa Maria Perez and

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<sup>3</sup> Pereira and Martins, ‘Goa and Its Music’; and Susana Sardo, *Guerras de Jasmim e Mogarim. Música, identidade e emoções em Goa* (Wars of Jasmine and Mogarim. Music, identity and emotions in Goa), Alfragide: Texto Editora, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Cláudia Pereira, ‘The Music of the Catholic and Hindu Gaudde’, pp. 95–102.

<sup>5</sup> Henn and Siqueira, *Staying Awake for God*; Fernandes, ‘Where Have All the Rituals and Songs Gone?’. Cláudia Pereira, ‘As Danças e as Canções dos Gaudde Católicos de Goa. O Testemunho da Resistência Invisível ao Colonialismo Português através da sua tradição oral, agora folclorizada’ [The songs and dances of the Catholic Gaudde of Goa. Testimony to their invisible resistance to Portuguese Colonialism through their now folklorised oral tradition], *Revista Camões, A Cena e as Vozes – 500 Anos desde O Auto da Índia*, ed. Rosa Maria Perez and Miguel Fialho de Brito, no. 20, 2010, pp. 86–103.

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<sup>6</sup> Jayanti Naik, *Karlechi banvad* (The Pandavan Ballads of the village of Karlem, Quepem), Borim, Goa Konkani Academy, 2002; Khedekar, *Goa Kulumi*; and Dessai, *Chandrawadicha Dhalo*.

<sup>7</sup> The ARCE has one of the most extensive audio-visual repositories of the oral traditions and performing arts of India (American Institute of Indian Studies, 2013). Data on the songs and dances was gathered by ARCE through a project coordinated by Shubha Chaudhuri, which enabled online publication of much of the Gawda’s musical repertory that can be found in the site <http://www.music-community.in/>, accessed 3 April 2014. (ARCE 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Arun Saldanha, ‘Trance and Visibility at Dawn: Racial Dynamics in Goa’s Rave Scene’, *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 6, no. 5, 2005, pp. 707–21. DOI: 10.1080/14649360500258328; Anthony D’Andrea, *Global Nomads: Techno and New Age as Transnational Countercultures in Ibiza and Goa*, Oxon: Routledge, 2007; and Graham St. John, ‘DJ Goa Gil: Kalifornian Exile, Dark Yogi and Dreaded Anomaly’, *Dancecult: Journal of Electronic Dance Music Culture*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2011, pp. 97–128. DOI:10.12801/1947-5403.2011.03.01.05.

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- <sup>9</sup> Raghuraman Trichur, 'Tourism and Nation Building: (Re)Locating Goa in Postcolonial India', *Metahistory: History Questioning History. Festschrift in Honour of Teotónio R. de Souza*, ed. Charles J. Borges and M.N. Pearson, Lisbon: Veja, 2007, pp. 222–31; and Pamila Gupta, 'Goa Dourada, the Internal Exotic in South Asia: Discourses of Colonialism and Tourism', in *Reading the Exotic, South Asia and its Others*, ed. V.G. Rajan and A. Phukan, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009.
- <sup>10</sup> David Wilson, 'Paradoxes of Tourism in Goa', *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1997, pp. 52–75, see DOI: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(96\)00051-5](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(96)00051-5); and Zélia Breda and Carlos Costa, 'Tourism and Transformations: the Case of Goa', in *Goa Passado e Presente*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Teles e Cunha, vol. 2, Lisbon: CEPCEP, CHAM and FCT, 2012, pp. 783–810.
- <sup>11</sup> Dean MacCannell, 'Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings', *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 79, no. 3, 1973, pp. 589–603.
- <sup>12</sup> *Taluka* is an administrative division that comprises a group of villages.
- <sup>13</sup> For the differences and similarities between Gawda and Kunnbi, see Cláudia Pereira, 'Religious dances and tourism'.
- <sup>14</sup> Cláudia Pereira, 'As Danças e as Canções dos Gaudde Católicos de Goa', pp. 86–103.
- <sup>15</sup> Cf. Cláudia Pereira, 'Religious dances and tourism'.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> Dhalo is also performed by Hindu Gawda women, but in the months of Pausha and Magha of the Hindu calendar, which usually takes place in January.
- <sup>18</sup> Maria Bernadette Gomes, 'Ethnomedicine and Healing Practices in Goa (the Kunnbi Case)', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Taleigaon, Goa University, 1993, p. 60.
- <sup>19</sup> Norbert Elias, *An Essay on Time*, 1984; rpt, Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2007.
- <sup>20</sup> Referring to Mallikarjun deity, a god with a human image, whose temple is in the southern *taluka*, Canacona.
- <sup>21</sup> Paik is for the Gawda a man who walks at night and cannot be seen if passing beside, being also the deity of a temple in southern Goa, represented by a man sitting on a horse, or a deity with a strong human appearance.
- <sup>22</sup> Namrata Naik, 'The ambivalence in possession: vocal gods, silent ancestors, invisible women and missing dalits' [online], unpublished M.A. diss., Department of Sociology, Goa University, Taleigaon, Goa, 2014, p. 22, see [http://library.unigoa.ac.in:8081/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/626/Namrata\\_Naik\\_-\\_The\\_Ambivalence\\_in\\_Possession\\_\\_\\_final.pdf?sequence=1](http://library.unigoa.ac.in:8081/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/626/Namrata_Naik_-_The_Ambivalence_in_Possession___final.pdf?sequence=1), accessed 7 August 2014.
- <sup>23</sup> In Sri Lanka is also observed possession among Catholic women, see R.L. Stirrat, 'Demonic Possession in Roman Catholic Sri Lanka', *Journal of Anthropological Research*, no. 33, 1977, pp. 133–57.
- <sup>24</sup> The annual visit of this image is very important for Catholic Gawda and other Catholics, when they invite family members their home and offer a meal. The person of the house who receives this visit must always accompany the saint image, who cannot be left alone, just as they do with the guests who also are not left alone. Similarly, Hindus receive the annual visit of images of Hindu entities, such as Sai Baba.



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<sup>25</sup> Cf. John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 1990; rpt, London: Sage, 2002.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Cláudia Pereira, 'Religious dances and tourism'.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, 'Primary Census Data Highlights – India', *Census of India 2011*, see [http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/PCA/PCA\\_Highlights/pca\\_highlights\\_india.html](http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/PCA/PCA_Highlights/pca_highlights_india.html), accessed 3 October 2013.

<sup>32</sup> Inês Lourenço, 'Religion and gender: the Hindu diaspora in Portugal', *South Asian Diaspora*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2011, pp. 37–51, DOI: 10.1080/19438192.2010.539033.

<sup>33</sup> Gloria Goodwin Raheja and Ann Grodzins Gold, *Listen to the Heron's Words: Reimagining Gender and Kinship in North India*, California: University of California Press, 1994.

<sup>34</sup> João Pina-Cabral, 'The Threshold Diffused: Margins, Hegemonies and Contradictions in Contemporary Anthropology', *African Studies*, vol. 56, no. 2, 1997, pp. 31–51, DOI: 10.1080/00020189708707867.

<sup>35</sup> Christopher Fuller, 'Introduction: Caste Today', *Caste Today*, ed. Christopher Fuller, New Delhi: OUP, 1996, pp. 1–31.

<sup>36</sup> André Béteille, 'Race, Caste and Ethnic Identity', *Society and Politics in India: Essays in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. André Béteille, 1991; rpt, New Delhi: OUP, 1999, pp. 37–56; and Christopher Fuller, 'Introduction: Caste Today', *Caste Today*, ed. Christopher Fuller, New Delhi: OUP, 1996, pp. 1–31.