

Tourism and Fishing: Exploring the Gendered Dynamics in Sangodd Festival of South Goa

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Abstract: *Located on India's west coast, Goa is a well-established tourism destination with beach as its primary product. Prior to tourism, Goa's economy was sustained by primary occupations like agriculture, fishing, and extracting mineral ores. Fishing is one of the major industries and source of livelihood for the traditional fishing communities. Across Goa, the traditional fishermen celebrate a unique festival locally known as the sangodd in June. This research aims to underscore the novelty and continuity of gendered relations in the context of globalization during the Sangodd festival in coastal village of south Goa. It also focuses on the dynamic relationship between tourism and the commodification of culture in Goa.*

Keywords: Globalization, sangodd, tourism, culture, and gender

Globalization is the compression of the world, where ideas, information, capital, technology and people flow across the boundaries. Similarly, tourism has been a byproduct of globalization.¹ Tourism is the epitome of global movement², where both people and their social-cultural capital flow and imprint on the culture of host destinations, thus facilitating cross-cultural exchange. Tourism can either enhance or incur changes in the culture of the host societies. The tourist embodies globalization and is an appropriate emblem of 21st century consumer culture.³ The culture of a region includes its language, thoughts, beliefs, traditions, customs, rituals, art, music and festivals.⁴ Tourism, being a social and economic phenomenon, has the potential to transform these elements of indigenous culture into a commodified tourism product. In the process of

commodification and commercialization, the so-called traditional roles based on caste, gender, and ethnic identities are either discontinued or transformed. Thus, through tourism and globalization, local communities are exposed to global cultures, influencing local traditions and customs and facilitating cultural exchange. Coastal regions and their economies, which depend on harnessing natural products like sea and land for their livelihood, have also experienced the waves of globalization and tourism through the mechanization of fishing and the presence of recreational activities along the coast.

Our society is rooted in the patriarchal structure, which gives rise to certain inequalities. Tourism can potentially cause changes in host communities by challenging structural inequalities. Apart from their active participation in the workforce, women within the tourism industry acted as mediators and facilitated the conservation of the heritage and culture in the face of extinction. However, women have also maintained their traditional roles in promoting authentic culture.

In Goa, before the wave of globalization, tourism (in the 1960s) smashed the global borders and facilitated cultural exchanges. However, this development was centred along the coastal region, with sun, sea and sand as its prime focus of attraction. This trend changed with the expansion of the tourism trade and the promotion of charters and luxury tourism in the late 1980s, resulting in the marketization of more tourism products, including its heritage and culture. At present, Goa Tourism is keen on diversifying its tourism products with a particular emphasis on the local culture, festivals, traditions, heritage, and colonial experiences, thus leading to its commercialization. This transition has both positive and negative influence on the local community and their associated identities.

This article explores the social bonds forged by the fishing community along River Sal through the annual celebration of the sangodd (procession of colourful floating boats) festival in the coastal villages of South Goa. On the basis of observation and interactions in the community during the festival, the article underscores novelty and continuity of gendered relations in the context of globalization.

For the purpose of the data collection, the researchers participated in the festival and conducted semi-structured interviews among the members of three sangodd groups located in the wards of Assolna village, namely, Passagem, Kolem dando and Ambelim ward. The rationale for selecting these groups is their exclusivity, as only three fishing groups in Assolna perform the traditional festival of sangodd. Respondents were questioned about the origin and how many years the festival has been celebrated, the participation, the rituals, the preparations period, different activities, folk songs, sponsors, gendered roles and the involvement of the entire community in the festivals and ceremonies. The article also discusses the complex relationship between the tourism industry and small-scale fisheries in Assolna and adjoining tourism destinations in South Coastal Goa.

Who are the fishing community in Goa?

