Adaptive mode of planning and development: A case of Goa, India

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Abstract | Tourism activities contribute to changes in a region's social and economic fabric. The paper explores the mode of tourism planning by evaluating the socio-economic and tourism development over 70 years at a tourist destination. The article uses a case study methodology to track the socio-economic and tourism developments from 1947 to 2019. In-depth personal interviews with stakeholders were conducted to comprehend the changes at the destination. The analysis involves using the Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model. The change in social structure, migration, urbanization, occupation and role of women, and economic reforms were noteworthy turning points in the development of the destination. The TALC stages for tourist arrivals and NSDP (net state domestic product) align and show a bidirectional relationship between tourism and socio-economic developments. The research highlights the adaptive planning approach of the government, wherein decisions are taken based on changes in the external environment. An integrative and inclusive planning approach is needed for the sustainable development of the destination.

Keywords | TALC, tourism, socio-economic development, Goa, over tourism

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1. Introduction

Tourism brings in foreign exchange, creates jobs, and stimulates economic development (Lee & Chang, 2008). Tourism and economic growth have been discussed based on the tourism-led growth, conservation, feedback, and neutrality hypotheses (Dash, Tiwari & Singh, 2018; Lee & Chang, 2008; Ohlan, 2017). The tourism-led growth hypothesis (Balaguer & Cantavella-Jordá, 2002) proposes that tourism activities affect economic growth. The conservation hypothesis suggests that economic growth leads to growth in tourism (Ivanov & Webster, 2012; Lee, 2012). The feedback hypothesis refers to the two-way relationship between tourism and economics (Seetanah, 2011; Yazdi, Salehi & Soheilzad, 2017), and the neutrality hypothesis negates the relationship between the two (Tang & Jang, 2010). Nelson (2020) suggested focusing on the relationship between social behaviour and economic development to analyze destination growth.

The article reveals the interrelation between tourism, economic activity, and the community and evaluates the underlying planning process followed at the destination. The tourism and the socio-economic development of Goa, India, from 1962 to 2019 are analyzed post-facto. Tourism and socio-economic growth are mapped using the tourism area life cycle (TALC). The TALC model provides insights into the stages of growth, investment, and challenges encountered during the transition (Gore et al., 2021). The TALC graph is plotted on tourist arrivals and net state domestic product (NSDP). The Covid 19 pandemic put a halt to tourism activities in the state. Nevertheless, it has given time to the stakeholders to regroup and reevaluate the planning so that collaborative and sustainable tourism policies can be developed.

The paper first discusses the literature review and introduces the study area. Next, it presents the methodology of the research. Then, the developments at the destination are discussed chronologically, followed by the TALC analysis. Finally, the conclusions and research implications are discussed.

2. Literature Review

Tourism Development

Literature suggests that tourism developed during the '60s as an unplanned activity (Inskeep, 1991; Pearce, 1989; Seth, 1985). The tourism planning and development stages proposed by Tosun and Jenkins (1998) include

- The 1960s: Unplanned tourism development era (Bhatia, 1986)

- The 1970s: Supply-oriented tourism planning period (Inskeep, 1991) that stressed developing hotels, restaurants, and telecommunication systems

- The 1980s: Entirely supply-oriented tourism planning period (Gunn, 1988) was characterized by the haphazard development of the tourism industry

- The 1990s: The market/demand-oriented tourism planning period (Archer & Lawson, 1982) stressed planning and marketing

- The 2000s: The contemporary planning approach stresses social and cultural aspects of planning and practising sustainable tourism (Hussain, Haley & Fusté-Forné, 2022; Latip et al., 2022; Swarbrooke, 2010). The United Nations general assembly has set up seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be achieved by 2030.

The concept of "over-tourism" has been discussed in tourism development literature since the 1970s. However, it has only recently attracted tourism scholars' attention (Capocchi et al., 2020).

Milano, Novelli and Cheer (2019) define over-tourism as the excessive growth of tourists at a destination leading to overcrowding by which the residents suffer, resulting in permanent changes to their lifestyle and well-being. Many authors have discussed the impacts of over-tourism on the destination (Butler & Dodds, 2022; Koens, Postma & Papp, 2018; Milano, Cheer & Novelli, 2018; Milano et al., 2019). Koens et al. (2018) suggest reviewing the concept of over-tourism in development and planning. Wan and Bramwell (2015) report on the hybrid mode of tourism planning in Hong Kong, while Harilal, Tichaawa and Saarinen (2019) discuss the lack of tourism planning in Cameroon, leading to over-tourism. Costa (2020) discusses that capacity development and physical and economic planning will dominate future tourism planning.

TALC

Butler's (1980) TALC model maps the tourism area's development through six phases: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and decline. Authors have applied TALC to assess the development of different tourist destinations (Bardolet & Sheldon, 2008; Cole, 2009; Menente & Pechlaner, 2006; Zhong, Deng & Xiang, 2008). Mckercher and Wong (2021) assert that destinations may not always go through all life cycle stages. The authors discuss six life cycle patterns after observing the life cycles of 120 destinations. The most used variables for TALC research are tourist arrivals, gross domestic product, land use, and resident perception. Case studies presenting the destination's historical (chronological) evaluation are also undertaken. In addition, many authors have used social and cultural factors for destination analysis (Lee & Jan, 2019; Strom & Kerstein, 2015; Yang, Ryan & Zhang, 2014; Zahra & Ryan, 2007; Zhong et al., 2008). The growth theory in economics (Lozano, Gomez

& Rey-Maquieira, 2008), regulation theory (Garay & Canoves, 2011), and evolutionary economic geography (Ma & Hassink, 2013; Papatheodorou, 2004) are some of the theories used along with the TALC to assess the contributing factors to destination growth. Several authors have recommended using economic factors along with TALC (Bardolet & Sheldon, 2008; Cole, 2009; Manente & Pechlaner, 2006; Zhong et al., 2008). Some of the economic factors studied include gross domestic product, economic implications, profit cycles, economic carrying capacity, income and price elasticity (Albaladejo & Martínez-García, 2017; Debbage, 1990; Giannoni, Hernández & Pérez-Rodríguez, 2017; Kruczek et al., 2018; Ma & Hassink, 2013; Richardson, 1986; Russo, 2002; Toh, Khan & Koh, 2001). Economic restructuring and cultural changes are also researched (Gordon & Goodall, 2000; Gale & Botterill, 2005).

