THE TOURISM CRITIQUE AND TOURISM MOVEMENTS IN GOA

Report on an Introductory Study

A. Srckumar, Alito Siqueira, Shaila Desouza, Afonso Botelho,
Milan Khanolkar, Reyna Sequeira

Sponsored by
Equations, Bangalore.

Goa
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Errol De Souza provided valuable insights at various stages.

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Material from Sections 3, 4 & 5 were presented by A. Sreekumar and Alito Siqueira at the World Leisure and Recreation Association (WLRA) World Congress on "Leisure Tourism and Environment: Issues for Human Development", Jaipur, India, December 5-10, 1993.

Material from Sections 1 & 5 were also presented by Alito Siqueira and A. Sreekumar at the XXth All India Sociological Conference, Mangalore, India, December 1993.

The project has drawn a few insights from the on-going doctoral research of Alito Siqueira.

A. Sreekumar, Alito Siqueira, Shaila De Souza, Alfonso Botelho, Milan Khanolkar, Reyna Sequeira
INTRODUCTION

The critique of tourism in the Third World and the international movement of tourism activists are well established. This critique and the movement accompanying it have been open to review both from within and outside the movement. Over the last decade, the experiences of activists in the Third World have contributed to questioning some of the assumptions of the tourism critique. In particular, the experiences of activists from Goa have played an important role.

Without distracting from the achievements of the critique and the movement, one of the contemporary debates within the movement is over 'alternative' or 'acceptable' tourism. According to Holden (1988) and Gonsalves (1993), 'acceptable' tourism is an agenda of the West with little or no relevance to Third World people - sometimes referred to as the victims of international tourism.

The agenda of tourism activists in Goa has also been critically reviewed along criteria of relevance to the people. Birtill (1992) suggested that the tourism movement in Goa lacked mass support because it was inward looking. Siqueira (1991) suggested that mass support was not forthcoming because the critique represented the interests of a small section of the Catholic community. Lee (1993) has noted that while the critique in Goa has shifted from cultural to environmental concerns, the movement may not enjoy wide support because its appeal rests on 'ethical solidarity'. Overtly or covertly, therefore, it has been suggested that the agenda of Third World people (and Goa, too) are not being adequately represented by the tourism movements or activists.

The Project

This project was conceived to examine the differences between tourism movements on the one hand and peoples' agenda on the other. It was assumed that village level committees that have sprung up in Goa,
Tourism Critique and Movements in Goa

opposing tourism projects or parts thereof, would more adequately represent the peoples' concerns, as compared to tourism activist organisations which represent the entire region or state. The idiom of village committees would be closer to the 'people' as compared to the rhetoric of tourism activist organisations. Accordingly, we conceived of a cross-case study to understand the differences and similarities between one activist organisation and one village committee. The activist organisation selected for study was pre-determined, as a case study on Baliancho Saad (a women's collective with prominent interest in the tourism issue) was already underway. This introductory study was meant to (a) identify one village committee for the purpose of study and (b) prepare a detailed project proposal, drawing on insights from the areas of social movements, organisation theory, and the tourism critique. Data was gathered from newspapers and the literature published by the tourism movement, to identify village committees in different parts of Goa. Subsequently the villages were visited briefly and interviews were conducted with a few key members of the village committees (and sometimes with others too).

As we began to look at the data before us, a number of our assumptions did not seem to hold:

1. There was an important change in the tourism movement within Goa, as activist organisations were closely aligning with village committees to oppose the introduction of golf courses into Goa.

2. In our interviews, the resentments did not seem to be directed against tourism as such but rather against specific aspects of the industry. More importantly, there was considerable ambivalence among interviewees and village committees and they could not be easily classified as pro- or anti-tourism.

3. Village committees were not transparent representatives of the 'people'. The assumption that village committees are closer to the people was suspect.

This is a report of our introductory work over the last four months (July to October 1993), directed to our partners and sponsors. We therefore decided to write our thoughts, tentative understanding and reveal competences we have been developing. Accordingly, Section 2 gives the brief outline of tourism development and the distribution of village level committees in Goa. Section 3 is a cross-case analysis of village committees, primarily differentiating pre-project and post-project phases. Section 4 looks at some possibilities of understanding tourism issues as articulating questions of identity and mentions the new phase of the tourism movement in Goa. The perspective of 'Invention of Tradition' is
specifically looked at in this context and critiqued in Section 5. Section 6 looks at some of the methodological questions we are engaged with, particularly those encountered in the field. The concluding Section 7, states the type of work we would like to explore in the coming months. As will be seen, rather than preparing a project proposal for a long term project, we have identified a series of short term projects. Appendix I contains brief reports on villages visited by the research team.

A separate case study on an activist organisation, the "Baliancho Saad", is being prepared, hence this report (except for Section 4) does not engage in the comparative study envisaged at the beginning of this project.

Our intention in this introductory study is to open our work to suggestions, comments and discussions. Hence, we have presented our descriptions and analyses even while we are aware that we are working with limited primary and secondary data. Other specific limitations have also been mentioned in the body of the text. The Sections have been written by different team members (at times independently) and we have allowed the differences in articulations and unevenness to stay, permitting for critical appreciation of the various contributions.

We look forward to comments and suggestions to open up more focussed issues for our work.
SECTION 2

TOURISM AND VILLAGE ACTIVISM

Alito Siqueira & A. Sreekumar

1. Introduction
The purpose of this brief background note is to acquaint the reader with tourism development, its types, and the emergence of village level committees contesting tourism or a part of it.

2. The New Phase of International Tourism and the Tourism Movement In Goa
Tourist arrivals began in the late 60’s. Since then there has been a steady growth in the number of arrivals and a diversification of the market segments. Table 1 gives the annual number of arrivals from 1973 to date, distributed between domestic and international tourists.

Table 1 — Tourist Arrivals in Goa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Annual Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>119387</td>
<td>.8371</td>
<td>127758</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>171239</td>
<td>10400</td>
<td>181639</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>198979</td>
<td>12494</td>
<td>211473</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>230675</td>
<td>16149</td>
<td>246824</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>269498</td>
<td>20806</td>
<td>290304</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>29960</td>
<td>22601</td>
<td>322215</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>324814</td>
<td>30778</td>
<td>355592</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>332535</td>
<td>34288</td>
<td>366823</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>409715</td>
<td>29300</td>
<td>439015</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tourist Arrivals in Goa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Annual Growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>449174</td>
<td>27991</td>
<td>477165</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>496440</td>
<td>33575</td>
<td>530015</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>607727</td>
<td>62265</td>
<td>669992</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>682545</td>
<td>92667</td>
<td>775212</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>736548</td>
<td>97533</td>
<td>834081</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>768846</td>
<td>94602</td>
<td>863448</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>761859</td>
<td>90076</td>
<td>851935</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>771013</td>
<td>91430</td>
<td>862443</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>776993</td>
<td>104330</td>
<td>881323</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>756786</td>
<td>78281</td>
<td>835067</td>
<td>-5.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>774668</td>
<td>121442</td>
<td>896110</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: The figures are recorded from returns filed by the hotels, and not at the point of departure (W.T.O. norms.) Hence, those staying with friends and relatives will not have been enumerated. Further, those who change hotels and stay in more than one hotel while in Goa, will be recorded twice. (*W.T.O.: World Tourism Organisation.)

International tourist arrivals in Goa constitute leisure tourists who stay along the beach. However, these include different segments, from backpackers who often choose to stay with local residents to the luxury tourists who opt for the luxury beach resorts. In the last five years, the 'chartered' tourists have become the major segment of the international arrivals (see Table 2). The proposed golf tourism is meant to attract even higher spenders, particularly the Japanese, who are presently conspicuous by their absence. New facilities and infrastructure for this segment are presently under consideration. On the whole, international tourist arrivals are becoming increasingly organised in comparison to the late 60's and 70's. Domestic tourists, in contrast to international tourists, are sightseers and choose to stay in towns from where they can get transport to the beaches, temples and churches which constitute the sites and attractions of Goa.

Most of the village level committees were formed when international tourist arrivals became more organised, and also as a reaction to the inroads organised tourism was making into the villages. (Saligao village level committee could be an exception to this.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Charter Tourist Arrivals Only</th>
<th>All Foreign Tourist Arrivals</th>
<th>% of Charter Tourists to All Foreign Tourists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985 - 86</td>
<td>3,568</td>
<td>88,038</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986 - 87</td>
<td>4,401</td>
<td>1,03,444</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987 - 88</td>
<td>5,419</td>
<td>86,479</td>
<td>5.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988 - 89</td>
<td>9,705</td>
<td>93,043</td>
<td>10.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 - 90</td>
<td>9,316</td>
<td>97,656</td>
<td>9.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990 - 91</td>
<td>5,815</td>
<td>91,982</td>
<td>6.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991 - 92</td>
<td>17,102</td>
<td>96,843</td>
<td>17.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992 - 93</td>
<td>39,871</td>
<td>1,28,489</td>
<td>31.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3. Absence of Town Committees in Tourism Movement

Domestic tourists, who account for about 80-85% of the total arrivals, have an average stay of 4 days, while international tourists' average duration of stay is twelve days. A crude geographical distribution of tourists indicates that international tourists stay along the coast while domestic tourists stay in towns. While data on tourist arrivals are not available village/townwise, the number of rooms classified by cost of room per day is an appropriate pseudo-variable, which indicates the type of tourists arriving at each village/town. (see Diagram I on next page). The land use, demand for local facilities and interaction with natives, differ across these segments of the tourist market.

The urban centres, primarily Panjim, Vasco, Margao and Mapusa, have the largest number of rooms. These hotels cater predominantly to domestic tourists, both sightseers and business. The larger number of A/B type rooms indicate the higher room tariffs in towns in contrast to the beaches. It would also be noted from Diagram II on page 8, that domestic tourist arrivals fluctuate (as a percentage of average arrivals) less than international tourist arrivals, indicating the greater stability (again relative to the level of arrivals) of domestic tourism. This relative stability could also have its implications on the nature of movements in towns versus beaches.
Further, in towns, the growth of tourism is one of the many factors leading impacts of tourism from the perceived impacts of the processes of urbanisation. This is perhaps one of the major reasons why no town committees emphasising tourism issues in their respective towns have emerged.

4. Emergence of Tourism Activist Committees in the New Conquests

The Coastal Belt could be divided into two areas: (1) those with a larger percentage of C & D type rooms and (2) those with a larger percentage of luxury A and B type rooms (in existence and proposed).

The beaches between Anjuna and Benaulim (i.e. central Goa) have a large number of lower category rooms (see Diagram II), indicating the preference of backpackers for these beaches. These villages did not have currently
Tourism and Village Action

functioning village committees involved in tourism movement. Where such committees have been formed in the past, they have concerned themselves with resisting the appropriation of land by tourism projects. E.g.

i. In Candolim there was a successful agitation and legal battle to prevent the Taj Group of Hotels from acquiring land by force during the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

ii. In Baga, the residents opposed the Government acquisition of land for a tourism project.