In Goa, fishing is one of the major industries, with nearly 30,225 fishermen inhabiting 71 fishing villages in eight fishing talukas.⁵ The recent statistics on the fisher folk population has indicated a downward trend with 12,651 (2016), of which only 2758 were regarded as active fishermen.⁶

Fishing is recognized as a traditional occupation and is inherent to Goa's identity.⁷ Throughout Goa, these traditional fishermen are known by diverse names: ramponnkar, pagelkar, kharvi, magkar, kantaikar, and budpi. Interestingly, some of these sub-groups get their name from the net used to catch the fish or based on their specialization in a particular type of fishing. For instance, pagel is the name for the net; hence, the fishermen who use this net are called pagelkars. In the local caste stratification, the fisherfolk community were considered Shudras, professing Hinduism and Catholicism. However, today, all of these sub-groups of fisherfolks are assigned the caste status of the Other Backward Classes (OBC).

It is impossible to imagine the landscape of Goa's coastline without traditional fishermen and fishing boats. Even with the booming tourism industry, fishing continues to thrive and earn a major source of income for the coastal communities in Goa. Fishing in Goa's waters can be divided into three types: sea (salt water), river (sweet water) and pond fishing. Although the sea is the central pool of fish produce, the river and ponds also provide substantial income for the local fishing community. Throughout Goa, 11 rivers flow across the length and breadth, offering a lucrative source of fish produce along with sites of ancient civilization. Several rivers originate, flow, and end in Goa. For instance, the Sal River originates in Verna of Salcete Taluka and meets the Arabian Sea at Betul-Mobor (Cavelossim) after flowing through Salcete and Quepem Taluka of South Goa for 40 kilometres.

Similarly, the practice of pisciculture also has a long tradition, where the traditional Khazan lands were used to raise fish after harvesting salt, known as mitt in Konkani. These ponds, locally known as ogors, were utilized for different purposes. During monsoons, they were used for rice cultivation, and during the dry season, to produce salt through the evaporation of saline water and in between, the same land will be transformed as traditional fish ponds. Khazan land encompasses around 18,000 hectares of landmass in Goa, of which 6500 hectares are utilized for fish production of species, including mullets, pearl spot, milkfish, catfish, ladyfish, and talapia, as well as tiger and white prawns and crabs.⁸ Today, there has been a gradual decline in the traditional practice of salt production and also khazans are no longer used for agriculture, but these ponds have been transformed into fish breeding sites mainly for tiger prawns (also branded as 'pink gold'), sea bass and other fish for exports. In the year 2018-2019, Goa exported 37,938 tonnes of fish.⁹ Thus, fishing in village waterways has transitioned from a subsistence activity for local consumption to a commercialized business.

The primary occupations of Goa, be it agriculture, toddy tapping, or fishing, were closely connected to the region's culture. These occupations are in sync with the culture and religion of their inhabitants. We observe an inseparable link between the livelihoods of the people and their social-cultural practices, which are intertwined with the sacred. Similarly, the traditional fishing community in Goa observes and performs rituals, customs, and festivals that commemorate this link with nature. Religion has a significant place in the lives of these traditional fishermen. For instance, the ramponkars, a sub-group of a fishing community in Goa, still practice their age-old ritual practices and worship popular cults. Every year before the commencement of the fishing season (1st of August), they would celebrate a eucharistic mass in the village Church and their fishing nets were blessed by the village Priest.

Similarly, before sailing, all the fishermen collectively pray to the patron saint, St. Peter, and other gods for a good catch and their safe return. The ramponkars, on the occasion of the naal Purnima, would offer coconuts to the sea. Hence, the confluence of religion, culture, and livelihood is visible in Goa's water; however, with modernization and tourism development, these traditional customs are being transformed.