Tourism development in Goa

Few authors have researched tourism and socio-economic development in India (Brako & Joseph, 2017; Dash et al., 2018; Mishra, Rout & Mohapatra, 2011; Ohlan, 2017; Pillai, 2017). In a study on tourism-led economic growth in India, the author concluded that tourism and socio-economic growth are correlated (Ohlan, 2017). Ghosh and Batabyal (2022) measured the tourism efficacy among the states of India based on economic growth.

TALC research in India is also limited. Rana and Kumar (2016) researched the prospects and problems of tourism in Uttarakhand based on the tourism management framework and destination life cycle. As and Mathews (2017) used TALC to analyze Kuruva Island in Kerala. The authors concluded that the destination moved from consolidation to stagnation stage. Chhabra (2010) evaluated the attitude of the host community towards tourism in Ladhak at different stages of the life

cycle. The author concluded that the locals have a positive attitude towards tourism development. Tourism provided the locals with financial stability and made them proud of their culture. Kamat (2010) assessed the tourism development in Goa and related it to the TALC model. The author surveyed residents of a taluka in north Goa and concluded that tourism in Goa has not yet reached the stagnation stage and suggested that promoting village tourism would help extend the development stage.

The research on tourism in Goa has focused on unplanned growth and the absence of integrated decision-making (Brammar & Beech, 2004; Breda & Costa, 2013). Other research areas include coastal ecosystems and maintaining beach resources (Bhat & Srivastava, 2010; Noronha, 2004), residents' perceptions of tourism, and the impact of historical and social factors on tourism. The studies also highlight the economic importance of tourism (Achrekar, 2019). The Planning Commission of India put up a task force to check tourism's negative ecological impacts in Goa in the 1990s. The task force concluded that Goa's tourism development was socially, culturally and economically viable. The task force recommended taking care of ecologically fragile lines, waste, and transport and integrating tourism's ecological, cultural, and social aspects (Misquita, 2014).

Pearce (1998) stated that the popularity of a particular destination is enough to research it. Previous researchers have linked the social-economic development of a destination with tourism development and reported different results. The conflicting results on the relationship between tourism and socio-economic growth provide an opportunity for further research. Also, tourism planning and development are correlated. However, what type of planning leads to sustainable tourism or mitigates the effects of over-tourism is being contemplated by stakeholders worldwide.

The current research seeks to add to this ongoing discussion by mapping the triangular relationship between socio-economic factors, tourism development and the planning process. The paper unearths the underlying planning process by mapping destination development longitudinally, endeavouring to provide directions for sustainable tourism planning. The critical evaluation of the developments over seventy years at a prime tourist destination is crucial for further policy formation toward sustainable growth of the tourism sector.

3. Study Area and Planning Framework

Goa is the smallest state in India. It is located on India's western coast. The coastal belt of Goa is 110 km long and has smooth golden sands and a soothing climate (Brammer & Beech, 2004; D'Cunha, 2013). Goa was a Portuguese colony for more than 450 years. Goa is a well-known tourist destination among both domestic and foreign tourists. According to the small state ranking for the best-performing state by a leading magazine, Goa was ranked first in socio-economic and tourism development in 2019 (Deka, 2019). Figure 1 shows the map of Goa.

Figure 1 | Map of Goa
Source: Google Maps

India's economic, social, and tourism planning comes under the concurrent list of the Indian Cons-

titution. They are the subjects of the central and state governments. However, the residual power remains with the central government (GOI, n.d.). The development of the Indian economy is the responsibility of the Ministry of Finance, Government of India. After India's independence, the Government of India constituted a Planning Commission responsible for developing the country's economy. The plans were five-year plans. The objective of the five-year plan was to help the economy's growth in all three sectors, i.e., primary, secondary, and tertiary. The initial plans focused on agriculture and public health. Subsequently, the focus of planning shifted to industrialization (Mospi, n.d.). The country witnessed twelve five-year plans before the planning commission was dissolved and *NITI Aayog* (policy commission) was established. The *NITI Aayog* is the government think tank comprising the Prime Minister, an advisory board, and the chief ministers of the different states and union territories (NITI, 2018). The members meet once every year to discuss and finalize economic strategies. The Ministry of Finance also prepares and presents the yearly budget based on economic strategies.

The Ministry of Human Resources and Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, the Government of India, are responsible for India's educational, economic, and social development (Social Development, n.d.). The Ministry of Tourism, Government of India, develops tourism policies based on the guidelines given by UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism Organization). The Ministry of Tourism advises the state government on formulating tourism plans. It also sanctions central funds for the restoration and management of tourism assets. The Government of India recognized tourism as an industry in the 1980s and acknowledged its financial benefit. As a result, ITDC (India Tourism Development Corporation) was established as a profit-making body of the Ministry of Tourism. It was responsible for increasing the accommodation capacity, developing new tourism

products, and promoting tourism.

The Department of Finance, Government of Goa, takes care of all economic activities in the state (Goa Government, n.d.). The Department of Tourism, the Government of Goa, and GTDC (Goa Tourism Development Corporation) are responsible for tourism development (GTDC, 2020). Since liberation, the state government has failed to pass any tourism plan due to opposition from the stakeholders. However, in 2001, the government passed the recommendations of a draft master plan as State Tourism Policy 2001. Decisions on tourism projects were based on the state tourism policy (Gore et al., 2021). The new tourism plan for Goa was proposed and passed in 2021. The plan establishes a new tourism board comprised of government officials and private sector associations to look after the state's tourism-related development. It focuses on administrative and regulatory aspects of tourism rather than its futuristic orientations. The Goa Human Resource Development Corporation (GHRDC) and the Department of Social Welfare, Government of Goa, look after human resource development (GHRDC, n.d.) and social development (GoG, n.d.). The departments under the government collaborate whenever the situation warrants it. However, collaborations between government and private sector bodies for decision making is rare (Gore, 2019).

4. Methodology

The research uses a single case study methodology for analysis. Yin (2018) suggested that a single case study can be analysed:

a. when the unit of analysis is holistic, complex, and covers trends over an extended period.

b. When a single case study captures the conditions and circumstances of events, the

case may also provide knowledge about the social processes related to some theoretical interests.