In Anjuna, the Anjuna Market Vendors Association (a registered association) is in existence for the last three to four years and was formed for protecting the flea market, which was temporarily closed in response to protests from tourism activist organisations.

The two major beaches attracting tourists are Calangute and Colva. Arrivals here began with the hippies (backpackers) and by the 80's, domestic and charter tourists, too, chose to stay at these beaches, accounting for the larger number of B type hotels in these destinations.

The big projects (luxury hotels, golf courses, etc.) are predominantly in existence (and proposed) north of Anjuna and south of Cavelossim (included), the New Conquests. A majority of the village committees covered in this study (except Saligao, Benaulim and Bogmalo) hail from these villages. The big projects have a preference for these areas, as large land areas may be available with less difficulty and cost. New Conquests are less developed and less densely populated in comparison to Old Conquests. Hence, the reasons for resentments being more organised in the form of village committees could probably lie in the intensity of the impacts and felt impacts of such projects of modernity. Similarly, the reasons for the absence, for their being less organised in the Old Conquests, might lie in greater development coupled with less organised forms of international tourism in those areas. These issues are further discussed in the Section titled 'Issues and Identities in the Tourism Movement'.

The Section which follows, highlights and probes into the resentment against big projects in the New Conquests. It looks at the projects as the 'big other' in the village and tries to understand the resentments, using a pre-post project framework.
A. Sreekumar

1. Introduction

The first three months of the project were spent on field work and discussions with the objective of writing a detailed project proposal at the end. This section articulates some of the notions gathered during this stage.

The objective of the field work being different, the following points should be considered:

i. Limited data, in the form of interview responses of selected persons involved in/with knowledge of the movements in their village.

ii. Interview responses in local language. The notions derived were based on their paraphrasing in English.

iii. The limited objective of assessing the feasibility of the villages for further intensive study. The interview questions were based on this objective.

iv. The interviewers were looking for differences (consciously and unconsciously) between all-Goa level movements and village level movements.

v. During the initial stages, the interviewers seemed to have less empathy towards the all-Goa level movements.

Within this context, the insights obtained can be placed as follows:

The resentments in the village, before the tourism project commenced (pre-arrival stage) were mostly over land, water, alienation and access and originated from the characteristics of 'bigness' and 'otherness' combined...
and manifested in the form of five-star hotels, golf courses, etc. The dominant concerns of all-Goa level movements were drugs, prostitution, environment and cultural degradation and originated from an understanding of tourism and its ill-effects. When the two movements joined together against big projects, the resentments of the village and the concerns over tourism found common cause.

With the arrival of the project in physical form (the arrival stage), the resentments in the village got focussed on the project and the representatives. Concerns over tourism got shifted to the background. Once the project started (the post-arrival stage), the village sought involvement as well as a share in the opportunities. This could be interpreted as attempts to gain access, have a sense of control and remove alienation or, in other words, as attempts to reduce the "bigness" and "otherness" of the projects.

In this process, the big projects and tourism get disassociated in the eyes of the village, enabling the host community to resent the project, be concerned about tourism (elsewhere?) yet accept tourism/involve in tourism at the same time.

In the following pages, the village level movements and their characteristics across pre-arrival and post-arrival stages of tourism projects are outlined.

2. The Pre-Arrival, Arrival and Post-Arrival Stages of Tourism in a Village

The dominant and identifiable characteristics of the three stages are as follows:

Pre-arrival stage: The physical structures are yet to be built, representatives of the projects are yet to arrive and what is available is some information on what is likely to arrive. (eg. Villages in Pernem, Quepem).

Arrival stage: Land gets acquired/bought, physical structures come up and owners/representatives of the project present/appear in the villages. Tourists are yet to arrive. (eg. Agonda, Loliem).

Post-arrival stage: The project/s is/are in operation, tourists and employees arrive (eg. Cavelossim, Bogmalo).

The stages as defined above are in relation to big projects such as five-star hotels, golf courses and holiday villages and not in relation to the unorganised sector of tourism.

The dominant organisational characteristics of the projects during the three stages would be intangibility, instability and stability respectively.
3. Tourism Activists and Activism in Villages: Differences across Pre- and Post-Arrival Stages

The differences listed in Table 3 are discussed below, categorised under resentments, dispositions, issues and forms of protest. No attempt is made at this stage to give precise definitions for these terms.

### 3.1 Resentments

**The 'Big Other' and Inaccessibility**

In both pre-arrival and post-arrival stages, the resentments seemed to be caused by the 'big other' (the golf course, holiday village, five-star hotel, etc.) due to both 'bigness' and 'otherness'. Apart from the concerns of losing ownership and/or livelihood, unequal sharing of resources like water, etc., the resentments during the pre-arrival stage indicated anticipated loss of access and reversal of notions of insider/outsider roles. The loss of access implied not just loss of physical access but psychological/social inaccessibility as well, to a new social system, aggravated possibly by its anticipated invisibility.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3 — Tourism Activism in Villages: Differences Across Pre- and Post-Arrival Stages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pre-Arrival Stage</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resentments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Anxiety about the new 'masters' in the village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Resentment towards new segment of tourists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Resentment focussed within the village, over suspected collusion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Inevitability of the project not an inhibition for raising issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vulnerability of the village to tourism implicit in the issues raised.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pre- and Post-Arrival Stage Resentments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Immunity to tourism 'here and now', anticipated vulnerability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ambiguous positions for sister movements and individuals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Issues

| 1. | A variety of issues get expressed. |
| 2. | Employment, business opportunities, pollution, etc., dominate. |

### Forms of Protest

| 1. | Aesthetic and symbolic protest forms dominate. |
| 2. | Forms of protests such as 'morchas' are evaluated per se. |
| 3. | Greater collaboration with all-Goa activists. |

There was anxiety about reversal of roles converting the main players of the existing social system into mere spectators and the taking over of the social system by a new set of players.

When faced with the irreversible reality in the post-arrival stage, these resentments seemed to take a back seat, at least in the interview responses. It is possible that the post-arrival stage issues such as share of employment, running of taxis, etc., enable one to regain notions of access, or the issues might be getting redefined by a process of rationalisation, due to the irreversibility of the project.

The industry might also be using limited access and some share of employment as strategies to contain such resentment.

### Absence of 'Tourists' in the Rhetoric of Resentment

'Tourists' as a source of resentment was more or less absent in the pre- as well as post-arrival rhetoric. Specifically, in Pernem, a pre-arrival stage...
Tourism Critique and Movements in Goa

area, the anticipated tourist segment (high spenders) was viewed as a threat to the existing segment (backpackers), the latter in fact was considered as a source of dignity, four some. In Cavelossim, a post-arrival village, tourists did not figure in the rhetoric. The nature of tourism in Cavelossim, viz. five-star tourism, maintains a distance with villagers. In Pernem, where such distance was absent, the tourists were a source of dignity to those involved in tourism. To those who were not involved, such as those nearer to all-Goa level activists, they were a source of loss of dignity.

"In the beginning, the locals gave the tourists tender coconuts as they came. Subsequently, they thought it better to sell tender coconuts to them. Later they gave them small rooms. Gradually, they gave them the entire house and they themselves stayed in a hut. All for money.

The question of insider/outsider role reversal became more problematic here. Those involved felt more inside, while concerned others felt themselves as well as those involved pushed to the peripheries.

Questions remain as to what determines these different feelings. And what helps the tourists to get bailed out by the villagers. Is it inherent in the market for backpack tourism that you are able to sell it only if you also sell dignity to the host community? Is 'dignity' a means of rationalisation as one has no option but to play host? Is it due to the smallness of the other (and hence), the accessibility and visibility? Is otherness itself a function of bigness/smallness?

Targets of Resentment
The resentments during the pre-arrival stage were targeted to many, probably due to the lack of presence of the 'big other' at that stage in the village. There was resentment with government over lack of information, with landowners for colluding with the 'big others' and with sections of the village community for non involvement in activism. The resentments got focussed to the 'big other' during the arrival and post-arrival stages.

3.2 Dispositions
Inevitability of the Project/s and Involvement in Activism
The notion that the project was irreversible was evident from the nature of issues raised in the post-arrival stage: issues such as employment for
 locals, opportunity for running shacks and plying of taxis by locals, sewage problems, etc. In the pre-arrival stage, at least one interviewee felt the project as inevitable, yet was involved in movement against the project. The pre-arrival stage position, even if held by very few, raises some issues. Is the feeling of inevitability mixed with some hope somewhere? Or is the involvement in activism merely a means of expressing one's position towards the other and the colluding agencies? Or is the involvement an unconscious/conscious attempt to build up an atmosphere which would help in bargaining when the project comes up?

Feelings of Vulnerability and Immunity

The issues raised in the pre-arrival stage implied a feeling of vulnerability to undesirable effects of tourism such as drugs, prostitution, etc. At the same time, both in the post-arrival stage as well as in those villages in Pernem (pre-arrival stage) where the backpack tourism had made inroads, there were emphatic denials of prostitution and drugs as problems:

"There is no problem to the women folk" (Pernem)
"No involvement of women" (Post-arrival stage)

In the post-arrival stage, along with such emphatic statements about the village, there were statements in general about vulnerability.

"Girls lose morals"
"Younger generation (boys) not conscious of AIDS"

Such statements were either on women or youth. These lead to many questions. Is there a possibility that activism requires the co-existence of feelings of vulnerability and immunity, anticipated vulnerability as a driving force to protest against the arrival of the 'big other', vulnerability of others (women, youth, people) to rise as protectors, immunity 'here and now' as a source of strength?

The traces of feelings of vulnerability of the pre-arrival stage seemed to disappear with the arrival of the 'big other'. Or it had more currency when the 'big other' was intangible. It is also quite possible that all-Goa activists and village level activists might differ in their levels of impatience to get over feelings of vulnerability and gain feelings of control. The levels of impatience might be inversely related to physical distance from the 'big other'.

15
Ambiguities in Position

There was ambiguity on the part of sister movements and also individuals on their position with regard to village level movement in the pre-arrival stage. No such ambiguity was evident from the post-arrival stage interview responses. During the pre-arrival stage, sister movements seemed to be participating in activism either based on personal relationships or based on the common/shared feelings of being aggrieved in general. (The former, viz. personal relationships could probably be a function of the latter). The interview responses also indicated attempts by sister movements to differentiate themselves in terms of identity from tourism activist organisations. The ambiguities could be a result of the conflicting nature of tourism, an industry which brings benefits together with ill-effects. Or they could be due to the intangibility of the ‘big other’ in the pre-arrival stage, making it difficult to take positions.

3.3 Issues

Quality of issues
A variety of issues such as possible water shortage, access, displacement of trades, drugs, prostitution, cultural degradation, pollution, environmental impacts, etc., were raised as part of activism during the pre-arrival stage. (Pernem, Quepem). The interview responses from the post-arrival stage villages indicated dominance of issues seeking a better share of the benefits of tourism (exception would be the sewage problem at Cavelossim and the problem of displacement of trade at Bogmalo). Other issues such as cultural degradation were given only passing reference.