Small Scale fisheries, Cultural Tourism and Fish Festivals

Fishing has been a widely performed economic activity across the world for ages. Although there has been a change in the mode of production from subsistence to commercially driven, its importance and correlation as a social, economic and cultural agent hence cannot be overlooked. There is widespread evidence that fishing communities perform and observe rituals and ceremonies intending to seek divine interventions for their occupations, which results in celebrating their history, tradition, and identity.¹⁰ According to Claesson et al.¹¹, fishing festivals are embedded with religious and spiritual values and integrated ethnic and cultural elements, like the Loi Krathong celebration in Thailand, which honours the river goddess Mae Khongkha by releasing krathongs (floating baskets) into the water as a gift.¹²

Miller¹³ discussed the importance of small-scale fisheries (SSF) to enhance livelihoods and protect the environment. Over 90% of fishers work in the small-scale sector and earn their livelihood in rural coastal regions. As discussed by Teh and Sumaila¹⁴, small-scale fisheries include "(i) those aimed towards household consumption or sold locally; (ii) conducted at a low level of economic activity; (iii) minimally mechanized; (iv) conducted within inshore areas; (v) minimally managed; and (vi) undertaken for cultural or ceremonial purposes." SSF could also include those using non-mechanized force equipment like sails and oars, low-horsepower engines, passive fishing methods, and lack electronic fish-finding and navigational devices¹⁵, thus relying on traditional knowledge.

Based on the economic orientation of fishing communities in Goa, they can be primarily designated as 'small-scale fisheries' with their primary motivation

geared towards household subsistence and excess being marketed locally. The technology used for fishing is still deeply rooted in the traditional methods (use of oars, canoes, and traditional nets), which adhere to sustainable and ecological standards and maintain an equilibrium with nature. Tourism development along the coastline has introduced significant challenges to coastal villages. One of the apparent transitions is the involvement of the fishing communities in tourism business as an alternative livelihood, which has produced positive impact through poverty alleviation and improved the standard of living.¹⁶ Such an occupational shift has some latent consequences too.

In coastal regions where tourism has already developed, there is a direct and indirect effect on the small-scale fisheries who change their fishing behaviour along with queries like who can fish, its frequency and the type of gear and net.¹⁷ As tourism grows, the involvement of the people in different tourism businesses like restaurants, hotels and water sports activities further shrinks space to the traditional fishermen, resulting in privatization of beach space, which may lead to conflict.¹⁸ In Goa, as argued by Solomon¹⁹ the loss of traditional occupation in coastal belt has been due to industrialization and pre-eminence of tourism on the coastline. Similarly, as the tourism lobby and fishing community share resources (Sea and River), this can result in clashes on issues like space and type of gear. For instance, the president of the AVCC (Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim) traditional fishermen association complains against the water sport activities which destroy the traditional fishing technique of sticking nets in the River Sal, which hinders their livelihoods. However, we observe instances of fishing communities involved in tourism activities like water sports have simplified their gears and use the same canoes for recreational fishing.

Tourism also produces a positive economic impact on the fishing community; it can increase the demand for fish and seafood for tourists visiting the destination. Tourism has also widely promoted several fish festivals, adding more to its commercialized value to the traditional occupation. Recreational sea fishing has also been immensely promoted as a key tourism activity.²⁰ Fishing as a recreational tourism and sport activity has been a recent phenomenon; however, the trends indicate that the development is slow, as only 11 sport fishing vessels were recorded in Goa.²¹ There is widespread evidence of water sports, and a few local canoe operators organize fishing and crab trips for tourists.

Fish festivals can be further bifurcated into traditional and modern festivals. The traditional festivals trace their origin to several centuries; for instance, the Fishermen's Feast of Boston, which is linked to the 'Madonna del Soccorso' tradition, originated in the 16th century Sciacca, Sicily and is celebrated annually on the 15th of August on the Day Feast of Our Lady of Assumption. In contrast, modern fish festivals are more recent phenomena like the 'Autumn Passages', a festival celebrated in Bulgaria which originated to celebrate the efforts of marine fishing in moulding the identity of the region.²² In these festivals, the main product marketed is the fish and promoted as a sports tournament, while

traditional festivals commemorate the traditional practices linked with religion and culture, carried down for generations. In Goa, the introduction of the 'Aqua Goa Mega Fish Festival' is a more recent initiative by the Department of Fisheries, Government of Goa, which annually displays the wide variety of marine life in Goan water, along with entertainment, competition and food expo.