The instant research uses a single case methodology where the unit of analysis is the state of Goa. The study documents the socio-economic situations and events during Goa's transformation. The case is developed by triangulating primary and secondary data and having long-term involvement with the interview respondents. For case analysis, the study uses the TALC model and simultaneously evaluates the socio-economic and tourism developments based on tourist arrivals and NSDP.

Methodology for writing the case

The case was developed by identifying the destination's critical socio-economic and tourism events from 1947 to 2019. India earned independence from the British in 1947; hence, 1947 is considered the base year. The time-series data on tourist arrivals was available until 2019. After 2019, the arrival of tourists went down due to the Covid-19 pandemic; therefore, the study was conducted until 2019.

A chronology of the socio-economic and tourism events occurring at the destination from 1947-2019 was prepared based on secondary data sources (Table 1). From the chronology, the repeating turning points were identified (Table 2). The repeating turning points show a consistent stream of decision-making from which the planning process can be analyzed (Mintzberg, 2007). The changes in the occupations of the locals, banking, economic policies, industrialization, social structure, in and out-migration, and education were found to be repeating. In addition, notable changes were observed concerning telecommunication and transportation.

Eight semi-structured personal interviews were conducted to understand and get in-depth kno-

wledge of how the changes (repeating turning points) occurred at the destination. Authors have recommended having 06 to 50 interviews depending on how many interviews answer the research questions, lead to data saturation, and satisfy data reliability and validity issues (Galvin, 2015; Marshall et al., 2013; Rowley, 2012; Vasileiou et al., 2018). The sampling method used to identify the respondents was purposive and included an array of stakeholders. The officials of government departments, members of business associations, and entrepreneurs who are involved in decision-making were selected for the interview.

The objective of the interview was to get more insights into the turning points (events listed in Table 2). Before the interview, the respondents were given a list of turning points. During the interview, the development of each turning point was discussed at length. They were also asked if they considered any other event besides the listed events as a noteworthy turning point in the development of the destination. The respondent's views on whether the developments were planned were also discussed.

The interviews were conducted for one and a half hours on Google Meet with the first author. The interviews were videotaped and audiotaped. The interview recordings were transcribed word for word using Tactic software. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) stress that transcribed interviews can be nalysed through the meticulous word-to-word transcription of conversation; therefore, the same content analysis procedure was followed for interview analysis. The sections of the transcripts were colour coded for each turning point. Later, similar coded sections were merged. The information gathered from the interviews was used to develop the case by linking tourism developments to changes in the socio-economic environment at the destination. The respondents were asked to vet the case to avoid misrepresentation.

Table 1 | Chronology of Socio-Economic Events

Events in Goa	Events in India	Year	Events around the world
Mining of Iron and Manganese ore	Central Government Health Schemes	1945-1960	World Bank offering Loans General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
Portuguese Goa: Import-oriented economy	Beginning of 5-Year Plans	1951	
Out-migration of Goans to the Middle East, Africa and Europe/ In-migration of Indians	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise Development Institute	1962	
Development of schools and colleges	Presence of Regional Banks		
Goa State Cooperative Bank		1963	
Goa Industrial Development Corporation		1966	
Corlim Industrial Estate			
Margao Industrial Estate		1967	
Signs of Urbanization	Nationalisation of Banks	1969	
The decline in mining and the growth of Tourism		1970	
Establishment of Pharmaceutical and Chemical industries		1971	
Goa was declared an Industrially backward area. Govt subsidies.		1973	Oil Crisis
	Closed economy to the world	1980	International Monetary Fund (IMF) Loan on the relaxation of imports
	Deregulation of domestic industry		Depreciation of exchange rate
		1981	World Recession
Development of Patto (Commercial Zone), Panjim	Social schemes by the government for women, children, health and civil rights	1985	
Bailancho Saad	Tax exemption on foreign exchange from tourism	1987	
		1989	World Bank and IMF loans
		1990	Depreciation in South East Asian country's currency value
	New Economic Policy: Globalisation, Liberalisation	1991	Recession
	Foreign Exchange Management Act		IMF and World Bank Loan, Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) foreign investment
	Telecom Revolution	1995	World Trade Organization
	Governments loan to the economic development corporation for the Hotel and Transport industry	1998	Economic sanctions against India due to nuclear tests
	IT Revolution		
20 Industrial Estates	Fiscal Responsibility Budget Management Act, India		
Highest urban population migrations		2003	
Fiscal Responsibility Budget Management Act, Goa		2006	
		2007	Great Recession
		2008	China: As the largest trading partner
Redevelopment of Patto, Panjim for Commercial Offices		2013	
Goa Investment Policy	Make in India	2014	China invests in two industrial parks
Goa IT Investment Policy			
	NITI Aayog. One-year Plans	2015	Sustainable Development Goals by UN.
	Demonetisation	2016	The highest growth in cargo traffic
Goa Start-Up Policy	Sustainable Development Goals (India)	2017	
200 Cr given by the Union Government to develop the beach belt		2017	
	Goods and Services Tax	2018	
New Industrial space, Seven approved and three notified Special Economic Zones		2019	

Source: Own elaboration

Table 2 | Turning points of the socio-economic events

TALC Stage Tourists Arrivals	Goa	India	Global	TALC Stage NSDP
Exploration 1961-1980	Banking, Industrialisation, Sanctions of Loan In and out Migration Educational Reforms Changes in Social Setup	Five-year Plans, Deregulation of domestic industry	Oil Crisis, IMF Loan, Depreciation in the exchange rate	Exploration 1961-1980
Development 1981-1989	Development of Commercial Hub Urbanisation Tourism Industry	Tax Exemptions	Recession	Involvement 1981-1989
Consolidation 1989-1993		Globalisation and Liberalisation, Foreign Exchange Management Act	IMF Loan, Recession	
Rejuvenation/ Involvement 1994-2008	Urbanisation, Social Schemes, Industrialisation	Telecom Revolution, IT Revolution	Economic Sanctions, Recessions, China: as a leading trade partner	Development 1990-2019
Consolidation 2009-2014	Social Schemes Goa Government Investment Policies	Make in India	China's Investment in India	
Development 2015-2017	Social Schemes Goa Start-Up Policy	Demonetisation, Goods and Services Tax Sustainable Development Goals (India)	Increase in Cargo traffic Sustainable Development Goals (UN.)	

