

TOURISM, LAND USE AND LIVELIHOOD: A STUDY OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN SOUTH COASTAL GOA

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ABSTRACT

Tourism as a social phenomenon, can bring transformations in different arenas of social life. Tourism development is a double-edged sword, which on one side can generate economic benefits, but can also impose social- cultural and ecological costs on the host community. The introduction and development of tourism sparks radical transformation in the land use pattern and replacing traditional livelihoods with tourism-related business. This paper is a qualitative ethnographic study exploring transformations in the coastal village of Cavelossim, which came to the limelight of international tourism in 1980s. It aims in investigating the ways in which tourism development has led local people to give up their traditional livelihood/occupations and become dependent on tourism related businesses like renting homes, operating shacks, restaurants and taxis. No doubt, the introduction of tourism gave a boost to the local economy but there are potential threats to this new tourism-dependent livelihood like the changing trends among the international tourist, high competition, and fluctuations in the tourist season, climatic changes and changing rules and regulations of the government. Apart from economic benefits and livelihood transformations, tourism has also brought drastic changes in the land use pattern, with heavy infrastructural development in the small stretch of the Mobor ward, which is the centre of tourism activity in the coastal village of Cavelossim.

Keywords: tourism, land use, livelihood, social transformation

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has the potential to promote social development through creation of employment although seasonal, income redistribution and poverty alleviation (Lourenço, Machado, & Jorge, 2009:16). Tourism can potentially open up new vistas when it comes to livelihood opportunities for a local community (Guha & Ghosh, 2007:5). Research has revealed that tourism may lead to social cultural, environmental and economic transformations in the host communities (Monterrubio, Mendoza, Fernandez, & Gullete, 2011: 255). Most of the literatures in social sciences have focused on impacts which are highly economic in nature. It is important to realize that any assessment of tourism impacts should not be concerned with tangible economic effects, but also with non-economic and intangible effects, such as social and cultural (Pizam & Milman, 1996).

TOURISM IN GOA

After the liberation and its inclusion in the Union of India, tourism was adopted as fundamental factor for the development of the state. The history of Goan tourism industry can be divided into three phases. The first phase begin with the early invasion of Hippie culture in the early 1960s and 1970s. It was followed, in the 1980s the wave of charter tourism which marked the second phase. The dawn of 1990s which witnessed the wild growth of domestic tourism. It was the upsurge of charter tourism in 1980s, which submerged the southern coastal village of Cavelossim under the blanket of tourism industry.

Tourism in Goa is a coastal phenomenon with a seasonal activity, concentrated from October to March when the climatic conditions make suitable the use of sand, sun, and sea (Lourenço, et al., 2009:19) The Goan tourism industry is principally dominated in the coastal stretches of five talukas that is Bardez, Salcete, Tiswadi and Marmagao and Canacona. Goa is visited by two types of tourists and each have distinct needs and requirements which this state satisfies. The first is the domestic tourists, who visit the state in search for a culture that is "different" from the rest of India, as the Goan image holds a degree of mysticism, a sense of freedom in dress style and from traditional Indian lifestyle. The second is the international tourists who visit Goa purely for the natural environment-sun and beaches. The international tourists are subdivided into two sub-categories: backpackers and charter tourists. Although both visit Goa for the beaches, they stay away from each other. The backpackers are not found in areas of charter

tourists; they prefer to mingle and live with the local communities. Whereas, the charter tourists tend to stay in the luxury starred hotels (Sawkar, Noronha, Mascarenhas, Chauhan, 1998:1). The main international tourists are British and small proportion are from Russia, Germany, Finland, France, Sweden and Switzerland (Ransley, 2012:14). Domestic and international tourists also differ in terms of the areas they frequent. For the domestic tourist, the beaches hold limited appeal, so domestic tourists remain away from the places frequented by the international tourists. (Sawkar, et al, 1998:1). Both have a different timings of arrival, the international tourist visit the state in the months of October to April and as far as the timings of the domestic tourist are concerned, they mostly visit the state in the months of April to September. But today, no such fixed timing can be attached to the domestic tourist, who come throughout the year in larger numbers in the non-monsoon months as well. On the contrary, international tourists avoid the monsoon months, as for them the use of the beach is the prime attraction to come to Goa (ibid). The same phenomena and trends can also be observed in the coastal village of Cavelossim, which came to the limelight of international tourism in the 1980s.