Across the length and breadth of India, fishing communities celebrate their festivals. National Fisheries of India attempted to document these festivals, identifying 14 throughout ten Indian states, which include the Khairi Kashao Festival, Good Friday Fishing, and Karjoi in Manipur, Khiliinyie in Nagaland and Bhogali by the Bihu community in Assam. In Uttarakhand, the Maund fishing festival is held. The Koli fishing population celebrates the Koli fish festival and Naal Purnima in Maharashtra. Similarly, in Karnataka, Meenu Habba and Dharmarasu Sri Ullaya are honoured. The fishing communities in Goa celebrate the sangodd festival; in Kerala, the Payyanur Meenamrutu festival; in Odisha, the Chaiti Ghoda Nata; and in Tamil Nadu, the community fishing festival are celebrated.

In the 21st century, there is a widespread awareness that we have connected with people beyond the physical boundaries, which gave rise to a borderless and globalized realm. The awareness of 'global consciousness affects our lives and is a source of social-cultural change'.²³ In this globalized world, tourism has the potential to transform a mundane cultural product into a prized commodity, thus giving rise to the phenomenon of cultural tourism. As defined by Salazar²⁴, cultural tourism is a "series of perceived contradictions between the power of tradition (the local), which implies stability or continuity, and tourism (a global force), which involves change".

The intangible cultural heritage of the regions also attracts tourists, further enhancing the commercialization and commodification of culture for consumption. In rural areas, tangible and intangible cultures are valuable and unique resources utilized to attract tourists, generate income, and sustain local livelihoods.²⁵ Consumption of material culture, like landscapes, architecture, agrarian life, cuisine, and festivals, is essential for tourists to enjoy, experience, and understand a place. Rural institutionalized culture in the form of traditional festivals or folk art and performances, where the tourists can participate and experience the local culture²⁶, is publicized as a medium of authentic cultural experience. For instance, to expand its tourism business, the Goa Tourism Department has widely promoted local festivals like the monsoon festivals, Sao Joao, Sangodd, Chikalcalo and Bonderem.

'Viva Sangodd': Fishermen's festival of brotherhood

In Goa, the month of June is known for its heavy showers, which dramatically changes the landscapes from barren to a green carpet of nature. Several festivals associated with nature are celebrated in monsoons, namely, chikalkalo (festival playing with mud), Sao Joao (feast of St. John the Baptist), Bonderem (festival of

flags celebrated in Divar village) and sangodd.

Sangodd is a festival widely celebrated by the fisher folk across Goa every year on the 29th of June. This day marks the feast of St. Peter, the patron of fisher folks who was a fisherman before becoming the disciple of Jesus. In this festival, two saints, St. Peter and St. Paul (Sao Pedro and Sao Paul), believed to be brothers and fishermen by their profession, are honoured. In Goa, sangodd is widely celebrated across the villages of Candolim, Siolim, Ribandar, Kharewado in Vasco, Velsao, Agacaim, Assolna and Cutbona. In this paper, we have considered field insights from Assolna.

Sangodd is an act where four (or more) boats are tied together in unison.²⁷ Mr. Remeth, the president of AVCC Traditional Fishermen Association, delineated the meaning of sangodd by breaking the word into two parts, namely 'sang', which he associated with the Konkani word 'sangatt', meaning a union or collectivity. While 'godd' in Konkani meant to join together. Hence, etymologically, the festival symbolizes an act where people join together and collectively move forward. The respondents further stressed that with one boat it cannot be called sangodd, but it has to be joined together. As earlier, these fishermen would have only one boat, and it was an obligation to use everyone's vessel to build the 'sangodd'. Some also reiterated that in Assolna, there was only one sangodd, but later, it was divided into three groups.