Source: Own elaboration

Methodology for case analysis

Plotting TALC graph

The TALC is plotted based on tourist arrivals (1962-2019) and the NSDP (1980-2019) to identify the possible relationship between tourist arrivals and socio-economic growth. The data on the NSDP was available after 1980. NSDP is considered a more appropriate measure of an area's social and economic welfare than GSDP (Spant, 2003). First, the irregularities in the time series data are reduced by exponential smoothing using an alpha value of 0.2. Then, the standard deviation of the smoothed-out data is calculated, and the yearly growth rate is estimated for both series. The standard deviation observed for tourist arrivals is 8.80, and for NSDP, it is 3.26. Microsoft Excel is used for plotting the graphs. Table 3 gives the criteria for identifying the stages of TALC.

Table 3 | Criteria for TALC stages

Stage	Criterion
Exploration	The tourist arrivals are less than five per cent of the peak year.
Involvement	The annual growth rate is greater than half of the standard deviation to the standard deviation of the annual growth rates.
Development	The annual growth rate is greater than the standard deviation of annual growth rates.
Consolidation	When the growth rate is between zero to positive half of the standard deviation
Stagnation	When the growth rate is between negative half and zero of the standard deviation
Decline	The growth rate falls below negative half of the standard deviation
Rejuvenation	When a previous stage is repeated after the initial stages

Source: Adapted from Haywood (1986), Gore et al. (2021)

The socio-economic and tourism developments are mapped on the TALC to evaluate the credible linkages. Finally, elaborations are done based on the evidence presented through the information obtained from the data.

5. Case: Tourism and Socio-Economic Development of Goa

The destination's socio-economic and tourism developments are discussed as a case study highlighting chronological developments based on the primary and secondary data in the following section.

Goa's economy pre-liberation (1947-1961)

Though India became independent of British rule in 1947, Goa was a Portuguese colony and became a part of India in 1961. The economy in the state of Goa was import-oriented during Portuguese rule (Sinha, 2002). The goods were brought in from Portugal and sold at prices as low as 50-70 per cent of Indian goods (A. Naik, personal communication, October 2, 2020). Mining was the most predominant economic activity. The mining leases were issued to rich Goans. The ore was supplied to Japan, West Germany (70 per cent), and other European and American countries. After liberation in 1961, the state's economy declined due to the ban on imported goods (Newman, 2019). The Goan mine owners were the only private mine owners in India. The extra money from mining was put into the fishing, tourism, and education industries (Sinha, 2002). The shift in agriculture and mechanized fishing reduced the local's livelihood and source of income (Sinha, 2002; Trichur, 2013).

India was under the third five-year plan when Goa got liberated (1961-1966). Goa did not get the initial capital outlay from the central govern-

ment. The Sino-India war in 1961 led to the collapse of the Indian economy. Till the fourth five-year plan (1969-1974), Goa did not receive any monetary help from the central government. Although the mining activity was in full swing, a considerable population was jobless.

Beginning of tourism (1961-1980)

Goa attracted American and European tourists in small numbers during Portuguese rule (Sinha, 2002). After liberation, domestic VFR (visiting friends and relatives) tourists started visiting Goa. Foreign tourists came to Goa from the Scandinavian countries. They were popularly called hippies. They travelled to Goa by road in caravans and lived on beaches. The hippies carried their provisions and remained secluded from the locals. As their provisions ran out, they started interacting with the locals. The locals provided them with food and accommodations in exchange for goods or money. The women workforce started staying home and working for their guests (D'Cunha, 2013). Within two to three years, Goa developed as a popular hippie destination. Tourism became a seasonal activity (October to March). The number of hippie tourists was at its maximum from 1968-1974 (Newman, 2019).

Changes in Goan society and culture (1962-2019)

There was a considerable caste divide in Goan society in the 1960s. With the changes in land policies, increased cost of living, and mechanized fishing, the *kharvi* (fishers) and *Vauradi* (toddy tappers) communities were out of jobs. Tourism gave them livelihoods (A. Naik, personal communication, October 2, 2020). Working in tourism was a step towards upward mobility (Trichur,

2013). The lower-class community engaged in tourism began to get rich, and new caste norms were formed (Sinha, 2002). Whoever was rich was considered the upper class.

Lower-caste women used to work in the fields as labourers. Tourism allowed them to be at home and take care of tourists by cooking for them. Women also started working in hotels and other service industries. The presence of women in the workplace led to a change in how men perceived women (M. Raikar, personal communication, October 7, 2020). Tourism altered the occupational pattern of villages. Farmers, landowners, and fishermen started working as cooks, bartenders, taxi operators, and guides (Sinha, 2002). In 2002, 20 per cent of Goa's workforce was employed in tourism (Sinha, 2002). Tourism was also responsible for degrading the moral and physical environment of Goan society (Sinha, 2002). Drug addiction, alcoholism, the sex trade, and the commodification of culture are some problems that have impregnated the Goan society due to tourism. Goans, particularly those not into tourism, are antagonized by how tourism has developed in the state. Table 4 describes the different Goan communities and their traditional occupations.

The culture of Goa is an amalgamation of the cultures of many different dynasties that have ruled over it. The Goan society has remained peripheral within India (N. Kunkolienkar, personal communication, October 6, 2020). Cultural differentiation can be seen in the lifestyle of the people, clothes, language, music, handicrafts, architectural styles, festivals, and feasts. The differentiation attracts domestic tourists to the state. They feel as if they have come to a foreign land. A foreign tourist feels at home in Goa (A. Naik, personal communication, October 2, 2020). The way the tourism department promotes the state reinforces the distancing in Goan culture (Trichur, 2013).