There seems to be a shift in the quality of issues from expressive to instrumental when we move from pre-arrival to post-arrival stage.

It could be interpreted as a shift to gain a sense of control over the ‘big other’, a shift to gain access. It is also possible that the instrumental mode of functioning of the powerful ‘big other’ determines the mode of functioning of those even in opposition to it.

Post-Arrival Reminiscences

The reminiscences of the pre-arrival stage (in the post-arrival stage) did not seem to emphasise access and displacement of trade as issues once fought. It could be due to a gradual readjustment to limited areas of
access and new trades. It is also possible that the irreversibility of the project shifts hurt feelings to the background.

3.4 Forms of Protest

Quality

Aesthetic and symbolic forms of protests such as empty pot dhama, Probhat Pheri, etc., dominated the pre-arrival stage. There was no evidence from the post-arrival interview responses to indicate such forms of protest.

This could be understood in the context of the non-instrumental qualities of issues raised in the pre-arrival stage, as form fitting the content. Close association with all-Goa level tourism activists during the pre-arrival stage could probably explain this. In which case, the differences in the forms of protest, across pre- and post-arrival stages, are parallel to the differences in the issues and resentments between all-Goa level activists and village level activists.

Evaluation

Related to this is the notion of success/failure of protests across pre-arrival and post-arrival stages. The pre-arrival stage protests were evaluated per se or for their intrinsic worth rather than for their impact in meeting any extraneous objectives or for their extrinsic worth. In the post-arrival stage, there were emphatic statements about achievements such as increase in the taxes of hotels by the Panchayats, permission for running taxis, shacks, etc., indicating evaluation of extrinsic worth of protests.

3.5 Summary

To summarise, the movement from intangible – uncertain tourism project ideas in the pre-arrival stage – to the tangible “big other”, running a stable tourism operation in the post-arrival stage – seems to be associated with a shift in resentments to the background; a shift in feelings of anticipated vulnerability to vulnerability elsewhere and/or with others; ambiguities of positions on activism to clarity of positions; non-instrumental orientations to instrumental orientations; aesthetic and symbolic forms of protest to goal directed protests; and evaluations of intrinsic worth of protest action to evaluations of their extrinsic worth in village level tourism movements.
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The closer association of village level movements with all Goa-level activist organisations during the pre-arrival stage of tourism gives the feeling that the differences suggested above could give leads to understanding the differences across the two levels of movements. (This is not attempted in this study.)

While there seem to be such differences across the two stages, there are also similarities. The tourist as a source of resentment is not dominant in both the stages. (This may not be true for all-Goa level activist organisations.) A sense of immunity 'here and now' to the ill-effects of tourism such as prostitution, drugs, etc., is also dominant in both the stages.

An ethnographic and historical study of two selected villages in the pre- and post-arrival stages of tourism can give a richer understanding of differences across these stages, even invalidating some of the insights outlined above. Such a study could also enrich the questions raised, raising them from the level of organisational, social psychological questions to the level of contextual and also abstract theoretical questions.

4. The Arrival Stage of Tourism

While interview responses from the arrival stage of tourism (Loliem, Agonda) were qualitatively and quantitatively similar to the responses from the pre- and post-arrival stages of tourism, the analyses did not throw additional insights, possibly due to the close resemblance between the arrival and post-arrival stages. Yet, the resemblance itself could be used as a means for understanding.

At the same time, one significant difference between the arrival and post-arrival stages is in the nature of issues raised. Obviously, as tourism operation had not taken hold in the arrival stage, the issues were access, displacement of trades, etc., and not issues related to gaining a share of the benefits/opportunities of tourism.

Similarly, a significant difference between the pre-arrival stage of tourism and the arrival stage of tourism was the focusing of resentments towards the 'big other' in the arrival stage, in which its physical presence in the form of constructions, owners and representatives was felt. Thus the 'big and tangible presence' seemed to become an immediate threat to access, traditional means of livelihood, a sense of control, etc., bringing to the fore the need to gain/regain control or a notion of control over the 'big
other’, thereby shifting the background concerns on tourism and the ill-effects of tourism. While the internal socio-political relations in the village and the relationship with all-Goa level tourism activist organisations seemed to determine the shape of activism in the pre-arrival stage, the ‘big other’ and its actions and responses seemed to give shape to it in the arrival stage.

Struggle with the ‘big other’, sometimes for years together, in the arrival and post-arrival stages (during which tourism does not get manifested) seemed to be leading to a sense of disassociation between tourism and the ‘big other’. Qualities of ‘bigness’ and ‘otherness’ dominated over qualities of tourism during these stages. At the most, the ‘big other’ seemed to be looked at as tourism related rather than tourism per se. The dominant orientation during the arrival and post-arrival stages hence seemed to be to gain control over the ‘big other’ immediately by preventing it/him from taking roots and subsequently by demanding a share of benefits/opportunities. Tourism, though (or since) disassociated from the ‘big other’, remained as a concern and also kept getting expressed as a concern.

The ‘pilot’ (motor cycle taxi operator) at Cavelossim is proud of his knowledge of Italian and German but is concerned about the ill-effects of tourism; if not very much in Cavelossim, elsewhere. Is he resentful, concerned about onething while accepting something altogether different? Or is he resenting and being concerned while accepting?

5. To Sum Up: The Co-existence of Resentment, Concern and Acceptance

The ‘big other’ hence brings in a different understanding of resentment and tourism related activism, different from the ones whose main elements are drugs, prostitution/child prostitution, cultural degradation, etc. The ‘bigness’, the ‘otherness’, the invisibility and inaccessibility caused by ‘bigness’ or ‘otherness’ or both, the displacement of the villagers from the centre to the periphery, etc., become the main elements of the understanding. The main elements being these, the understanding accommodates the co-existence of resentment, concern and acceptance of involvement with tourism in the host community. You resent the ‘big other’, are concerned about the ill-effects of ‘tourism’ (possibly elsewhere) but accept/involve in tourism ‘here and now’.

This understanding might either get reinforced or sidelined by a closer look at the ‘small other’ (the unorganised segment of international tourism) and the manner in which it gets received in the host community.
SECTION 4

ISSUES AND IDENTITIES

Alito Siqueira

1. Introduction

The earlier section describes how 'big tourism projects' come to be received in the villages, particularly in terms of the issues raised by village committees. In contrast, different sets of issues have been raised by regional tourism activist organisations. Here it is suggested that village committees and regional organisations represent different entities and, more importantly, identities and hence articulate different sets of issues. The shift of gears is from issues (text) to social identities (context) that underlie the tourism movement. We shall also look at some of the changes in recent years. The effort in this section is only indicative, i.e. towards one possibility of understanding rather than offering any comprehensive explanation.

For this discussion, the formation of social identity is a political process of negotiation with the other. Identity is always being created and re-created. It leads to and is shaped by contest and conflict. Social identities are therefore not static or a given set of attributes and characteristics but rather malleable and reshaped in day-to-day struggle. [Anderson (1983), Hobsbaum Ranger (1983)]. We have drawn on insights from studies that have relied on the notion of 'inventing traditions' (Hobsbaum Ranger, 1983). However, such a notion has some serious difficulties. Section 5 discusses some theoretical problems and possibilities in the study of identity articulation. After liberation from Portuguese rule, Goa has been undergoing change with major contests over identity. It is within this fluid contest that an attempt is made to discern and identify only those social identities that have participated in tourism activism.

2. The 80's

The issues engaging regional organisations were the commercialisation and misrepresentation of the Carnival (a traditional Catholic community
Issues and Identities

festival unique to Goa in India), the portrayal of women - particularly Goan women - in tourism advertising and literature, nudism, the spread of drugs and AIDS, and fear of prostitution with the growth of tourism. The issue was the potential of tourism to destroy Goan culture. The central question was culture in general and representation in particular. Goan Catholic upper and middle class traditions constituted this identity.

The Goan Catholic community, including the church (closely aligned to the State during Portuguese colonialism), was seeking to re-create its identity post-liberation. At that moment the tourism industry sought to appropriate, commercialise and freeze selected (sometimes dying) elements of the Catholic tradition. Commercial reproduction involved identifying of traditional items, removing them from their living (or dying) contexts and placing them within the context of a modern pan-Indian tourism culture. Now they would be seen as attractions precisely because they were at best quaint and amusing and at worst cheap and promiscuous. Such items would define the otherness of the Goans with the same fixity that biological traits define ethnic characteristics. The community protested because while they, as historical subjects, were attempting to re-evaluate and re-create their tradition, the tourism industry sought to use those symbols (the community was ambivalent with) to convert them into objects of history for the amusement of others. This contest was over the social and cultural identity of a section of the Catholic community and it did not appeal to other sections of society, including those who were closely engaged with backpack international tourism, and were sometimes identified as the victims of tourism.

Activist organizations from Goa became a part of the international tourism movement and Goan issues received considerable attention in the international media. The focus of issues shifted from cultural to environmental, both in the media campaign and through local courts. Environmental issues (unlike issues of culture and representation) could be pursued through courts. Secondly the European partners in the international movement and European audiences were sensitive to environmental questions but would find it difficult to identify with cultural issues (see Lea, 1993) which came across as moralistic and outdated.

A different set of issues over tourism emerged at the villages. In Agonda, Loliem, Candolim, etc., the central question concerned the appropriation of land for big hotel projects, their blocking of access to the beach, etc.
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Fresh entrants to the village, purchase of land or illegal construction were not new factors entering villages (small others). The big projects (big others) were different. With much larger financial resources and influence with the regional and central Government, they were and are able to exercise significantly greater control and power over the village community or Ganv. This severely threatened the identity of the village community or Ganv. Ganv is often translated as village but it is not to be confused with the village/town dichotomy. Ganv is the place of one's origin, a social body (entity) geographically bounded, without reference to any pre-modern characteristics. Each Ganv gives its Ganvcar (persons who originate from it) a set of characteristics rather similar to nations, e.g. the people of Saligao are as shrewd as foxes or those of Raia are as fierce as tigers. Here physical ownership of land does not diminish the control of the Ganv over the villagers as the villagers are bound together in mutual and reciprocal obligation (even if seen as unequal and unequitarian at times).

The 'big other' is fundamentally different because it does not recognise the authority of the Ganv or villagers.

*When the promoter came to the Gram Sabha, he refused to answer questions and insulted the villagers. Unless he apologises and meets all our conditions we will not agree to the project.* — a village activist

The immunity of the project to the influences of the Ganv is symbolised in the building of tall boundary walls and the blocking of traditional pathways. The boundary walls leave the Ganv out and make the villagers dispensable in their own Ganv. Big projects present themselves as self-sufficient entities. They use villagers where convenient and are often able to obtain the state and central Government approvals over the heads of local villagers.