Upon further enquiry on this festival's origin and significance, the respondents traced its origin to 200 years ago and has been carried out as a tradition across the generations. The respondents drew the story of festival significance with a biblical connection relating it to the life of St. Peter, his evangelizing journey where he travelled to spread the message of Jesus Christ and his death as a martyr. Most importantly, the respondents stressed the significance of the journey of the Saint who came from the same occupational background as them, so this day, the 29th of June, is also a way of remembering the Saints' journey and the 'sangodd' is constructed. The sangodd festival showcases an amalgamation of local indigenous tradition with colonial encounters primarily through the Portuguese, and the touch of Catholic tradition is evident. The imprint of Christian influence is apparent in sangodd as the Saint commemorated is a Christian saint. Secondly, the rituals and customs, including the Eucharistic celebration, hint at the essence of Christian tradition.

For these traditional fishermen, their entire livelihood depends on harvesting fish from the River; thus the whole festival occurs in the River Sal. All the sub-groups participate in the sangodd in Assolna, but the participation of the fisher folk dependent on the rivers is highest.

Three groups participate in the sangodd in Assolna: the Passagem ward, Koledando and Ambelim ward. All these three wards have the highest concentration of fisher folk who prepare their own sangodd. The festival preparations begin two weeks before, and the canoes used for the festival are repaired; there are even instances where new boats are constructed and

blessed on the day of the sangodd. One of the respondents from the Passagem ward of Assolna mentioned that for this year's festival, they have incurred an expenditure of six lakhs to build new boats that will set sail on the day of the sangodd. Fishing festivals are usually organized by local fishing community members rather than by the government. As observed in the sangodds in Assolna, the funds for the entire festival were raised with sponsorship from the villagers.

The festival preparations occur in a designated space, either in their respective Chapel or the Club house in their ward. These traditional spaces have also transformed into their designated sacred space over time. For instance, a respondent from the Kolemdando mentioned that while diving into the River Sal, they discovered idols of the Holy Cross and Our Lady of Vailankanni, which were later placed in their club house called the 'shooting star', located at the banks of the River. Although the club house was a secular space where their nets and boats were docked, the discovery of the idols transformed it into a sacred space. For the sangodd, these sacred spaces are significant as everything from the construction and decoration to the blessing of the fleets occurs at the Chapel's or the Club's sacred ground. The Passagem ward, which is also known as tari (a term used for the fishermen) waddo has its sacred ground at the Holy Cross Chapel, the sangodd of Kolemdando ward has its own club house called as shooting stars and in Ambelim, the Holy Cross Chapel located at Banda is their chosen space. As mentioned by the respondents in Assolna, initially, only two wards (Passagem and Ambelim) were involved in the participation, and the entry of the Kolemdando ward (who earlier joined the Ambelim ward) as a sangodd is a more recent phenomenon, that is in 2008.

Continuity and Novelty in Gendered Relations in Sangodd Festival

Sangodd is an act where canoes are tied together, and a wooden stage is set up on the canoes for entertainment purposes. One day before the festival, the participants collectively tie these smaller boats or canoes locally known as 'odde' to make a larger floating vessel. One or two days prior, the men and youngsters gather to collectively decorate the sangodd while the women prepare the traditional sweets and afternoon lunch for the participants. The men are entrusted with the task of decorating the boats, while the women decorate the surrounding areas and streets with balloons and colourful papers. Sangodd boats are decorated with colourful paper, flags of different countries, mango leaves, coconut palms, coconuts, natural and artificial flowers, balloons, and religious symbols like the cross, decorated exclusively by men. Some of the sangodds decorate their boats based on the themes selected by the fishermen. For instance, this year, the Ambelim ward based their sangodd on the theme 'save the environment'.

The village Priest plays a vital role as the principal celebrant of the sangodd. In Assolna, the village parish Priest plays an imperative role. The elders of

the fisher folk community, along with the Parish Priest, discuss the festival's particulars. The Parish Priest's suggestions are incorporated into the celebration of the sangodd. Although the traditions and the rituals are shaped by their ancestors, new practices are introduced from time to time. For instance, in the Passagem ward, earlier, there were no novenas (preparation period as designed by the Catholic Church, which takes place for nine days prior to the actual day of the feast) in the part of the sangodd, but this year with the suggestion of the parish Priest, we see an introduction of three-day novenas. Each novena day is marked by a Eucharistic celebration.