Table 4 | Goan Traditional Communities and Occupations

Religion	Communities/ Class Economic Classes (Upper, Middle and Lower- Middle Class)	Languages Spoken	Percentage of Population	Occupation
Hindu	Brahmin (Upper Class), Kshatriya (Business Class)	Konkani Marathi English	1961- 60% 2011- 64%	Business, Teachers Engineers, Farmers
	Shudra, Gavda or Kunbi (Lower Class)	Konkani		Tenants, Fisherman, Toddy Tappers
Christians	Brahmin, Kshatriya (Business Class)	Portuguese English	1961-38% 2011- 27%	Business, Teachers Engineers, Farmers
	Shudra, Gavda or Kunbi (Lower Caste)	Konkani		Tenants, Fisherman, Toddy Tappers, Drivers, Waiters, Peons
Muslim	Sunni	Konkani Hindi/Urdu English	1961-2% 2011- 9%	Businesses, Farmers, Tenants, Drivers, Waiter, Peons

Source: Newman (2019); Trichur (2013)

Changes in population and migration (1962-2019)

Locals migrated in and out of Goa after 1961 for better job prospects. Many migrated to the Middle East, Europe, and Africa. Locals who migrated were mainly Christians (M.Raikar, personal communication, October 7, 2020). The Hindus stayed back in Goa while some migrated to different parts of India. A few also returned to Goa, hoping for a better political and economic situation post-liberation. The mining industry deterred a few from venturing out as there was good money in mining (Sinha, 2002). Indians from other parts of the country came to Goa searching for work in the construction, tourism, and mining industries. The migration of Indians to Goa in the late 1970s and early 1980s was at its peak. As a result, the Goans started feeling outnumbered in their state (Newman, 2019).

Urbanization and in-migration in Goa happened in the four central tourist districts of Bardez, Tiswadi, Marmugao, and Salcete (figure 1). A study on the land use pattern in these areas shows significant urbanization between 1975 and 1990 (Vaz et al., 2017). The authors concluded that the pattern of urbanization is inconsistent, detached, and uneven. These honeypot areas of the state receive attention from tourists, locals, and the government, whereas the state's interiors are relatively untouched. Table 5 shows that population growth was at its maximum during the 1970s and 1980s. The movement of the population towards urban hubs has occurred since 2000. The increase in tourist numbers per square kilometre of the area in the four tourist districts is alarming.

Table 5 | Population and migration details

	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Total Population	5,89,997	795120	1007749	1169739	1347668	1458545
Decadal growth per cent	-	**34.77**	**26.74**	**16.08**	**15.21**	**8.23**
Rural	5,02,668	591877	684964	690041	677091	551731
Urban	87,329	203243	322785	479752	670577	906814
Population Rise in Urban Areas	14.80%	25.56%	32.03%	**41.01%**	**49.77%**	**62.17%**
Change in Urban Land Area (Km^2) in four central tourists districts (Bardez, Tiswadi, Marmugao, and Salcete)	-	-	7.96	9.57	11.23	12.85
Population per km^2 (3610)	164	220	280	325	374	405
Tourists per km^2 (815)	15	130	450	**1082**	**1557**	**3245**

Source: EPW (2020); Vaz et al. (2017)

Changes in education (1962-2019)

The Portuguese did very little to educate the local population. There were few schools that only the rich could afford. After the Spanish flu pandemic, the Portuguese established a medical institute. Post-liberation, the central government formed committees to evaluate the educational infrastructure in Goa (Coutinho, 1975). Portuguese schools were gradually converted into the Anglo-Indian system of education (Coutinho, 1975). Government schools were established in every village of Goa, especially for the lower castes and needy students who could not afford education (A Naik, personal communication, October 2, 2020). Many colleges were also established by wealthy business-class communities (Trichur, 2013). Table 6 details the literacy rate and the educational institutions in Goa. Colleges providing higher education were affiliated with Mumbai University. A postgraduate center of studies was also established. This center was to provide a nucleus for the future University of Goa. The Goa university was established in 1984, and the medical institute was upgraded with post-graduate courses. New engineering colleges were also established. The need for skilled human resources in industries and tourism was one of the motivating factors for establishing higher education institutes in the state.

Table 6 | Growth of Education in Goa

	1963	1987	2020
Literacy Rate	30.75%	75.25%	88.70%
Number of Schools (all levels)	600	1966	2084
Number of Colleges- Arts, Science, Commerce	-	20	57
University	-	1	1
Medical, Dental, Nursing College	1	1	1
Technical Institutes	-	-	2
Professional Institutes - Hotel Management	-	4	5

Source: DPSE (2020)

Banking (1962-2019)

The Portuguese banks did not give any interest on the deposits to the locals. After liberation, banks were introduced to borrow and lend money to the people. The Reserve Bank of India controls all the banking operations in India. Banking activities started in Goa during the 1960s (Newman, 2019). The cooperative and regional banks were established in 1963, and the nationalized banks started operations in Goa in 1969. The Goan economy is also called a money-order economy, as almost 35 per cent of Goans work outside the country and send money to their families living in Goa (M. Raikar, personal communication, October 7, 2020). Table 7 provides details on the growth of the banking sector in Goa. The table shows that the maximum increase in deposits and credits happened from 1961 to 1987 when tourism and industrialization activities peaked. The locals invested extra money in businesses related to tourism.

Table 7 | Growth in Banking Sector

	1961	1987	1997	2007	2017
Branches	5	257	293	374	688
Deposits (Cr)	9.05	1,636.88	8,415.90	29,505.75	61466
Per Capita Deposits	144	13993	62,618	1,91,126	284567
Percentage Increase in Deposits	-	9617.36	347.5	205.23	48.89
Per Capita Credits	48	2752	5479	62585	85571
Percentage Increase in Credits	-	5633.33	99	1042.27	1267.05

Source: DPSE (2020)

Industrialization and the Growth of Tourism (1966- 1988)

The opening of the Goa Industrial Development Corporation (GIDC) in 1966 led to the formation of industrial estates (GIDC, 2020). The institutions, namely the Industrial Development Corporation, the Maharashtra State Finance Corporation, and the Economic Development Corporation of Goa, provided funds and infrastructural facilities to the entrepreneurs (Reddy, 1994). However, the lack of land space and raw materials for large manufacturing units deters Goa's development as a manufacturing hub (D. Chodankar, personal communication, October 12, 2020). It was also away from finished markets such as Mumbai or Banga-

lore (Sinha, 2002). Therefore, the ideal industries for Goa were pharmaceuticals, software, biotechnology, and agro-based industries. Marmugao Port was developed for exporting iron ore.