Study area- Geographical location and history

Cavelossim or 'kelshi' as locally known, is a village located at the extreme southernmost end of Salcete Taluka, which is bounded by the east by river Sal and west by the Arabian Sea, north by the neighbouring village of Carmona and south by the mouth of the river Sal where the river Sal meets the Arabian Sea. It is almost an island, surrounded by the Arabian Sea on the west, by the river Sal on the east and south-east, separating it from Velim, Assolna and Chinchinim, on the north by a narrow tributary of the river Sal, detaching it from Carmona and on the extreme south by the mouth of the river Sal. It encompasses a total area of about 834.13 hectares including Mobar. The etymology of the name 'kelshi' in Konkani, like many other villages of Goa could be attached to a legend. Village elders opined that it derived its name from the goddess kelshi, who is popularly known all over the state as Shantadurga. The local villagers firmly believe that the temple of goddess kelshi (Shantadurga) stood where the present day Church is located. Cavelossim was the original abode of the goddess Shantadurga, which was taken from the village to Kawlem in Ponda taluka of Antruz Mahal in the fear of Portuguese inquisition around 1665 to 1738(Gomes, 2000:5).

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Tourism is considered by locals as a backbone of the village as majority of the villagers as well as other surrounding areas are directly or indirectly involved in tourism. Tourism though positively contributed to the development of the village of Cavelossim but it has also brought about irreversible social transformations in the village. In this context, the specific objectives of the study are given below.

1. To analyse the shifts in livelihood from traditional occupations to tourism related occupations in the coastal village of Cavelossim.
2. To explore the transformations in the land use pattern after the introduction of tourism industry.

METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to record and analyse the social structure of Cavelossim that underwent a series of transformation specifically in relation to the tourism industry that brought sweeping transformation in the village in just three and half decade. The methods adopted in this study was primarily that of participant observation, as a resident of the village, it gave the researcher an opportunity to participate and to know more about the various socio-cultural tradition. A qualitative ethnographic research design and unstructured interviews were conducted among the local villagers and the tourist visiting the village. The sample for the study was selected through a snowball sampling method. This study is based on both primary and secondary data.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The tourism industry in India in general and in Goa in particular plays a significant role in transforming the society and economy. Tourism as an industry has great potential to bring about social and cultural development. Today, Goa is the most sought and trusted tourism destination in India. The literature on various aspects of tourism is quite extensive. But for the purpose of this study literature on how tourism development has led local people to give up their traditional livelihood/occupations and adopt tourism related businesses, along with the social ecological and land use transformations will be highlighted. Wilson (1997) strongly argued that, tourism activity in north goa especially the involvement in small family business is a dynamic tool in uplifting the social status of the society. Menon (1993) highlighted the massive growth of tourism is largely

concentrated along the beaches which has a perceptible strain on local society and resources. The residents in the coastal areas have had to absorb a cultural shock with clearly discernible social and economic dimensions. Due to tourism, the villagers has been experiencing increasing cost of the local staples fish and vegetables. Much of luxury tourism which takes place in well-guarded compounds is largely out of the public eye. The smaller hotels present an entirely different experience of Goa. They are usually family enterprises the wife managing the kitchen while the husband see to guest relations and material procurement. Solomon (2009) very little profit reached the local people of coastal villages of Goa. When the locals do succeed in profiting from tourism, it is normally privileged commercial groups that benefit, not the people who have to suffer the negative consequences. Only a small proportion of the tourist's money normally makes its way to the locals, there can be fierce competition to reap the benefits. There is a feeling among local people, despite their involvement, that the gains from tourism are not substantial. There is a growing feeling that large hotels and external groups are cornering the economic benefits, while the local population has to bear the social and environmental burden.

Diniz, Falleiro & de Barros (2014) explored the benefits and adverse effects of tourism on the psycho-social and economic life of the locals in the coastal village of Cavelossim. The major economic benefits of tourism perceived in their study, was employment and increased income, the major adverse effect was increase in food prices and increase in the price of land. Most popular tourism related business was renting of rooms by the locals. It was also found that due to tourism traditional occupations were abandoned for more lucrative employment.