In the above discussion, the Goan cultural identity and the village identity are rather simplistically presented as dichotomies and require many refinements:

i. Persons enjoy multiple identities and hence could share both identities simultaneously. In Saligao, for instance, the village committee is seen as articulating the cultural identity.

ii. Both the identities share common assumptions on gender. For instance, 'vulnerability' is the attribute of women and children.

iii. The cultural identity did articulate questions of land, water, etc.; and did not confine itself to representational questions only. Similarly,
village identities did often express their reservations about tourism-induced prostitution. However, the core issues for each were different insofar as one emphasised the retention of cultural boundaries, the intruding other being defined as a cultural other i.e. tourism, and the village identity emphasised the retention of physical boundaries, the intruding other being defined as a physical, i.e. the big project. Siqueira (1991) has suggested that the cultural identity seeks to retain its romantic past. This does not seem to be true as the identity was and is aware of the cultural process it is going through in redefining itself. Similarly, the village identity is not against development per se but rather is trying to ensure that developmental projects do not undermine the community they are purportedly intended for.

iv. Finally, the village identity has been projected as homogeneous. This is rarely so. For instance, villagers may be divided between Gaunkars (original settlers) and non-Gaunkars or later-settlers. These divisions are at times closely overlapping divisions between landowners and tenants, Hindus and Catholics, etc. All these divisions influence the composition and identity articulated by the village committee. For instance, in Saligao the village committee is seen as a committee of Gaunkars, in Agonda it is seen as a committee of non-Gaunkars and in Loiém both Gaunkars and non-Gaunkars constitute the committee.

5. The Present
Today the tourism movement is made up of committees comprising of sets of villages. (e.g. Pernem Coastal Peoples' Welfare Action Committee). These committees have at times been initiated by and work closely with tourism activist organisations, particularly the Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz. The earlier divide between village committee and tourism activist organisations has considerably blurred and in Quepem Taluka (proposed Golf Course site) the movement enjoys people’s support. The central issue is the plan of the Tourism Ministry to compulsorily acquire large areas of land and hand them over to private developers for Golf Courses, or the Government promotion of other big tourism related projects.

The coming together of village committees and tourism activist organisations has considerably strengthened the movement and the Government has been forced to take cognizance of it. The Minister of Tourism has stated “… no decision has been taken. This would be done after studying the environmental impact of the project as well as considering local sentiments.” (Navhind Times, Nov. 11, 1993).

At the level of the articulation of identity, the possibilities thrown up by this new phase of the movement are yet to be studied and understood.
4. Limitations and Possibilities

We began by stating that the process of identity formation is a political process of negotiation and contest. Here we have limited ourselves to Goa. Our analysis has therefore not looked at the relationship and politics of significant others. Some of the important factors not covered here are:

i. The State Government has become much more active as a promoter of tourism projects. It has proposed the Golf Course projects and volunteers to acquire land for private parties to construct and run the Golf Courses. The projects are becoming larger, consuming contiguous land over many villages. The Government is therefore becoming an 'other', with an expanding role and agenda of its own.

ii. At the National level, the Government has been liberalizing the economy to permit more foreign investment with less control. It is encouraging charter tourism and would like to greatly increase the number of tourist arrivals and diversify the tourism product in India.

The entire tourism policy is that this small land called Goa is dispensable. This is the policy of Government and multinational interest— an activist.

The statement brings out the conflict between national identity and local cultures—an area we have not looked at in this report.

iii. Centering on environmental concerns, the international tourism movement has sought to project and promote an 'eco', 'soft' or 'acceptable' tourism. Some third world constituents of the movement have argued that this 'alternative' tourism does nothing to redress the unequal political structures between the west and third world countries and hence 'alternative' tourism is an agenda of the west with little relevance to third world countries. The Jagrut Geokkaranchi Faux, too, has voiced such difference with some of its European collaborators (see Botterill, 1991). While this means some redefinition in the international movement, it also entails the recreation of the identity of the activist at local levels in third world countries, a process that is underway (see Gonsalves, 1993) and has important implications for the movement in Goa.

iv. The national identity of India and the regional identity of Goa are issues of contested negotiation. The reverberations of these discourses subtly reflect on all other issues, including tourism. We have not touched such issues here, important as they are.

Every proposed development and every opposition to it has written into it explicitly or, most often, implicitly a notion of community and identity it seeks to re-create. The analysis suggested here is an attempt to uncover contests over communities and identities that underlie the tourism issues.
TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING
IDENTITY

Some Difficulties with the Perspective -
‘Invention of Tradition’

Alito Siqueira

1. Introduction

The earlier understanding of tourism and culture in the third world was dominated by ‘impact studies’. The concept of identity was derived from a concept of culture as an "identifiable, persistent, partially bounded set of traits with more or less fixed meanings". This was based on the ‘organic’ or ‘naturalistic’ metaphor of culture. Hence, when a culture was confronted by an exogenous variable, e.g. tourism, it was proper to ask ‘Is tourism preserving or destroying culture/tradition/identity?’ (See Smith, 1989, for one of the more sophisticated and complex versions of such studies).

Wood’s (1993) review of tourism, development and culture convincingly demonstrates the weakness of tourism impact studies in the area of culture. Following the work of Anderson (1993), Hobsbaum Ranger (1983) and other more recent studies, Wood calls for a shift of focus to the ever present ‘social construction’, ‘re-creation’, or ‘invention’ of tradition. “Tradition is always defined in the present” (Handler and Linnek in, 1984).

We will look at this ‘invention’ (or its synonyms ‘re-construction’ / ‘re-creation’) metaphor closely. We will be looking only at those studies that apply this perspective to tourism and culture. The perspective has been a major advance in tourism studies. It shifted the discussion on tourism and culture from the ‘naturalistic’ to the ‘symbolic’. Third world subjects
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and cultures ceased to be passive and researchers began to record and study the culturally active subjects in third world societies. It underlines 'change' and 'process' as central to culture and identity. Without prejudice to these enormous advances, we have encountered some difficulties as we tried to use the insights to understand tourism and identity in Goa. The perspective undermines the historical subject and it functions with an underdeveloped sense of structure. These difficulties do not apply evenly or uniformly across the studies reviewed.

2. Undermining the Historical Subject

In two important respects, some ('invention of tradition') literature seems to downplay the subject:

i. It emphasises change and tends to dismiss continuity.

ii. The 'etic' perception of change (invention) may suspect the 'emic' claims to continuity.

i. Even from within the cultural traits tradition, the dismissing of continuity has been challenged. Mahmood Armstrong (1992) have suggested that the 'natural-kind category' (necessary and sufficient features) of identifying similar traits is not an adequate instrument for locating ethnicity. Drawing on notions of fuzzy sets and cognitive psychology, they propose the use of 'prototypic' categories where "recognizable members share some but not all traits, and those traits are not equally weighted in people's minds. "(8). This argument could be used across time, such that, at time T1 traits are A,B,C; at time T2 traits are B, C, D, ... at Tn traits are X, Y, Z. There may then be little resemblance between the traits at T1 and Tn while a singular history is 'objectively real' and is experienced as such. This is an internal critique of 'etic' methods, and instruments. However, it does not seem to contend with the "emic" in its own right, i.e. as meaning giving activity. The absence of the symbolic is problematic and we are not sure if cognitive psychology could fill the gap.

ii. Hanxler and Linnekin (1984:279) stress: "Tradition is invented because it is necessarily reconstructed in the present, notwithstanding some 'participants' understanding of such activities as being preservation
rather than invention'. While both 'invention' and 'preservation' denote an active subject, the two words mean (and therefore are) very different kinds of activity. 'Preservation' has reference to the past (and prescriptions for the present and future) while 'invention' stresses the present (denying the past?). If, from the outside, continuity cannot be seen (or perhaps, experienced), it does not necessarily follow that continuity does not exist. There may be a chronocentrism (present-centredness) written into the metaphor of 'invention'.

Jackson (1989) is sensitive to the offence taken by ethnic groups when they are seen as 'inventing tradition'. His search for a 'neutral language' leads him to a 'dialogic notion' (the formation of Creole-Fidjians) of processes in identity - a potentially rich model to which we will refer again.

3. An Underdeveloped Sense of Structures

Handler and Linnekin (1984) demonstrate how 'traditional Quebecois identity' is constructed to meet the needs of Quebecois nationality. Identity in this context is an ideology - a sort of false ('invented') consciousness. This 'instrumental' conception of identity (Brass, 1979) runs the risk of reducing culture to politics, and promoting a conspiracy theory of culture. Mahmood Armstrong responds to Handler Linnekin by rightly pointing out that "Ideologies work because they resonate somewhere" (Mahmood Armstrong, 1992).

The articulation of identity may not merely be a means to an end but an end in itself. Referring to the sapeur of Congo who dress elegantly, displaying designer labels, Friedman (1990:318) notes: "The outward appearance that he (the sapeur) appropriates is not a mere project to fool the public to appear as something other than himself. It is his very essence." Bendix (1989) demonstrates how tourism displays at Interfacon are directed towards affirming local and national identity, even though doubtful economic benefits are the rhetoric to justify the display. Here the functional argument is reversed. Instrumental arguments are being used to justify activity of the 'essence'. The cultural resistance to tourism in Goa is not only an opposition to the national 'misappropriation' of a particular regional culture, it is also an effort to define and re-assert self to oneself within the context of a changing society. What is lacking is an explanation that uncovers the logic of appearance and being, instrument and essence.
Inadequate attention has been paid to the 'awareness' of the subject. "People also invent cultures for others, and then treat them as if their inventions were actual state of affairs" (Hanson 1989:890). On the other hand in Goa, the fishermen are aware that they are presenting themselves as traditional fishermen to the tourists while using that opportunity to 'come up' within Goan society. Handler and Linnekin (1984: 285) are probably right in saying that "Tradition is never wholly unselfconscious, nor is it ever wholly unrelated to the past". Anthropology's task is not to strip away the invented portion of culture as inauthentic, but to understand the process by which it acquires authenticity" (Hanson 1989:890). Perhaps we need to go further and explain the conditions of possibility of 'awareness', 'authenticity', etc. Is it (structurally) necessary that the subject remain 'innocent' and, more importantly, why does 'invention' acquire power to the degree it affirms 'authenticity'? To provide an illustration: MacCannel (1992: 27) shows "that the relationship between tourists and recent ex-primitives are framed in a somewhat forced, stereotypical commercial exploitation model characterised by bad faith and petty suspicion on both sides". And underlying this, he detects "a certain mutual complicity, a co-production of pseudo-conflict to obscure something deeper and more serious: namely, that the encounter between tourist and 'other' is the scene of a shared utopian vision of profit without exploitation" (28). Without committing ourselves to MacCannel's analysis, his efforts to uncovering 'structures' governing the encounter are exemplary.

The problem is perhaps that while the 'invention' metaphor on culture seeks to move away from the 'naturalistic' analogy, it continues to be a metaphor of "activity on the natural world" (invention, construction), and hence, in an important sense, rather 'naturalistic'. It cannot accommodate the self-referentiality of being.