Goa was declared industrially regressive in the 1970s (Sinha, 2002). The 1973 oil crisis further slowed down the economy. The International Monetary Fund gave loans to developing third-world countries (D'Sa, 1999). The central government had to employ more investor-friendly economic policies to encourage capital inflow. It formulated incentives and subsidies to attract foreign investment in the tourism trade (Trichur, 2013). The local government too provided subsidies, loans, and tax exemptions for starting a new industry or tourism business under the industrial policy of the Government of Goa (Newman, 2019; Reddy, 1994; Routledge, 2000). Pharmaceuticals and chemical industries were also established. The local Goan elite took advantage of the investment opportunities and expanded their operations. To increase profitability, they got involved in less capital-intensive industries like food processing, brewing, dairy farming, shipping, shipbuilding, and media (Trichur, 2013). Special economic zones (SEZ) were created to establish industries (Nielsen & Da Silva, 2017). There are 20 industrial estates in Goa (GIDC, 2020; Sinha, 2002).

The tourism sector was also given priority (Trichur, 2013). 1980 was declared the year of tourism (Trichur, 2013). India hosted the Asian Games in 1982 and the Common Wealth Heads of Government meeting in 1983, for which the retreat was held in Goa. The objective was to present Goa/India as a tourist destination to western countries (Trichur, 2013). Many roads and bridges were developed for this purpose. A new runway and helipads were constructed for the dignitaries. Also, the telecommunications network was upgraded. The foreign media also gave Goa much attention. Many locals kept their properties as collateral and took advantage of subsidized loans to construct lodging facilities or buy taxis (Trichur,

2013). Thus, industrial development gave rise to tourism activities.

Economic Reforms: Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (1989-2008)

The period from 1989 to 1991 was terrible for the Indian economy. The foreign exchange reserves were depleting. The economy was in recession. The central government undertook significant economic reforms by liberalizing trade and globalization policies. The economic reforms included changes in industrial, financial, and trade policies (Brako & Joseph, 2017). Liberalization helped reduce the number of licenses required to operate in the market, and globalization helped attract foreign direct investment (FDI) to India. Under the deregulation of the industrial sector, many sectors apart from defence, atomic energy, and railways were allowed private sector investments. Import duties were reduced, and foreign technology was imported without restrictions (Brako & Joseph, 2017). India and China agreed to be strategic and significant trading partners. The government legalized 100 per cent FDI in the accommodation sector so that international hotel brands could now invest in India. As a result, many international hotel properties were established in Goa (Brammer & Beech, 2004; Routledge, 2001; Trichur, 2013). New resort chains opened up in the unexplored areas in the north and south of Goa. Implementing the open-sky policy and privatizing the airline industry increased the number of ways to travel to Goa. The competition led to a reduction in fares.

At current prices, Goa's gross state domestic product (GSDP) was Rs. 815.02 billion (US$ 11.14 billion) in 2020-21 (GSR, 2021). The GSDP (in Rs.) increased at a CAGR (compound annual growth rate) of 8.16 per cent between 2015-16 and 2020-21 (GSR, 2021). From October 2019 to December 2020, Goa received US$79.33 million in FDI (DPIIT, 2021).

Other Reforms (2009-2019)

Telecommunication: The telecom sector was under central government regulation till the 1990s. The government encouraged local participation and privatization to boost the sector. As a result, several companies offered telecommunication services. The industry has consolidated lately, with only 2-3 players controlling the market. Technology has contributed to mobile phones' growth and usage, which has boosted the local economy and tourism (Gore, Borde & Hegde Desai, 2021). Telecommunication has facilitated the tourist's ability to get information about the destination.

Transportation: The development of technology also contributed to the development of transport. Due to the Portuguese, Goa had well-developed air and water transportation facilities much earlier than the rest of India. Faster and bigger jet planes and improvements in the runways helped Goa connect with many international destinations. In addition, the establishment of the Konkan railways opened the doors for budgeted domestic tourists to visit Goa (Kale, 2009). The Konkan railway also provided easy access for tourists from other states (Raghuraman, 1995). The ferry services are used mainly by the locals to commute. The increased cruise traffic has allowed locals to earn money (De Souza, personal communication, February 11, 2021). Some cruise lines that go to Goa are AIDA, Royal Caribbean, Silversea, and Costa. The cruises are seasonal but get foreign tourists on a day's visit to Goa.

Make in India Policy: The 'Make in India' campaign was launched in 2014 by the central government to tap the potential of entrepreneurs in different sectors (Nielsen & Da Silva, 2017). The government disbursed loans to entrepreneurs who wanted to establish businesses (National Tourism Policy, 2002). As a result, many entrepreneurs started diversifying tourism with spice farms, water sports, museums, and water parks.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDG): The UN proposed sustainable development goals as Agenda 2030 in 2015. The central government had a decisive role in formulating these goals and adopted seventeen developmental strategies. NITI Aayog (the policy-making body of the Government of India) conducts a sustainable development index study that traces the states and union territories (UTs) on a set of 62 national indicators. SDG numbers one to ten is framed for social and economic development (SDG, 2021). The SDG India index is envisioned to provide a holistic view of the country's social, economic, and environmental status. In the 2018 SDG index study, Goa was among the top states for SDG 8, i.e., decent work and economic growth, and was declared a performing state (NITI, 2018). In the 2019 and 2020 index study, Goa moved to the frontrunner category (SDG, 2021). In the 2020 index, Goa moved in the top 5 performing states. Even if a lot still needs to be done, adapting the SDGs is a step toward inclusive growth.

6. TALC Analysis

The tourism area life cycle is plotted to identify the growth pattern of the destination based on tourism and socio-economic indicators. The TALC stages for total tourist arrivals in Goa are identified as exploration: 1962-1980, development: 1981-1988, consolidation 1989-1993, rejuvenation: 1994-2008, consolidation: 2009-2015 and development: 2015-2019. The TALC stages for NSDP are identified as exploration: 1962-1980, involvement: 1981-1988, and development: 1989-2019. According to both TALCs, the destination is at the development stage. A correlation is estimated to determine the association between tourist arrivals and NSDP. The value of the coefficient of correlation obtained is 0.964, at a 1 per cent significance level. It implies that both variables are positively correlated. Therefore, an increase in tourist arri-

vals will boost the state's NSDP.

A comparative analysis of the TALC shows that socio-economic and tourism development began soon after the liberation during the exploration stage. During the exploration stage (1962-1980), tourism boosted the local economy by generating income for the poor and improving living standards. Tourism also contributed to the state's integration with India (Trichur, 2013). The involvement stage (1981-1988) signifies development. The period saw drastic social changes due to rapidly growing tourism, but the economic growth rate was slow. The changes were noticed in the social structure, migration of locals and Indians, education, banking services, industrialization, five-year plans, and loan disbursals. The TALC for tourism for 1989-2019 shows a consolidation, re-

juvenation, and development stage, whereas the TALC for the NSDP shows a steady development stage. It shows economic stability at the destination. Economic reforms during this period have contributed to changes in the tourism cycle.