Ligia Noronha, Alito Siqueira, S. Sreekesh, Lubina Qureshy and Saltanat Kazi (2002) investigated the role of tourist induced and other population movements in causing coastal ecosystem change in Goa, India. It focuses especially upon agro-ecosystems locally known as khazan lands, and sand dunes, and how they are transformed to accommodate the needs of tourists and tourism. The effects of different forms of tourism upon land cover and land-use change is assessed. The paper focuses on three coastal villages within Goa Calangute, Anjuna, and Cavelossim, aimed at highlighting the transformation in the land use and management in the coastal areas by comparing the land use and cover prior and after the introduction of tourism.

Kalidas Sawkar, Ligia Noronha, Antonio Mascarenhas and O.S. Chauhan (1998) explored the effect of mass tourism on the Goan coastal ecology. This study methodically illustrates nature and growth of tourism in Goa, with heavy concentration in the five coastal talukas. With emphasis on beach tourism, this study differentiates the types of tourist on the basis on their needs into domestic and international tourist. . The growth of coastal tourism has been rapid and uncontrolled. The seasonal nature of tourism has led to swings in employment and income most markedly in the small sector and to the unskilled worker. It further analysed the impact of tourism into economic, social and environmental aspects. In the social aspect, shifts in demographic and traditional occupation along with the impact on Goan sense of community was assessed. A shift in the composition of the resident population has occurred to include a large number of migrants from the states of Karnataka, Rajasthan and Kashmir due to potential employment in the tourism industry. Some of the villages along the coasts have become very tourist-oriented and thus, shifted away from their traditional occupations. A couple of decades ago, these villages were predominantly fishing- or agricultural-oriented. Tourism has increased land prices and encouraged locals to sell their land, thereby sharply increasing the competition for land in the tourist belt. It can be argued that tourism has accelerated the decline of agriculture in Goa, by providing a viable alternative for the lateral transfer of investment capital, land, and labor by the locals. In the tourist belt, land conversion from agriculture to non-agriculture uses has occurred.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Tourism can have a 'direct' and 'indirect' effect on local households. The direct effect comes from increases in income as a result of wage or self-employment in the tourism sector (Guha, & Ghosh, 2007:5). Significant economic changes were witnessed in the last 50 years after the inception of tourism in 1960s with significant shifts from traditional activities (agriculture and fishing) to the services sector, especially in those activities related with tourism industry that become the more important activity in the region. (Lourenço, et al, 2009:19).

The heart of Goa lies in her village life. But today with rapid modernization, the ancient traditional occupations have lost its charm. Toddy-tapping, fishing and farming, were since time immemorial the primary occupations of the villagers, which served the very foundation of the village economy. Today, urban office employment, overseas shipping jobs and most importantly tourism, has significantly detracted a number of youth from entering the profession of their forefathers. (Gomes, 1987)

The main occupations of the village during the Portuguese era was fishing, toddy tapping, and coconut plantation, distilling cashew and coconut fenni and paddy cultivation. While some villagers migrated to Bombay, Africa and other Portuguese colonies to earn a living. Prior and during the Portuguese period, agriculture was the backbone of the village. With predominant cultivations of coconut palms and paddy fields. The villagers also cultivated other crops like sweet potatoes, chillies, watermelon were grown in large numbers after the kharif season. One of the respondents proudly mentioned that, the village was at one time regarded as the 'agricultural basket of Salcete', due to its abundant agricultural produce. It was mainly the gaunkars of the ten clan/vangods or the original settlers and the mundkars engaged themselves in cultivation along with animal husbandry. Every household would have two or more cattle for the purpose of ploughing and for dairy. The main crop grown in the village was paddy, of which two crops were raised, one each in the 'kharif' called as the 'sorod' and 'rabi' called as the 'vaingonn' seasons. The village of Cavelossim, grew on a surplus two main varieties of rice, one being the 'Vodhlo Kenddal' and 'Dhaklo Kenddal'. Most of the produces were used only for the purpose of consumption. As far the continuity and discontinuity is concerned, only five families have continued their traditional occupation of cultivation. As observed, the sorodd is grown by all, while the vaigonn is grown only by the one cultivator, as it requires a water from the lakes or wells. The cultivation of the vegetables has continued to some extent but in a smaller quantity. The gaunkars cited that the discontinuation of cultivation was not only due to one specific reason, but a cluster of factors like overseas jobs, where fast money can be earned. Most of them have settled abroad in U.S, U.K and in Portugal. Other factor for the discontinuation was lucrative tourism related occupations. Indirectly, it was the advent of tourism in the village that sounded the death alarm its agricultural sector. Gone are the days, were we could see people cultivating in their fields.