4. Limitation of Post-modern Ambivalence

The 'predicament of culture', to quote James Clifford's often quoted statement, is a 'pervasive condition of off-centredness in a world of distinct meaning systems, a state of being in culture while looking at culture, a form of personal and collective self-fashoning'. This leads to the 'implicit message' that "no single set of cultural interpretations has an inherent claim to truth and authenticity" (Wood, 1993:166). This crucial insight, i.e. the determinants of ambivalence might sometimes be over-extended. The post-modern confronts his past as 'the other'. This form of ambivalence is very different from the ambivalence in third world countries, for some generated by a past which weighs heavily on the present.
Towards Understanding Identity

The ambivalence of the post-modern might drive him to an 'agnostic' position on self. But the transference of this 'agnosticism' on to identities in the third world poses serious threats: It detaches the singular identities of the third world and converts them to free floating symbols. Within global structures, the capacity (capital?) to appropriate culture is skewed in one direction, ensuring that only the post-modern will appropriate the symbols of the other. (My argument does not do justice to much of the post-modernist literature as my concern here is limited). The ambivalence in an identity is not sufficient ground to deny the ontological status of claims to identity.

5. The Dialogic Metaphor: Recognizing Invention and Structures

This refers to the interesting work of Michael Picard (and others from the International Network of the Analysis of Leisure and Tourism 'Rialto' - France). Picard (1990) examined Balinese dances, designed and staged for tourists. Over time, some of these dances were taken into the temples. Further, to the Balinese themselves, these dances became important symbols of Balinese culture. This is an excellent illustration of 'inventing tradition', i.e. where 'the staged authentic', (Pace MacCannel, 1976) becomes 'The Authentic'. Picard, therefore, rightly asserts that "Tourism is not an external force, striking Bali from outside .... but it is a process transforming Balinese society from inside." (1990:74)

In a later paper, Picard (1993), asks: "What is happening to Balinese culture?" He outlines the history of Indonesian tourism policy for Bali and shows that 'Balinese authorities did not really have a say in decision making' on the twin processes of 'touristification' and 'Indonesiation' of Bali. Through a series of external (e.g. tourist industry, Indonesian) constructions and internal inventions, Bali, concludes Picard, is now a 'resource' for international tourism in Indonesia, losing its 'anthropologic singularity' and reduced to a 'merely aesthetic' sign. Picard's work is important, because unlike the works discussed earlier, he is able to recognise political structures that inscribe invention without slipping into an instrumental notion of identity. Picard has restricted himself to the process of invention and not explored the structure of awareness or rhetoric. Further, we are unsure of how the two dimensions of culture on the one hand and politics on the other could be integrated at the theoretical level.

6. Overdetermining the Subject

Jonathan Friedman (1990) operates with a different conception of culture. Culture and identity are a function of consumption. Friedman sees identity
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(self-definitions) as linked to production and consumption in the capitalist world system. He attempts to "explore the interplay between the world market and cultural identity, between consumption and cultural strategies" (1990:312). He discusses three strategies: The Hawaiians, who oppose the touristic appropriation of their culture to "produce self-hood for themselves". The Ainu who seek touristic recognition "in order to create themselves" and the "Sapeur" (mentioned earlier) who "consume modernity to strengthen themselves" (323). (The three strategies could closely, if not entirely, find parallels in Goa).

Friedman (1990:324) then concludes: "The contrast in strategies of identity, we would suggest, is not simply one of cultural difference but of global position. The specific properties of these different strategies is, of course, clothed in cultural specificity. We think it might well be argued that the strategies themselves can be accounted for by the particular local/global articulation within which they emerge."

Friedman has been able to distance himself from a crude marxism that sees consumption merely as driven by capital. For this he has used Campbell's (1981) study of the 'constitution of desire' as emerging from the 'romantic ethic' (see Friedman, 1989). In doing so, Friedman has successfully integrated interest and identity. More importantly, Friedman's remarkable essay has placed identity within a politics of the world system. His marxist determinism, however, may leave little room for an active subject: For instance, in the above quoted passage, strategies are "clothed" (only clothed?) in specificity, but, must be "accounted for" (determined?) by the hierarchically inter-linked global market structures.

7. Conclusion

An understanding of the relationship between culture and identity in the third world demands a notion of identity that must simultaneously grasp both: appearance and being, change and continuity, the emic and etic, the structures of consciousness, innocence, ambivalence, and the political structures that make for exploitation. In explaining the work of RIALTO, Landén discusses the need for a fundamental rethinking of methods and concepts to understand international tourism, where "the question of identity becomes critical because it concerns all levels and different dimensions of the processes engendered by tourism". We are led to the most vexing problems confronting social theory, the problems of agency/structure, subject/object, etc.
While the 'construction' model is certainly an advance over the 'impacts' model, we have tried to show its inherent limitation. In our on-going work, we hope to explore two divergent metaphors: one is 'dialogue' and the other is Bourdieu's 'market' metaphor.

Picard's (1990 and 1993) crucial insight is in prompting 'dialogic interaction' as a model for the relationship between tourism and third world cultures. Earlier, with similar dispositions, Jackson (1989) has looked at the formation of 'pidgin-Creoles' to understand inter-cultural contact. The dialogue metaphor permits self-referentiality. Dialogue is within one's society and outside (in Goa, the fishermen are responding to the tourists as well as the hierarchies within Goa). The dialogues is not only with significant others, but so also with one's past and one's future where one's past or future, might confront one's present as 'the other'. (The politics of the Catholic church during the colonial period, for instance). The dialogue metaphor has room for one party to stop listening and thus converting the interaction to a monologue - where the silence of the other may indeed be eloquent. We also need to examine the related metaphor of 'interpretation'. This model would centre on the 'hermeneutic circle'.

Our interest in Bourdieu, (whose work we have only recently become acquainted with), stems from his notion of symbolic capital. He is able to retain 'self-interest' in the realm of the symbolic by introducing the notion of 'mis-recognition' (Bourdieu, 1977), where self-interest must remain hidden in order to legitimise the practice (Brubaker, 1985.) This 'structure of denial' could explain the complex interplay between the 'instrumental' and 'essential' and the rhetoric on 'essence' and 'being'. It could also be used to explain why at times the 'invented' must be declared 'authentic'. Bourdieu's has a 'positional' as against the 'intrinsic' definition of hierarchies (DiMaggio, 1979). For Bourdieu, capital is of different forms (economic, social, etc.) and though distinct, capital is mutually convertible
SECTION 6

SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

Aljos Siqueira

Subjecting the practice of the researcher to the same critical and sceptical eye as the practice of the researched

Richard Jenkins (1992:6) on Pierre Bourdieu’s Methodology

- The project began with the assumption that there are important differences between tourism activist (regional, all-Goa) organisations (Jagrut Goenkaranchi Pauz, Bailancho Saad, etc.) and village level committees (e.g. Loliem Citizens’ Action Committee). It was assumed as a fundamental hypothesis of the project that the village committees are closer to the idiom of the people’s language, while organisations are more distanced from the people.

  The difference between organisations and associations as defined, are not peculiar to Goa but to any destination world wide and many other issues too... — Project proposal for this project

- Some tentative conclusions during research:
  i. There are differences between village committees and regional organisations.
  ii. These differences cannot be attributed as those arising from ‘closeness’ or ‘distance’ from the people.
  iii. Village committees do not represent people in the passive sense. They, too, are involved in ‘mobilizing’ the people’s voice.
  
    Our first programme was to raise awareness among villagers. — a village activist

  iv. However, their official rhetoric rests on their role of being ‘the people’s voice’.
Some Methodological Concerns

I cannot say anything about the project, the people in the gram sabha will decide. — a sarpanch

v. And the same Sarpanch in a less informal conversation: "What do the people care about the project? We have to convince them and entice them to come to the Gram Sabha."

The role of the spokesperson for the people is therefore the very role that marks the break with ‘the people’ (Bourdieu 1990: 152). And ‘the people’ and their ‘spokesperson’ are aware of this.

— And the researcher too, is acutely aware of this, taking upon himself the task of unveiling the rhetoric (official) to arrive at the ‘real’.

We told them we were students so that they would feel more free to talk — a researcher

You must tell them that you are working for a project and hence them to decide if they want to talk to you. — another researcher

— Not so easily resolved, as this is a never ending quest:

How do I know whether people are telling me what is the real truth or they are saying things because they feel important being interviewed. — a researcher

Is this a reconstruction of the past with wisdom from hindsight? — another researcher

Bourdieu has argued that all interviews, including in-depth interviews, bring out the ‘official version’.

— Interviews are rhetorical devices that help reconstruct and re-create the past — perhaps in hitherto unexplored ways:

We find the interviews useful because they help us recollect (“re-collect”?? the past, and in the absence of the interviews, we may not have had the occasion to do so. — an activist
Tourism Critique and Movements in Goa

• Similarly, 'the people' could be a category constituted in the act of rhetoric. Rhetoric both creates and is created by the 'the people'. Organizations and village committees define characteristics and attributes which persons can strategically choose to fit into.

• The hypothesis of the research project therefore seems to have erred in trying to detect a 'people's voice', pre-dating and outside the rhetoric of the people. In so doing, the research project itself seems to have been taken in by the 'rhetoric of the people' and hence attempted to construct a 'people' outside their rhetoric.

• The research project is a rhetorical device that attempts to go behind the rhetoric and gestures of the subject, and speculate about inferences on what organisations and associations mean. It is therefore a rhetoric about rhetoric.

• What is the rhetoric of research? Research has sometimes seen itself as a superior form of knowledge (objective and impartial). While such claims have been discredited within academic circles, research continues to enjoy a special status in the popular imagination: often quoted to adjudicate disputes, a sort of judicial pronouncement. It is this 'credibility' that is the cause of concern.

• Such concerns clearly indicate that research reports become a part of the rhetoric they seek to understand. Hence the suggestion that research should be done in the 'consultancy' or 'advocacy' mode, a type of research that would perhaps be more useful to the subjects of research (organisations and village committees) if and when they request it (not the context of this project):

  We are players in the game and hence our continuing support for the research depends on the conclusions. — a research sponsor

  We would need to see how this research is useful to our people before we decide to co-operate with the project. — an activist

This position suggests that any research could align itself with one or the other contending parties.

• There are also suspicions about the functions that research projects perform. Some would suggest that such research is cocooned within a self-contained rhetoric designed to produce distinctions for the researcher.

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Some Methodological Concern

Research projects help secure advancement in the academic career of the researcher - but what use is it to the people who are struggling or the activist who is harassed? The struggles of the people are being used for the benefit of the researcher. — an activist

For the researcher, this could be seen as a 'proxy-battle', a ritual identification with the struggle without dirtying his hands (without risks) — an "anti-establishment rhetoric within the security and confines of the establishment"

We see our work as 'relevant' insofar as it helps understand some of the phenomena under study. We are uncertain as to its 'usefulness', as it may or may not be of immediate applicability to the organisations or committees. We are engaged with the questions of how the 'relevant' can be 'useful', at what level and in what arenas. We wonder as to the possibility of conceiving research in the vidhushak (a sort of court jester) mode.