The analysis shows that both tourism and social-economic factors impact each other. The TALC shows that the economic recessions (1981, 1991, 2008) did not affect tourist arrivals in Goa. The findings are consistent with the common understanding that tourists from developed countries travel to developing countries because of the vast disparity in monetary value. Figure 2 shows the plotted TALC graph depicting changes, and Table 8 provides a comparative analysis of tourism and socio-economic changes in Goa.
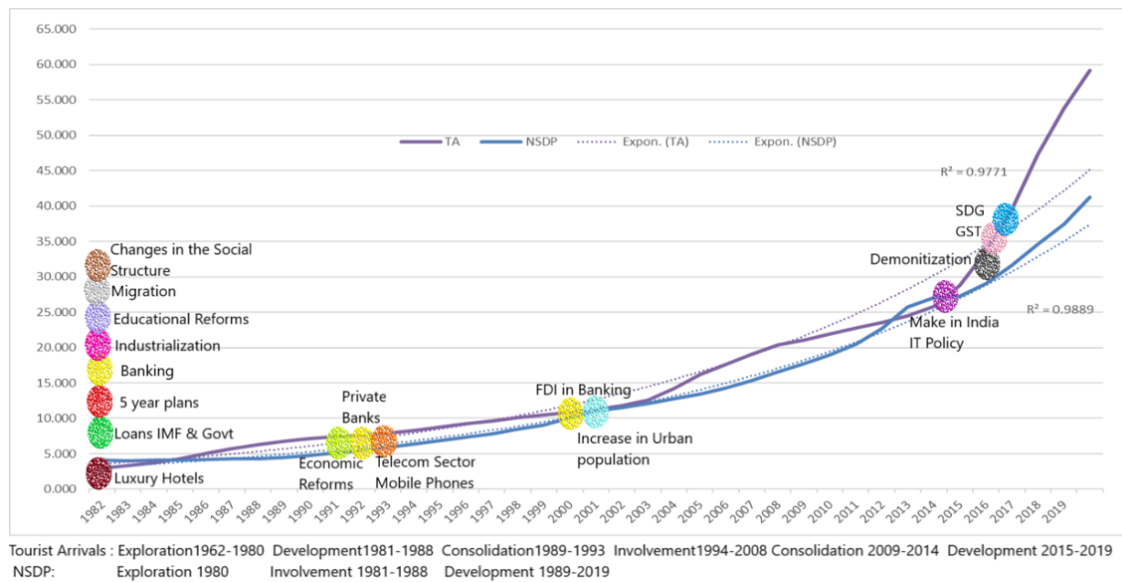

Figure 2 | TALC and Socio-Economic growth
Source: Ambli, 1990; Government of Goa, 1987; Statistics, 2018; EPW, 2020

Butler (2021) discusses the impact on the TALC due to the break in tourist visitation to destinations caused by Covid 19. The author suggests that the recovery from the Covid 19 pandemic for a tourist destination would depend on the stage of development and its repositioning strate-

gies, like changes in market segments or modifying the tourism industry. Thus, destinations may develop multiple growth cycles (Butler, 2009; Gore et al., 2021; Kubickova & Martin, 2020; McKercher & Wong, 2021). In the instant case, the TALC for tourist arrival shows multiple rejuvenation cycles.

Table 8 | TALC stages and corresponding development

Year	Tourist Arrivals	NSDP	Changes at the Destination		
			Tourism	Economic	Social
1962-1980	Exploration	Exploration	Beginning of Tourism – Explorers/ Drifters	Tourism provided jobs and income to the locals. Public investment in infrastructure.	Tourism uplifted the caste system and lifestyle of locals. Signs of deprivation and demonstration effect. Use of alcohol and drugs among locals.
1981-1988	Development	Involvement	Growth in tourist numbers and tourist markets.	Slow economic growth.	Antagonism/ annoyance among locals who were not involved in tourism.
1989-1993	Consolidation	Development	Seasonal tourism with a definite market	Industrialisation, Banking, and Urbanization	Migration of Locals and Indians, Loss of traditional occupations, Establishment of foreign colonies
1994-2008	Rejuvenation		Manmade attractions, Multinational hotels, New tourists segments	Economic Reforms: Liberalisation Globalisation Privatisation	Sex Trade, Gambling
2009-2014	Consolidation		Repeat Visitors, Growth in Domestic tourists	Growth in Technology, Tourism based economy	Increase in crime, drug and alcohol usage, Traffic accidents
2015-2019	Development		Weekend Tourists	Outside investment in tourism	Negative Social impacts continue

Source: Own elaboration

7. Conclusions

Tourism development and the social fabric

The tourism growth in Goa was unplanned and unprecedented (De Souza, personal communication, February 11, 2021). The changes in agricultural laws and easy money with low capital investment led the local communities to get involved in tourism (Newman, 2019; Trichur, 2013). Thus, tourism contributed to changing the divide between the rich and the poor. However, tourism was restricted only to the coasts. The four talukas (sub-districts), i.e., Bardez, Tiswadi, Marmugao, and Salcete, developed due to tourism. The rest of Goa did not see any development till 1980. The case accentuates the need for equitable distribution of the economic benefits of tourism.

Prolonged colonialism led to the Goan population migrating to different countries, searching for jobs and better living standards. The migration shows a classic neo-colonial pattern (Newman, 2019). Neo-colonialism has resulted in providing a boost to the economy. The migrated Goans sent money back home, thus bringing the substantial foreign exchange to Goa (Newman, 2019; Sinha, 2002). The surplus is invested in tourism businesses.

Tourism contributed to the loosening of the 'caste-economic activity nexus' in the social systems, as locals of all castes were involved in a plethora of tourist offerings. It also included the women folk in the domain, as local food was one of the chief products of tourism. It positively changed the caste system and elevated women's role in society. However, tourism has also led to deprivation, the demonstration effect, and the commodification of culture (Gore et al., 2021). The agricultural fields were traded off for tourism-related constructions, and local celebrations gave way to exotic tourist events. Thus, tourism ushered in the slow fading of native organic culture for the entertainment of tourists. In addition, locals were involved in self-destructive activities such as the proliferation of drugs and liquor and a thriving sex trade.