The government initiative to attract capital and develop tourism created conflict among the local communities along the coast. The capitalist investors (hotel industry) caused irreversible damage to the goan coastal ecology, by the destruction of the bunds and Khazan lands with the restrictions imposed on gaunkari by the Tenancy Act of 1964. Added to this, was the drilling of tube well for the construction of resorts led to decrease of ground water table. These two factors accelerated the decline of agriculture production in the coastal Goa (Trichur, 2013:115). Thus, it can be argued that tourism has accelerated the decline of agriculture in Goa, by providing a viable alternative for the lateral transfer of investment capital, land, and labour by the locals. In the tourist belt, land conversion from agriculture to non-agriculture uses has occurred. While conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural is prohibited by law, the Government of Goa has granted leniency in certain circumstances given the high price of land and the demand for housing (Sawkar, et al, 1998:8).

Cashew plantations was also done in the village but not in any planned commercial manner as a cash crop. It is mostly a wild growth and it was found close to the sea. The entire Mobor area is covered with cashew cultivation. The lands under the comunidade of Cavelossim are dominated by cashew cultivation, which are auctioned and leased for a period of three years. Liquor was distilled in two places. The distillation of cashew fenni has become a memory of the past. Most of the villagers are mainly involved only in the selling of the cashew nuts, due to great demand for them in the local markets. The people who used to bid in the auctions have also given up the occupation and are involved in tourism, by renting the rooms, two -wheeled vehicles for the tourist. Through tourism, they are earning more than what they would have earned by distilling cashew fenni. Many of the villagers regarded distilling fenni as time consuming, tedious, labour intensive and less profitable compared to the income earned from tourism related activities.

The other traditional occupations of toddy tapping, fishing and boat canoeing were mostly concentrated in the beach area and primarily dominated in the Mobor ward of Cavelossim. With regard to the toddy tapping and distillation of coconut fenni, is a lost art of the village. The reason of this change was indicated by all the respondents as the increasing opportunities created by tourism. One of the respondents said that if there was no such opportunities created by tourism, some of the of the toddy tappers occupation would have survived in some families. The older generation expressed their willingness to continue the art of toddy tapping but due to old age are unable to do so. Another factor was the increase in education and literacy levels. Many locals who have discontinued the occupation were first generation learners. The traditional occupation of toddy tapping was also negatively linked to lower social status in the social hierarchy. Even though it is lucrative business today, none of the youth aspire to take up toddy tapping due to the lower social status associated to it.

It is impossible to imagine the landscape of Cavelossim beach without fishermen and fishing boats. In the fishery sector, while fishermen do not always compete with tourists for shore

space, there are instances on the Goan coasts where traditional fishing operations have been constrained by lack of shore space (Sawkar, et al, 1998:8).

As far as, traditional fishing was concerned, it has still continued with not much change in the traditional techniques, as they do not use any mechanical fishing techniques. Many of the traditional fisherman had tried their luck in the mechanised fishing industry, some were successful while others after a failure reverted back to traditional technique of fishing. The surplus income earned from the tourism related occupation have invested in mechanised fishing boats. The key players in traditional fishing has witnessed a change. Especially in the Mobor Ward, new players have entered in the traditional fishing industry, who had formed their own ramponn. An obvious change is observed in the labourers working in the ramponn, as there are more migrant labourers from other states working in this fishing business. Migrants from the other states, who are dependent on tourism for their livelihood get business only during the tourist season. While during the off season, these migrants survive on the ramponn to get their daily wages, which are both in form of cash and kind.