On the day of the sangodd, at 7.30 am, a Eucharistic celebration is commemorated in the Regina Martyrum Church in Assolna with the Parish Priest as the main celebrant. The fishing community of two wards, namely Passagem and Koledando, jointly participate in the Eucharistic celebration in the Regina Martyrum Church of Assolna, and the third sangodd from Ambelim celebrate their mass in their respective Chapel. The entrance of the Church is decorated with colourful cloth and with banners. From its liturgy to the offerings for the high mass, they are all centred on the occupation of fishing. All three sangodds in Assolna have their respective idol of St. Peter, which are usually placed in their Chapel or club houses and one day before the sangodd; these idols are kept in the Church.

The entire liturgy for the high mass is organized by the women from the fishing community, who actively participate in the procession after the high mass. The procession of St. Peter is another unique tradition in which the Parish Priest and the Assistant Vicar carry the idol of St. Peter throughout the wards of Passagem and Kolemddando, accompanied by the brass band and the main celebrants of the feast. This entire procession takes around an hour to complete.

The village Priest, on the day of the sangodd, at around 2.00 pm, visits the ward and blesses the fleet, along with the fishermen's new boats and fishing nets, which also symbolizes the beginning of the fishing season. As also observed in the festival celebrated in the Gulf of Maine, a religious procession includes a 'Blessing of the Fleet', an event where Catholic Priests bless fishing vessels to provide divine protection and ensure a prosperous fishing season.²⁸ As there are three sangodds located at different locations in Assolna and all the sangodds start at a specific time, the Priests associated with the Church divide their duties. For instance, the Priest in the Regina Martyn Church blesses the fleet in Passagem, the Assistant Vicar in Kolemddando and the Chaplin of Ambelim of Ambelim sangodd. These Priests also accompany the fishermen in the sangodd and offer prayers at the various stations (cross) across the river.

The village Priest and the community members collectively organized a small prayer service, which includes an introduction, a reading from the holy bible specific to St. Peter, and petitions raised for the blessing of the sea and their livelihood. The entire theme of the Eucharistic celebration and the prayer is based on the life of St. Peter in praise and seeking his divine intervention.

Although the village Priest is the principal celebrant of this prayer service, the entire liturgy is organized and recited by the women of this community. It is also symbolic to note that the entire liturgy is performed on the sangodd with the main organizers, Priest and women belonging to the fishing community as the first partakers.

After the prayer, the fisherfolk place the net and other tools used for fishing in front of the Priest, who then, blesses the nets and their entire sangodd with the holy water. The act of joining the canoes denotes a symbolic act where the entire ritual unfolds, is the main essence of the festival. Performing sangodd annually is culturally embedded in the life of the fishing community in Assolna, as discussed by Klucckholn²⁹, who defined culture as 'the total way of life of a people' and a social legacy the individual acquires as being a part of the fishing community. For Geertz, culture served as a web that connects the individual to the society.³⁰ Thus, sangodd acts as a cultural practice deeply rooted in the culture of the fishing community in Goa.

After the sangodd is blessed by the Priest, the fisher folk set out floating in the River Sal. For the sangodd, there is a specific division of roles based on gender. Traditionally, only male members participated in decorating the sangodd, and the women were entrusted with the traditional task of preparing food for the entire community. Food was an essential component of the fishing festival, which was traditional and ethnically prepared cuisine by the women. However, in the 2000s, due to factors like education, employment opportunities, and the changing mindset of the community, the participation of women was enhanced. Initially, women were not allowed to embark on the sangodd journey, and upon further enquiry, the respondents cited several reasons, especially the long duration of the journey, which lasted for three to four hours floating on the river. Secondly, as June is a monsoon season, there can be heavy downpours and wind, which can obstruct their journey and be a risk too. Traditionally, there was a strict occupational division within the fishing community, with men catching the fish and women vending the fish. As the festival aims to bless the vessel and those who venture on it, it led to the exclusion of women. Today, there is a definite transition, as the first two rounds on the sangodd from the dock to the Assolna Church are reserved for the women, which indicates a movement from its exclusion to inclusion. Thus, expanding their role and participation in the sangodd from exclusively a male-dominated festival to an egalitarian one. One of the respondents from Passagem ward mentioned that from next year, 'we would like our women to embark on the entire journey'. However, in Ambelim sangodd, women participate in the entire journey, which is a significant change in its traditional customs. This transition could also be attributed to the large-scale migration of men to the United Kingdom and USA; thus, women outnumber the men, representing the future fishing community. Although these diasporic communities financially support the sangodd festivals, their physical presence is crucial to transmit this tradition to the next