Tourism development and economic stability

The TALC analysis based on tourist arrivals and the NSDP shows that the destination is at the development stage. The research indicates and supports a bidirectional causal relationship between economics and tourism. Many authors have postulated that the bidirectional relationship

hypothesis works for a smaller geographical region. The results of this research are in line with what the theory suggests. From 1961 to 1980, tourism helped the economy grow; from 1993 to 2005, economic changes helped stabilize tourist numbers. 1961-1987 was the period of global change in Goa. The changes were observed in the social structure, education, land use, migration, and banking sectors. Tourism earned a prime place among the state's economic activities and was here to stay and grow, leading to a pressing need for policy interventions for directionality and sustainability.

Role of the central and state governments

The research uses post facto analysis to evaluate the planning process based on the ends and means approach, wherein the impacts of developments at the destination are analyzed to identify the planning process. The developments show that the central government planned for economic and tourism developments. The state government followed the central government's directives. However, the study highlights that most decisions taken by central and state governments are reactive to changes in the external environment. The central government mainly focused on forming economic strategies. Tourism's role in developing India's economy was realized in the 1980s, resulting in the tourism sector getting a fair share of investment considerations. However, the central government has neglected the social impacts of tourism. In Goa, too, tourism is essentially an economic activity. The state and central governments ignore tourism's social and cultural impacts. Jenkins (1980) states that tourism in developed countries is regarded as a social activity with economic consequences, while in developing countries, it is essentially an economic activity with social consequences. The research confirms that tourism's social and cultural impacts are ignored for its economic benefits in developing countries. Tou-

rism development in Goa aligns with development worldwide, as Tosun and Jenkins (1998) discussed, from the 1960s to the 1990s. However, after 2000, sustainable tourism development did not happen in Goa.

The research shows that the government has formed policies based on the changes in the external environment. Hence, the strategies are adaptive. Regarding governance and decision-making in the public sector, Mintzberg (1973) suggested three modes of policy formation, i.e., planning, entrepreneurial and adaptive. The author also suggested a combination of decision-making modes. The instant case proves that the government has used an adaptive decision-making mode for tourism. Under the adaptive mode, decision-making involves complex coalitions. The formation of the recent tourism planning board with multiple stakeholders evidences it. The decisions are fragmented, reactive and incremental. They are made for a short duration as the external environment is highly complex. The outcome of the decision is an essential component of the future decision-making process. Therefore, the decision-maker is flexible and free to adapt to environmental changes. In the instant case, the adaptive planning mode of decision-making is evidenced in policy-making for the economic, education, banking, and telecommunications sectors. The government developed or modified existing policies based on changes in the external environment. The research did not highlight any social policies being formed to mitigate the negative social impacts of tourism. Thus, this research suggests adapting to strategic planning for tourism instead of adaptive planning with an emphasis on integrative growth.

The government's incremental and fragmented decisions have helped solve tourism problems on a case-to-case basis in the short term. However, its integrative impact on the destination is never measured. The government and stakeholders look at the economic effects of tourism. Environmentalists and conservationists focus on the negative

environmental impacts, whereas locals are divided in their opinion. Fragmented decisions also lead to the collection of erroneous data. The current case highlights the negative social impacts of tourism, such as deprivation and demonstration effects, cultural commoditization, sex trade, gambling, and congestion. The above are signs of over-tourism at the destination (Milano et al., 2019). This research draws attention to timely policy intervention by the state government, particularly the dire need to turn tourism into a desirable direction for sustainability and prosperity.

8. Research Implications

Previous research on tourism and socio-economic development in Goa has highlighted tourism's positive economic and negative social impacts (Bhat & Srivastava, 2010; Noronha, 2004). This research looks at the development and analyses the planning process followed at the destination. The TALC model for NSDP and tourist arrivals validates the relationship between tourism and economic growth. Ma and Hassink (2013) developed the path dependency model and coevolutionary framework to study the growth of a tourist destination. The model explains the causal mechanisms leading to the evolutionary process in a tourism area. The outcomes of this study show a correlation between tourism and economic development and hence, support the path dependency model. Furthermore, the coevolutionary framework of a tourist destination highlights the coevolutionary processes of tourism actors, destination attractions and institutions occurring at multiple levels within a tourist area. The instant research also supports the framework of the coevolutionary process of tourism and relates it to socio-economic events. Thus, the research shows that the evolution of the tourism area is complicated by multi-level coevolution. Garay and Cano-

ves (2011) proposed a regulation theory approach along with TALC. The regulation theory proposes that every system reaches a crisis point, after which the former mode of regulation cannot be sustained, and society is forced to find new rules and regulations. The regulation theory can be applied to the rejuvenation stage of the TALC when new tourism products or market segments are introduced so that the destination does not decline. The TALC analysis in the instant case shows two rejuvenation cycles. Hence, this research's findings align with the model proposed by Garay and Canoves (2011). The authors suggest using TALC as a framework integrated with the model proposed by Garay and Canoves (2011) to regulate tourism in the rejuvenation stage, leading it to the desired growth stage.

The research also looks at the mode of planning done at the destination. For policy practitioners, this research provides a blueprint for future strategy development. The Ministry of Tourism, the Government of Goa or the newly formed tourism board can contemplate the outcomes of this research to develop a future tourism plan for sustainable growth. The pandemic has allowed planners to evaluate the past and develop integrated and inclusive plans. The TALC model can be utilized to develop plans for a particular stage or market segment (Gore et al., 2022). The socio-economic analysis results highlight areas where public resources can be allocated (Blake, Sinclair & Campos, 2006; Eadington & Redman, 1991; Lemmetyinen & Go, 2009).

For more inclusive development, tourism and socio-economic strategies need to be developed hand-in-hand through stakeholder collaboration (Hall, 2008; Marques & Santos, 2015). Additionally, the research highlights the need for equitable economic benefit distribution. Boulhosa, Farias and Figueiredo (2021) suggest stakeholder collaboration for developing environmentally friendly and sustainable policies. A wayfinding information system comprising information on the desti-

nation's physical, social and cultural environment could be researched and developed to solve existing problems caused by tourism (das Neves, 2021).

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