Boat canoeing was one of the thriving business before 1980s. Before the liberation there were no pakka roads in the village. A road was constructed only after the liberation until the Rodrigues Ward, while the entire Mobor peninsula was isolated from the rest of the village. There was only one kaccha road along the bank of the River Sal from Cavelossim to Mobor. For the purpose of buying daily subsistence like vegetables, the people residing in the Mobor peninsula used their canoes to cross the river and to reach Assolna or the reach the Khandy Ward of Cavelossim. The Khandy Ward served a dock for all the people. Until the year 1985, canoes were very much functioning in the village. It was only after the introduction of tourism, construction of roads and the introduction of a ferry to cross the River Sal to Assolna, that the traditional boat canoeing occupation lost its significance.

In the village of Cavelossim in general and Mobor Ward in particular, most of the villagers performed two or three traditional occupation for their livelihood. The most common combination of the occupations was of toddy tapping, fishing and boat canoeing. But with tourism, this complexity remained the same but the combination differed. As toddy tapping was replaced by tourism industry and canoeing got replaced with water sports. While fishing remained the same, but a change was observed from a subsistence level to more profit making business. Today, the most popular tourism related occupations are renting apartments and vehicles, operating shacks, restaurants and small sized roadside eateries, water sports, taxi operators and drivers, organising tours for the tourist and working in the stared hotels. While, selling garments, wooden handcrafts, artisanal pieces and gold and silver ornaments are dominated by migrants from Karnataka (Iamani tribe), Gujurat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Assam and Kashmir.

TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE LAND USE PATTERNS

With the dawn of tourism industry in Cavelossim, there was sudden upsurge in the land prices, which in turn generated more revenue to the village. Since, most of the plots in Mobor peninsula was owned by the land owners of other villagers, the land was sold to the international player, who bought the land at a very low price.

Mobor, considered as the ‘Hawaii of the East’, today the centre of tourism activity was non-existent before the arrival of the Portuguese. According to elderly respondents of the village, before 600-500 years ago the entire Mobor Peninsula was a formed due to the natural process of siltation. It was due to the reaction of the north-west winds that brought the sand along with it and slowly formed the entire peninsula. Today, at the mouth of the river Sal, just opposite to the tip of the Mobor peninsular, stands a huge mountain. It is believed by the villagers that if that mountain was not present in its current location, the entire Mobor peninsula would have gone further. The mountain in Betul acted as natural barrier to stop the expansion of the peninsula. It was rightly pointed out by the elders that the entire Mobor peninsula starting from Khandy ward, to right at the end does not have a solid ground, and its feared that it can be submerged any time with an increase in tourism related infrastructure in this small strip of land.

According to the village Panchayat of Cavelossim, the total number of registered hotels and guest houses were 73, which was based on the report dated on 20th August 2017. But according to the Directorate of tourism in 1997, the local number of accommodations available in Cavelossim were 266, of which 250 belonged to the most expensive and 16 belonged to least expensive accommodation (Trichur, 2013:133). It has altogether seven international and national starred hotel companies, located in the small stretch of Mobor peninsula. While Royal Karma Hatti Mahal three star hotels, while The Leela Goa, Radisson Blu, Holiday Inn Resort, Novotel are all five – star hotels.

Prior to tourism, the agricultural lands were the highly valued properties, while the land along the coast was not a desired investment. But after the advent of tourism a reverse phenomenon was observed as the prices of the land along the coast suddenly shot up. Tourism increased land prices and encouraged locals to sell their land, thereby sharply increasing the competition for land in the tourist belt. It can be argued that tourism has accelerated the decline of agriculture in Goa, by providing a viable alternative for the lateral transfer of investment capital, land, and labour by the locals. In the tourist belt, land conversion from agriculture to non-agriculture uses has occurred. While conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural is prohibited by law, the Government of Goa has granted leniency in certain circumstances given the high price of land and the demand for housing (Sawkar, et al, 1998:8).

The conversion of agricultural and orchard land to built-up areas is quite common phenomena all over Goa, showing the shift from a means of production into a commodity for trade (Lourenço, et al., 2009:19). Many of the fresh water lakes and ponds in Cavelossim have been filled, in order to construct small hotels, restaurants and accommodation for the tourist.