generation. Thus, any social change in the local and regional context needs to be explored by positioning them in the 'global-national' continuum.³¹ Hence, the women's movement from its social exclusion to inclusion in the sangodd has been attributed to factors like migration of men, education and social-cultural exchange ushered in by globalization. The inclusion of women in the sangodd is necessary for its marketization of sangodd tourism product. If the sangodd was centred on the traditional structure that excluded women's participation, promoting it as a tourism product would not be possible, where tourists are both men and women. Thus, the transition in the gendered roles is a positive mechanism for the tourism industry.

Through globalization and booming tourism in coastal villages of Goa, another dimension of the sangodd which has transitioned is its music. Folk music and performances are elements of indigenous and rural populations, usually passed down from generation to generation through an oral tradition and not documented in any form. These folk music performers were amateurs and relied on narratives, recitation and participation for its continuity. The sangodd festival has peculiar songs often written as a part of the carnival khell in Assolna. These songs were accompanied by brass band music. Songs narrating the day-to-day happenings and songs narrating the life of St. Peter are commonly sung in Assolna. However, this folk tradition is slowly dying with elements of globalized pop music and modernization, as the younger generation hesitate or show disinterest to learn or associate with music, signifying their marginalized³² position in social structure. Today, sangodds are accompanied by popular Konkani songs or hits from Western pop and reggaetón. As sighed by a respondent, 'today we hire a one-man band and gone are the days where we sang to the tunes of brass band'. These songs were primarily sung by the men rather than the women of the fishing community. We observed that only one sangodd from Assolna continued the traditional practice of singing folk songs, along with brass band, often quoted as 'sangodda kantara'. These traditional music and performances have lost their significance under the clutches of globalization and modernization of the music industry, and hence, struggle to survive in the elders' memories.

Similarly, the fisher folk community no longer wear the traditional attire but wear customized T-shirts where the name of their respective sangodd is engraved, while some wear floral shirts, which were popularized as a part of tourism in Goa. The only traditional practice concerning the dress continued is the floral headgear worn for the San João feast in Goa. These floral headgears made out of artificial flowers are marketed as a product of Goan culture. Traditional fishing practices also promote sustainability, which has evolved through the knowledge passed on from generation to generation. Today, the smaller wooden canoes are replaced with fibre boats, and only a few follow the traditional practice. Depending on the size of the float, the number of people participating in the sangodd ranges between 30 to 50 men, both youth

and adult. During the procession, fishermen would pray at crosses near the banks of the River, lit crackers and give a loud shout, 'Viva Sao Pedro', or 'Viva sangodd', which signified their arrival for the spectators. Along their way, the fishermen would distribute sweets, often laddoos and toffee packed in plastic, to the spectators.

The traditional festival of sangodd is unique to Goa. In the wake of this globalization, such traditional festivals are witnessing transitions. On the one hand, it has enhanced women's participation in the festival, and secondly, it has also resulted in the decline of the male population due to migration. The sangodd festival, like the other festivals, has also gained the attention of Goa tourism department and is promoted as an aspect of cultural tourism. Although this development is a new phenomenon, it has not gained attention of tourists compared to the Sao João feast celebrated on the 24th of June (star hotels organize parties for the tourists). The festival of sangodd has retained its traditional charm amidst a few positive transitions, but if commercialized, its consequences can be detrimental to the local community.

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