The interviews with researchers are useful because they help us reflect on our past... — an activist

Is there a glimpse of possibility in the above? Or am I reading too much into it? — author

This is a process of search and contest over the rhetoric of research - a search and contest through which this research seeks to discover the possibility of its own identity.
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Alito Siqueira & A. Sreekumar

1. Introduction

The original intention behind this introductory work was to write up a detailed project proposal for a year long study on the 'Tourism Critique and Tourism Movements in Goa'. As one might have seen, some of the fundamental assumptions behind our study did not stand up to empirical and theoretical scrutiny. More important, perhaps, is the changing context of the tourism movement in Goa.

The larger aim of the research programme is to acquire a better understanding of the resentments and opposition to tourism in Goa. We hope to explore the different types of resentments, both organised and unorganised. The project will attempt to understand these from the 'emic' and 'etic' perspectives, and try to link these with related sociological, demographic and other variables. The project would try to relate its findings to the tourism critique, not only in Goa but also the third world in general. Hence, through small increments, the project envisions its objective as contributing to the tourism critique. These are rather ambitious objectives, more in the way of direction. We have broken up the programme into a set of small short term projects, each with its own specific objectives and a meaningful end in itself.

We have accordingly thought of small studies (ranging from three to six months each) to be carried out in sequence. At the end of each short study, the plans for the remaining studies (including the overall programme) could be revised. This is similar to the rolling plan concept, where the fundamental objectives remain constant, while continuous monitoring leading to changes in design are written into the plan. This rolling design would accommodate the changing context (see first para) and so also accommodate our changing personnel, competences, etc.
2. The set of studies presently conceived are:

2.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Tourism Movements

This introductory study was more data based than theory based. Hence, it suffered from three limitations:

i. The insights obtained were not shaped by prior work in this area.

ii. The data, hence, did not substantially contribute to enriching and modifying existing theoretical issues, nor did they bring to the surface fundamentally new issues.

iii. The team consisted of researchers from diverse backgrounds but no attempt was made to relate or position the diverse theoretical perspectives vis-a-vis each other.

Specifically, there is a need to look into theoretical perspectives on social movements, with emphasis on protest movements and tourism movements, organisation theoretic issues of movements, sociology and anthropology of tourism, tourism impact studies, issues of identity and ethnicity, issues of development, etc.

In terms of process, the work would involve the following:

— Periodical presentations of critiques of articles/books on theoretical perspectives (twice a week).

— Relating the perspectives to each other, to this introductory study and to new developments in the tourism movement in Goa.

2.2. Longitudinal and Cross Case Study on Village Committees and Tourism Issues

The objective would be to explore patterns by linking up variables associated with the following factors:

a. Tourism development : types of arrivals, facilities, employment generated, ownership of facilities (villagers, Goans, Indians, etc.)

b. The village : religious, caste, class, occupational, educational, land-ownership, sex, income distribution, development indices.

c. Tourism movement : nature of issues, structure of the committees if any, social profile of core group, nature and intensity of the movement, forms of struggle, linkages with other issues, committees, organisations, etc.
The study is proposed to be conducted across villages and across time. This introductory study has already indicated the possibility of a relationship between the type of tourism in an area and the nature of tourism related movements (see Section 2). Similarly, religious composition of the village, along with land ownership patterns and the politics of the village, could determine the existence/nature of movements. Experience of certain villages can have a longitudinal impact on movements elsewhere, at a later time period.

These are some indicators and there could be many other relationships which the data might reveal, leading to new insights. Extensive secondary data collection and interviews would be required for conducting such a study. Relationships could be identified through both qualitative and quantitative analysis of data.

2.3. Ethnographic Study of Pre-arrival Stage, Post-arrival Stage and Non-big Project Tourism Villages

The interviews in the villages gave the feeling that a richer understanding of the life in the village - and also the history of the village — would help us in arriving at better insights. In the present study, as mentioned elsewhere, the attempts were to locate patterns without the help of such knowledge about the internal socio-political dynamics of the village.

The patterns posited in this study differentiate activism between the pre- and post-arrival stages of tourism and also hint at differences across villages where tourism entered through a "big other" vis-a-vis "small others" (unorganised international tourism). The validity of these differences could be verified through such ethnographic studies. Secondly, such differences, if any, could be explained, leading to a better understanding of tourism movements in Goa.

The study would require sensitive and empathetic interviewers/observers to live in chosen villages for a substantial duration.

2.4. Government and Industry Response to Movements

For two reasons, this would be an important area for study. Firstly, there is not much reflective writing on how and why industry and Government respond in the manner they do at present. Secondly, the responses seem to have an
Conclusion and Suggestions

important role in shaping the character of movements. For example, the Government is perceived as secretive with regard to its tourism development plans. It is also looked at as a body which would not mind denying publicly known plans for tourism development. These notions increase anxiety and become the focus of resentments. One does not know whether the Government is being strategic or naive. Similarly, statements by industry representatives also indicate either an inability to be sensitive to community feelings or a disregard for such feelings.

A holistic understanding of the tourism debate can be attained only if we also look at the debate from the Government and industry point of view and, further, try to understand what determines such points of view.

This would involve extensive interviews and study of public statements/pronouncements by the Government and the industry.

3. The above studies have their origins in a sense of inadequacy which the research team felt in four areas:

i. a need for positioning the tourism movement in Goa within the theoretical debates in social sciences

ii. a macro-level understanding of tourism movement across time as well as across regions within Goa

iii. a richer micro-level understanding of movements, and

iv. an understanding of the targets of resentments/opposition in tourism movements.

The objective of these studies is to overcome these deficiencies.
Appendix I

VILLAGE REPORTS

Afonso Botelho, Shaila Desouza, Milan Khanolkar, Reyna Sequiera

1. Introduction

The objective of this section is to give the reader a brief idea of the nature of activism in each village where field visits were conducted. Since, in the earlier sections, the emphasis was on highlighting cross village patterns or issues, there was no place for village-wise descriptions of activism. This gap is overcome here. Specifically, the Appendix I deals with the following:

- geographic and demographic outline of the village,
- the tourism related issues in the village,
- objections to the tourism projects or concerns expressed,
- the nature of the struggle against the project,
- responses in favour of the project, and
- related issues.

The village-wise descriptions should be read in the context of the original objectives of the field visit and the methods adopted, including paraphrasing and translation of the interviews.

The objective of the field visits was to ultimately help in selecting one village and thereby a village level committee involved in the tourism movement, for intensive study as part of a proposed major project (after this project proposal stage). Even prior to the field visits, the research team had evolved the criteria for selecting a village. These included evidence of having voiced protest against some aspects of tourism, existence of a core group of five to seven people, existence of some popular support for around two years, willingness to be researched, convenience for field visits, recency of the issues, etc. The criteria were considered as desirable attributes. The extent to which each village committee met the attributes would decide the final selection. With these criteria in the back of the minds, the authors visited the following tourism project areas:

North Goa
1. Saligao Village in Bardez Taluka
2. Pernem Coastal Villages, Pernem Taluka
South Goa

3. Loliem Village in Canacona Taluka
4. Agonda Village
5. Quepem Coastal Villages, Quepem Taluka
6. Cavelossim Village in Salcette Taluka
7. Bogmalo Beach in Mormugao Taluka
8. Benaulim Village in Salcette Taluka

The decision to visit the above was prompted by news items, articles, other publications, word of mouth information and information with the research team. The selection of interviewees, viz. persons associated with village movements, was done by the authors in consultation with the research team and also through the snowball method of referrals by those interviewed.

The field interviews and hence the reports in this Appendix were affected by:

i. one of the important concerns being selection of a village for further study

ii. the influence of the theme of the study, in a nutshell, a comparison of village level committees with tourism activist organisations

iii. the orientation of the interviewers who visited the village, and the responses of the interviewees.

The unevenness across village reports could be attributed to the last point above as well as to the extent of recency/currency of the issues.

There are other issues and conflicts related to tourism developments in villages, which are not covered by this Appendix Section. For instance,

i. in Dona Paula, there has been a conflict between an urban entrepreneur and local villagers, where the latter demanded and presently control the opportunity for entrepreneurship in water sports

ii. in Colva, there has been a conflict between hotel owners and fishermen over the use of the beach, and

iii. again in Colva, there has been an incident in which Kashmiri traders and hawkers were forced to leave the village, as it was purported that the Kashmiris were dealing in drugs.

These issues could not be covered, primarily because the team was looking at village committees which had some continuity beyond an immediate singular issue.

This Appendix could also be viewed as the starting point for possible explorations, relating demographic variables and tourism development variables with level and intensity of tourism movements and issues in villages. This is discussed in Section 7 on proposed work. At the same time, the rather incomplete data with us are presented village-wise, for information.
Location: Pernem Taluka, North Goa.

Pernem is the northernmost taluka of the State of Goa. Some of the coastal villages of this taluka are tourist haunts because of their long beaches and stretches of white
Village Reports

sands and palm trees. Presently, backpackers and domestic tourists visit the taluka but it is chiefly the backpackers who stay in villages.

Issues

From newspaper reports and interviews, we learned that the issues in the villages concerned several large tourism related projects that were proposed for the areas.

1. Arambol: Japanese Holiday Village
2. Mandrem to Ashvem: Indiana International Ltd. (About 4,00,000 sq. mtrs, mtrs for a hotel resort) Golf course Asia School of Management
3. Morjim: Luxury Tourist Villas

An association called the Pernem Coastal People's Welfare Action Committee (PCPWAC) was formed in early 1993

1. to challenge the feasibility of big projects in Pernem, and
2. to propose concrete, people oriented, environmentally sensitive programmes for development. (Goa Update, March/April '93).

Protest Action by PCPWAC

- To raise awareness in the taluka about the proposed projects, the PCPWAC undertook a Padyatra in March '93 to the villages and Panchayats of Morjim, Mandrem, Arambol (Palolem), Tiscaot.
- A symbolic protest on Independence day, 15th August '93, was organised with Prabhat Pheri at Arambol, Palolem (Herald, 17th August, 1993).
- A march was held in Panjim.
- Meetings and demonstrations were also held frequently.

The PCPWAC works closely with Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz (J.G.F.), an organisation concerned with tourism.

Interviews with local residents and members of the PCPWAC indicated that the PCPWAC was a fairly new committee and it still had to build up support. Despite the fact that the PCPWAC was not a very large group, interviews revealed that many of the local residents were opposed to and/or cautious of the projects. Some of the interviewees were not against tourism and in fact favoured the backpack type.

The Main Objections Raised

1. The Panchayat and the Gramsabhas were not informed about the proposed projects.
2. The problem of displacement of traditional occupations like fishing, agriculture, toddy tapping, etc. due to the large projects.
3. The drain on the already inadequate natural resources such as water,
Some Arguments Raised in Favour

The youth are jobless. These projects will at least solve this problem by providing them with employment. — Panchayat member.