Tourism development has caused many communities to be forcibly displaced - removed from their traditional lands coastal communities and indigenous groups in Goa being particularly vulnerable (Solomon, 2009:11). In some areas, fishing ports and the houses of fishermen have been displaced by resort development, as observed in Cavelossim during the period of construction of a five star hotel in Mobor ward.

The Mobor peninsula is considered to be a treasure house of sand dunes in the entire coast of Goa. The entire coast of Cavelossim, is characterized by sandy beach and protected by large dunes. Some of these sand dunes, rises to a range of 3 to 8 meters. The maximum number of sand dune patches observed at Cavelossim village is 18 numbers which cover an aerial extend of about 1125922 sq. m (Mascarenhas, 1998:17). But over the years especially after the inception of tourism industry, the sand dunes have faced the brunt of construction activities. Not only Cavelossim and Mobor who were the first beaches to lose their dunes but Anjuna and Baga-Calangute-Candolim stretches in North Goa, and Salcete beaches comprising Betalbatim, Colva, Varca have faced the same fate..

Another impact of tourism on the Goan community is the "creeping expropriation" felt by the locals. This feeling of being pushed out arises from the fact that starred hotels have effectively gained control over beach resources, which locals have used for generations, and are selling access to them at a price (Sawkar, et al, 1998:8). Privatisation of local common resources especially the beach area is observed in the coastal village of Cavelossim. Big Hotel groups like Holiday Inn, does not allow the locals to build a shack in front of the Hotels beach view. Similarly, the Leela hotel has privatised a small strip of beach area in Mobor ward and renamed it as Leela beach. The available space to the locals is increasingly reduced and overpopulated, causing the locals to avoid the beaches as a whole.

CONCLUSION

The development of tourism industry in the state is considered as an unusual example. The onset of tourism on a large scale has produced pressures on both society and the environment (Brammer, & Beech, 2004:23). No doubt the development of tourism industry in the village of Cavelossim has boosted the livelihood and economy of the village. It has also played a pivotal role in the improving the status and standard of living of the locals. But tourism is a double edge sword, which can procure have both negative and positive effect on the host community. Tourism development has led local people to give up their traditional livelihood/occupations and become dependent on tourism related businesses like renting homes, operating shacks, restaurants and taxis.

After the onset of tourism, apart from transformations in the livelihood, shifts were also observed in the land use and demography of the village. Employment opportunities generated in the village from tourism has been a pull factor for the migration and settlement of people belonging to different categories. In Cavelossim-Mobor coastal strip, tourism related employment attracted migrants from states like Karnataka (Iamani tribe), Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Assam and Kashmir and also international migrants from Nepal. Most of these people are also engaged in selling garments, wooden handcrafts, artisanal pieces and gold and silver ornaments. Some of these migrants are also operating restaurants and renting apartments. So the locals are in a tussle with the migrants to reap the benefits of tourism. In order to protect the livelihood of the locals the Gram Sabha passed a resolution to protect the right to livelihood of Vendors in Cavelossim.

The Gram Sabha of the Cavellossim Panchayat recognizes that the coastal areas of local inhabitants having fixed habitation in the coastal zone for many generations having adapted the trades of fishing and toddy tapping for which natural resources of this coastal zone have been responsibly utilized. This resolution identified the cause for the loss of traditional occupation was as the local inhabitants of this coastal belt were due to industrialization and pre-eminence of tourism on this coastline the local inhabitants of Goan ancestry were deprived by their traditional livelihood. Thus, forced to depend on tourism related activities as a source of livelihood. Tourism is the backbone of this coastal zone, protection of local livelihoods should remain the prior responsibility and concern of the Panchayat and other bodies responsible for the economic, social and cultural advancement and protection of the people who are constituents of the village of Cavellossim, namely the original inhabitants of the coast who are fisher folk, toddy tappers and other such traditional occupations (Solomon, 2009:21-22). But now a prominent question that arise is the sustainability of the tourism related occupations and after its saturation does the locals have another alternative source of livelihood.

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