The so-called traditional occupations such as toddy tapping, rampon and agriculture are no longer possible and sufficient means of livelihood. — Panchayat member

We do not want the project (referring to the Japanese Holiday Village) but we want tourists (meaning the ‘backpacker type’) to come here. Because of the tourists, we are able to make money. — Fisherman who also owns a shack on the beach.

Tourism poses no problem to the women folk. Sometimes tourists sleep in the next room from my family but they don’t even look at the women. These tourists have also told us that if the Japanese Holiday Village comes, they will stop coming here. The locals will not benefit. — Owner of a shack and protestor against big projects.

Some Other Information that Might be of Significance

PCPWAC organised meetings and demonstrations jointly with Quepem Coastal Village People’s Welfare Action Committee.

Most of the land in Arambol, Paliem and Keri belongs to one big landowner. Only on the property in Paliem did he keep tenants, in fact 520 tenants, who are all Hindu and involved in agriculture. This area has been the proposed site for the Japanese Holiday Village, where land will be acquired by the Government for this purpose. — PCPWAC supporter

There is a water problem in Pernem, especially in the months of April and May. Shacks have to be shut down during these months. — Shack owner.

PCPWAC received very little response from the village of Arambol, which presently gets a large number of backpack tourists. Several respondents felt that they did not know anything about the plans for tourism development in the area, so they could not oppose or favour it.
The village of Saligao is situated approximately 6 kms from Mapusa and 4 kms each from the villages of Candolim and Calangute (both sea side resorts).

The Main Issues in the Village

1. The work to be undertaken on Sirma Spring to develop it as a tourist attraction.
2. The disposal of garbage on the Saligao hill by a leading hotel located in a neighbouring area and by a poultry farm in Saligao.
3. The withdrawal of water from a well in Donvaddo, Saligao by the same hotel to service its swimming pool.
Tourism Critique and Movements in Goa

CAN SALIGAO SAVE THE SALMONA SPRING?????
As the villagers of Saligao, we may lose our Salmona spring forever, now is the time to wake up and regain control of our spring, before it is too late. This natural gift, the common heritage of the villagers of Saligao is being slowly but surely destroyed by people like:

1) Nude hippies.
2) Nude locals from outside the village. This is not part of Goa's culture, it is not part of Saligao's culture. When hippies and others bathe nude, our people, especially women and children, find it embarrassing to use the spring. Nudism may become fashionable, especially among our youth.
3) Hippies and local drug users. It could become an ideal 'natural' attraction for our youth.
4) Drunken tourists...
5) Picnickers who litter the area...
6) Tree cutters...
7) Resident Hippies: Local residents have heard that a person is repairing a house near the spring, in order to rent it out to some hippies. Once established, this house could become a centre for drug peddling, moonlight parties like in Anjuna, prostitution, free-love and free-sex. Nudism and aos, which are all a part of the hippies' culture and life-style.
8) The Tourism Department...

The consequences are not hard to imagine - Saligao will become another Calangute. Drugs, moonlight parties, nudism, male and female prostitution, aos, massage dens, the bums, pimps and thugs of a well-organised underworld, and a host of other social evils will follow. Already local residents are feeling the effects of some of these problems.

--- Excerpt from an SNKS (Saligao Nagrik Kirti Samiti) press release

RONIL GARBAGE
Saligao and Pileme, two villages in the Bardez Taluka of Goa are facing a new pollution and public health hazard. The problem is caused by the dumping of kitchen waste and other garbage by the ALCON owned Hotel Ronil in Baga-Calangute. Added to the Ronil garbage is the waste of a Saligao poultry farm owned by Dr. Leo Pinto and his wife, Ms. Edna Pinto. The whole place stinks and is a pollution hazard...

The villagers were appalled by this sub-human situation and the threat of a rabies epidemic in the two villages. The villagers are doubly angered because on the one hand, at the bottom of the hill, ALCON sucks Saligao dry of the villagers' drinking water for the swimming pool in Hotel Ronil, and on the other hand, the hotel dumps its garbage and kitchen waste on top of the same hill. The villagers have realised that their suffering is caused because the Charter Tourists in Hotel Ronil need water in their swimming pool and a place to dump their garbage. The Saligao Citizens Action Committee has decided to meet the Charter Tourists and show them the documentary evidence of how their very presence here is a threat to the survival of the villagers. The Action Committee will also take groups of Charter Tourists to both sites in the village so that they can photograph and video tape the damage done.

--- Another press release of SNKS dated 5th December 1988
The Main Objections Raised

1. In the case of the Salmona Spring, some felt that there was no harm in the tourists having access to the spring, provided the Government machinery ensured that drugs and other undesirable activities were not allowed to flourish in the area. Tourism per se was not harmful.

2. Some felt that the entire hotel industry in general could not be condemned. Hotels did provide the much needed employment. What was required, they felt, were strict laws and action against offending hoteliers and others. For instance, water could be drawn, so long as it did not adversely affect the villagers in the area.

...in May, there are many visitors to the spring and the place gets very crowded...at that time the locals don’t come to bathe. The visitors are mostly locals from Candolim and Calangute... We are not disturbed by these visitors. They don’t stay here. They come and go... — an old Hindu man

...I have stopped bathing in the spring as I am older now. I used to when I was a child... Yes I know of the Nagrik Samiti. They had shown us a slide show on DRUGS and told us that tourists will spoil the place and bring drugs with them... — a young Hindu girl

The impression from interviews was that there was a general concern and anxiety over indiscriminate dumping of garbage as well as drug abuse and prostitution. It was also learnt that the majority community (here the Catholic community, seen as landowners in the village) and the minority community (the Hindus, representing the tenant and small landowner classes) — who, by comparison, are newer residents of the village — had between them some tension over several matters, one being the location of a...
BOGMALO BEACH

Location: Mormugao Taluka, South Goa
Population: Not available
Tourist accommodation: 124 A Type rooms including star accommodation

22 D Type crematorium in the village. Possibly, as a consequence, they did not agree on several issues, for example, their perceptions of the development of the spring for mass tourism.

Bogmalo is a small fishing village about five minutes drive from the airport and is situated a little outside Vasco town.

The issue

The research team learnt that there was a controversy in Bogmalo over a business用地, a Watersports Centre which was established in 1988.
The Watersports Centre

The Watersports Centre is a small thatched shack at the northern end of the approximately 1/2 km long stretch of beach. At the southern end of the same beach stands the Oberoi Hotel, which has been functioning for over fourteen years (since 1979). The Watersports Centre provides training in windsurfing and also has windsurfing equipment for hire. There is one rescue boat (a dhing with an outboard motor). The Oberoi, on the other hand, provides facilities like water scooters and boat rides. The Watersports Centre also ties up with local fishermen to take tourists to Ganad and Pilane islands. It conducts windsurfing courses for children from local schools and also arranges special watersports holiday packages for tourists.

Main Objections to the Centre

The objections to the project, as mentioned by a fisherman who is employed with the Navy and has the support of a large organisation of fishermen, are related to:

- an incident that occurred when a fishing net was torn by the outboard motor of the rescue boat belonging to the Watersports Centre
- the watersports affecting the fishing trade,
- the belief that tourism brings about ill effects.

Other Information that might be of significance

People are engaged in toddy tapping, fishing, some have bars or shops on the sea front and others are employed in Hotel Oberoi

Even before the construction of Hotel Oberoi, an association called the 'Bogmolo People's Welfare Association' (BPWA) was formed, demanding preference for locals for employment in hotels. There have been occasions when people were barred from free movement on the beach, cattle were prohibited from straying onto the beach, job opportunities were denied to villagers, but the BPWA took up the issues and succeeded.

The fishermen face other obstacles to fishing, caused by launchees and trawlers.
The controversy in Benaulim area was concerning a tourism project undertaken by the Ansal Group of Companies, Delhi, a few years ago.

The Project
The Ansal Group had purchased about 1.55,000 sq. mts. of land in Benaulim near the beach which had no access road, to build a hotel (from interview).
Main Objections

- Four tenants were duped into signing off their rights to the land that they were cultivating.
- Illegal construction of a road through the paddy fields which was the property of the Communidade.
- The Communidade and local Panchayat were not consulted before plans were finalised.

Protest Action

The Communidade mobilised local support and with police assistance stopped the construction of the road in 1987. An employee of the company was arrested but later released on bail. "The comunidade was prepared to move courts if illegal work was carried on." Public meetings and protest campaigns were held in May 1987 in the village, with support from other organisations concerned about the impacts of tourism, like the Goanche Tamatebencho Avez.

However according to a local protestor, "Today the majority in the village is in favour of tourism." A new promoter has restarted the project.
Location: Salcete Taluka, South Goa
Area of village: 834.13 hectares, including Mobor
Population: 2315 (1245 male / 1070 female)
Occupied residences: 475
Tourist accommodation: 2 A Type rooms and 2 A Type hotels for which number of rooms not indicated
- One luxury hotel under construction
- Several other less starred hotels

Parents had peace earlier. Nowadays one cannot move freely as there are so many strangers. Robberies take place sometimes. — Office bearer of Save Goa Committee

The people from the village are given all the lower jobs in the hotels. — Member of Anti-Sand Extraction Committee
Village Reports

The septic tanks are connected to the rivers, thus polluting them. — Member of Save Mobor Action Committee

Arguments in Favour of Tourism

We have benefitted from these hotels. Earlier there were no roads or street lights. Now we are blessed by these benefits. — Member of Save Goa Committee

So far no cases of drugs or mugging have taken place. — Office bearer of Cavelossim Villagers Action Committee

This is the only source of employment for the people.

Other Information about Cavelossim:

There are other committees like the fishermen's committee, the seamen's committee, the toddy tappers' committee, etc. — Member of the Anti-Sand Extraction Committee

Recently another committee, the 'Save Mobor Action Committee' has been formed, comprising the people of Mobor, to protest against the situation arising from the alleged criminal assault and house trespassing by the Leela Resort management. The management of Leela's have been forcing the residents to shift to another dwelling which the Resort had built for them. The Save Mobor Action Committee works closely with the Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz.
The research group interviewed some villagers of Quepem, involved in the anti-golf course committee, called the ‘Quepem Coastal Village People’s Welfare Action Committee’.
The Goa Government is expected to acquire 11 lakh sq. m. of the cliff-top plateau overlooking the sea, for the 18 and 9 hole golf courses promoted by the Leela Beach Resort and for the 100 room hotel at Zorim beach. (Herald, 21st July 1993).

The QCVPWAC has been established:
1. to represent the people before the Government, and
2. to lead the agitation against the proposed golf and hotel projects.

Protest
On 21st July, '93 the QCVPWAC organised a march to oppose the proposed golf course cum hotel project to be set up at Canaguinim. Another march was organised in Margao on 27th July '93, in which over three hundred people marched under the banners of QCVPWAC, UG and Bailancho Manch. The protesters handed over a memorandum to the South Goa Collector. Two mud pots were broken to protest symbolically against the water shortage that would be accentuated by golf courses.

Over three hundred and fifty people from Canaguinim, Betul, Quitol, Naquerim and Ambala villages undertook a protest march in Quepem on 17th August '93. They handed a memorandum to the Deputy Collector and demanded immediate withdrawal of the golf course cum hotel project and a halt to the harassment of landowners by Leela Beach.

A number of meetings were held in the villages of Betul, Canaguinim and Quitol to conscientise the people to fight against the proposed project. From the interviews conducted and the newspaper reports, we found that the association has had tremendous support of the local people. In fact, people themselves contributed generously to make the marches really effective.

Objections to the Golf Course cum Hotel Project
From interviews with people, we came to understand that those who would be most affected by the project were the landowners. These landowners, earlier due to financial constraints, could not construct even small houses for themselves, even though it had become necessary because of the increase in the number of family members staying in the same small ancestral houses. It is only recently, that is because of remittances from the Gulf, that they feel they are capable of constructing houses for themselves on their plots.

The Government proposal to acquire the land at this juncture, has therefore resulted in this strong agitation against the project.

The QCVPWAC strongly condemns the plan of the Government to set up golf courses as they opine that golf courses would

- affect the environment
- affect the agricultural activities in these villages
- block the traditional access to the beach and natural springs at Zorihbat and Aarimol vaddo.
Tourism Critique and Movements in Goa

affect thirty seven landowners, as they will lose their land and twenty-five tenants, who will lose their huts and grazing land provide an entry point for sex tourism (women caddies will be used to promote sex tourism), and alter the water table, resulting in water shortage.

The oovwac also condemns the Government for undermining the self-governing bodies. The members would prefer the Government to set up small scale industries which would generate employment opportunities. Their earlier demands to the Government to set up a health centre, panchayat centre and primary school were not met, on the pretext of non-availability of land. They question "If land was the cause for this, then why should the Government attempt to promote golf courses which serve only the hoteliers' interests?"

However, recently the Minister for Tourism stated that no land had been acquired by the State Government for golf courses either at Cazaguirim or Verna (Navhind Times, 17th November, '93), referring to the advertisement and the annual report of the Lewis Beach Resort which mentioned that the land had been acquired for its proposed eighteen hole golf course.
Xendrem, belonging to Loliem-Palem Village Panchayat, is located almost at the south western tip of Canacona Taluka. From secondary sources, we learnt of the long drawn struggle (from 1984 to date) of the villagers with Dr. Mansukhlal Shah (a British national) and his wife the late Dr. Helene Shah (a Canadian national), who were supposedly planning an exclusive naturopathy project on 3,00,000 sq. mtrs. of beach property.

The issue
The issue was primarily this 'naturopathy' project in Xendrem, Loliem. Several members of the protest movement were interviewed and the following information was obtained from interviews and press releases:

The Main Objections and Other Related issues
(as narrated by an office bearer of the Loliem Citizens Action Committee)

In 1985, the Sarpanch of Loliem - Palolem issued an No Objection Certificate (NOC) to Dr. Shah to construct a compound wall around the 3,00,000 sq. mtrs of land, enclosing
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the entire Xendrem beach. Villagers, including members of the Panchayat, opposed this construction as it would block the traditional access to the beach.

The matter went to the Gram Sabha and Dr. Shah was invited to the meeting where attempts were made by the villagers to negotiate. The villagers demanded that:

- A road of at least 2.80 m. width be constructed, so that locals could take their vehicles to the beach.
- At least 50 m near the beach be left open to picnickers.
- The traditional pathway and the spring should be maintained.
- Legal formalities as far as the Panchayat was concerned to be fulfilled.

However, Dr. Shah "arrogantly threatened the villagers." He refused to give local picnickers an inch of space and he objected to the road, saying vehicles would cause pollution. It was after this meeting that the villagers realized that about 1,80,000 sq. m. of Communidade land had been 'fraudulently' acquired by the Shahs. The villagers, including students and freedom fighters, felt that it was now necessary to put an end to the 'tourism menace'. They further opined that Dr. Shah, being a foreign national, would be a threat to the nation's security, as the Sea Bird Naval Base at Karwar was only a few kilometres away from Xendrem. The Panchayat revoked the NOC given earlier to Dr Shah to construct the wall.

Formation of the Lollem Citizens Action Committee and Its Struggle

(as narrated by an office bearer at the LCAC)

The meeting held to discuss the above issues culminated in the formation of the LCAC. The chain of events that followed were:

- The revocation of NOC was cancelled by the Collector of Goa and the compound wall was thus constructed by the Shahs. Legal action was taken, with the LCAC filing a complaint before the Executive Magistrate, demanding the reopening of the traditional pathway. Despite the strong opposition to the project, the Economic Development Corporation granted a loan of Rs. 45 lakhs and the Government granted a subsidy of Rs. 15 lakhs.

- The Shahs were also granted permission by the Collector, South Goa to install an electrical transformer at Xendrem after it had been rejected earlier by the village panchayat.

- The village Sarpanch was dismissed by the South Goa Collector on the pretext of having handed over Shah's correspondence to LCAC.

- In 1987, the project featured in the Tourism Master Plan as a 'Health Resort'. This proved to the villagers the nature of the project, which they had in fact suspected all along.

- The LCAC was further angered by the fact that the Goa police was employed to protect the property of the Shahs and opposed the "special consideration to foreign nationals." An inquiry report of the one-man committee appointed on June 14th, 1988 to inquire into the Shah Nature and Health Project held the Collector and other officers directly responsible.
The LCAC has organised several public meetings. According to at least one respondent, the LCAC, disillusioned by the way the entire administration worked for Shah on 18th June, 1988, with the help of the villagers, demolished the compound wall, destroying the pump and the pipeline that irrigated the coconut groves within the compound. Others say that the Mamlatdar himself got the wall broken to make way for the people. Still others opine that Shah himself may have broken the wall. The LCAC has the support of villagers of Lollem and also is backed by social organisations such as the Freedom Fighters Association, Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz and Progressive Students' Union.

For several years the project had been stalled. However, recently it has surfaced again. The Gram Sabha demands that the fifteen conditions put forward earlier, must be accepted by the government before any further deliberations on the project. The main conditions are the following:

- Permission from Home Ministry/Naval authorities.
- No connection with Tourism Department if it is a Health Project.
- Acceptance of the Jays Krishnan report in toto.
The village of Agonda is situated in Canacona Taluka, the southernmost tip of the State of Goa. A project of M/s Elbee Dugal Engineering Co. Pvt. Ltd. and its subsidiary company, M/s Sima Hotels and Resorts Ltd., called the Canacona Beach Resort, was started in the Val ward of Agonda in 1981. Val ward has a population of about 120 persons in about forty households, living in this isolated part of the village which is surrounded on three sides by hills, with the sea on the fourth. The traditional occupations have been paddy cultivation and toddy-tapping. Recently, people have started fishing (according to an interview with a local resident) and more recently, several people from the village have left to work in the Gulf and on the ships. Land in Val ward is owned by absentee landlords and most of the residents today are tenants. Facilities like water, electricity, roads, etc. are recent entries into this village.
Issues in the Village

Controversies over the Canacona Beach Resort Project.

The Project

The Dugal and Sima Hotels undertaking had acquired 94,15,288 sq. m. of land on the beach front at Vai ward of Agonda. This project envisaged a 'unique leisure resort' with a vast range of facilities for dining and recreational activities. The project was to be completed in two phases at a cost of Rs. 660 lakhs and Rs. 840 lakhs respectively. (Dossier on Tourism and Law, 1993, unpub. Chengalpattu and Equations, Bangalore, pg. 31). The first phase was to include one hundred fifty double rooms, ninety villas and an eighteen hole golf course.

Main Objections to the Project

1. Illegal purchases of land by the company, from the absentee landlords with violations of the land-to-the-fixer and municipal acts (where the tenants were to have the first option if land was to be sold).
2. Harassment of villagers and coercion to vacate land.
3. Acquisition of communally owned land.
4. Illegality and construction violations.
5. Blocking of free access to the public beach and to their fields.
6. Fate of ancestral occupations.
7. Felling of trees from which people had earlier earned their livelihood.
8. Displacement of fifty two tenant families from the agricultural land.

The Local Protest

It was learned from press cuttings and interviews that the protest movement was initiated by one family in the village, the members of which felt that they had been duped into selling their land for a paltry sum.

People have been duped by Dugal Real Estate Agents, e.g. Rosa Fernandes was told that the Government was planning to acquire land in Agonda, with little or no compensation. The poor, illiterate woman was given papers to put her signature to .... she signed away her property for a few thousand rupees. — Sunday Observer - 8th November, 1987
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Some opined that an employee on a foreign liner was in the forefront, spearheading the protest against the Dugal Company. They added that this person knew the world, i.e., having been to many tourist spots and hotels around the world, he was aware of big hotels at various tourist destinations, which allowed prostitution within their premises. The employee was convinced that the moral fabric of the village would be destroyed if a five-star hotel was built within the village. He, along with his family members, protested against the building of the five-star hotel. His efforts at persuading the other families were in vain as they, especially the unemployed youngsters, preferred the jobs promised by the hoteliers and did not share the apprehensions of the seaman and his family. The protest group, therefore, had very few supporters from the village but managed to mobilise support from other organisations. There were several cases of physical assault, manhandling between the villagers and the security staff of the resort.

Today, the situation has changed. In fact, there is no possibility of any revival of the protest, even if the Dugals resurrect the till date frozen project.

The employee is back on the seas again and according to interviews, the seaman, because of his earlier frustrating experience with the villagers of the ward, is no more interested in pursuing the matter. There were other respondents, belonging to the four or five families, mentioned earlier, however, who hesitated to make similar, comments saying that the matter is still in the courts.

A village spokesman told Herald that...

... they pulled down all twenty two concrete poles set up by the construction company. He said that the villagers had to protest against the project....

— Herald, 15th Feb, 1987

The security guards have also singled out the more militant of the villagers for special punishment. Patricio figures in most of the scuffles reported from Agonda ... he was assaulted in his distillery by four guards, who beat him up in the presence of his wife, Emilia, with iron rods and sticks. Rendering him unconscious, they then proceeded to batter his distillery to smithereens. They tied his hands and dragged him by his feet to their hut, where they robbed him of his watch and gold chain. They then bound him to a coconut tree and kept him bound for three hours. — Sunday Observer, 8th Nov., 1987

Dugal built a road through the village to the beach, cutting through dense forests. The angered villagers demolished the cottage of the company workers and dumped mud and stones into a well, built in preparation for major construction activity. Permission for the road had not been granted by the Panchayat. Subsequently the sec ordered the company to stop construction of the road, following which the company started terrorising the villagers. — Sunday Observer, 8th Nov., 1987