

The Hippie Movement in Goa : A Socio-Historical Study

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, “The Hippie Movement in Goa : A Socio-Historical Study” is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the History Discipline at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the Supervision of Dr. Nalini Naik and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report “The Hippie Movement in Goa : A Socio-Historical Study” is a bonafide work carried out by Ms Raysancia Domnica Cunha under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in the History Programme at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.



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PREFACE

The dissertation titled “The Hippie Movement in Goa : A Socio-Historical Study” is taken up by me for the MA History degree at Goa University for the academic year of 2023-2024. I am delighted as it has come to fruition. The reason behind choosing this topic for my dissertation is that I feel that there has not been enough documentation of the Hippie Movement in Goa in the academic regards. This community that was mainly comprised of travellers from Europe and America in the initial years, lived in Goa for decades and thus have left a significant impact on the Goan Population, the livelihood, the culture, the economy and the new opportunities that it opened for the Government of Goa. Not forgetting the tourism aspect that resulted in the tourist boom and opened up Goa to people on a global scale. Therefore, the arrival of hippies in Goa owing to the factors posed by the colonial history of Goa thus shows immense significance that cannot be overlooked. Even today, the same legacy attracts an even greater number of people to visit Goa. The hippies had their settlements in the north coastal belt of Goa. Today, if we notice, the north of Goa, especially the shoreline, is more heavily crowded with tourists than other sites of historical and cultural significance. The portrayal of Goa’s hippie past and the relevance today also speaks about the imaging of Goa and the Goans. Therefore this dissertation is produced with the aim of documenting the hippie culture that sort of prevails even today, the perspective of the locals towards the same and the challenges posed by it in essence the imaging of Goa.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It gives me immense pleasure to present my dissertation for MA History, titled "The Hippie Movement in Goa : A Socio-Historical Study". This dissertation has enabled me to connect with the cultural background of the Hippie settlements in Goa, that otherwise most often goes unnoticed. The compilation of data would not have been possible without the help of many.

Firstly, I would like to thank my Research Supervisor, Dr. Nalini Naik for helping me in every way possible. Her guidance was very helpful in the gathering of data. I also extend my gratitude towards Dr. Pratima Kamat and Dr. Parag Parobo for helping me whenever needed. I also thank the faculty members of the History Programme for their support. I would also like to thank Mr. Glen Fernandes, Mr. Gavin Mascarenhas and Mr. Carlos Fernandes among many others, and all the interviewees who took out time from their busy schedules to help me in this dissertation and hence be a part of this work. This acknowledgement would not be complete without thanking my parents for helping me and giving me moral support and never ceasing encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

The topic for the dissertation “The Hippie Movement in Goa : A Socio-Historical Study” looks into the arrival of the foreign travellers in Goa. They travelled overland covering vast expanses and made their way to Goa. The tropical environment of Goa caught their attention and many of them preferred to stay back here. Therefore they are also referred to as dropouts of the hippie trail. The work deals with the factors that led them here, and the way they were able to stay here in Goa for prolonged periods of time and how the Goans got along with the hippies and as a result it opened up new arenas for the state of Goa. The ideals of the hippies and their ways of life in Goa is elaborated upon. The colonial history of India and Goa speaks about the superiority of the Western colonisers over their eastern counterparts. Though the hippies also were westerners, they were very different from those in the history of India and Goa. Therefore, in a way the hippie movement in Goa thus forms a part of Goa’s past worth remembering. This work is produced with this aim in mind. Similarly the aspects of the hippie settlements in Goa giving rise to Psytrance, different ritualised ceremonies and eventually opening Goa to people on the global scale is discussed further in the work.

Keywords: Hippies, Goa, psychedelic, trance, flea markets, tourism.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

Over the years, Goa has provided a safe spot for numerous newcomers, travellers, and even colonial rulers. We have a great heritage of Portuguese history here, but even before that we had the Persian monarch Adil Shah who extended his reign until Tiswadi and he had his custom houses along the banks of River Mandovi in the then Ella recognised as 'Mandvi'- meaning a custom's post. Gradually, as is said, with the influence of the Portuguese, there had been changes in the language spoken in Goa, as a result, the syllable 'o' was added, producing the word 'Mandovi', which explains how the river gained its name in the sixteenth century. The colonial rule that began in 1510 lasted until 1961, and finally we had foreign nationals who came here to find peace in everything that Goa had to offer. Many people came here to find tranquillity because of the comfort that the sand and sea provided. The goal of delving deeper into this matter is to discover the stories behind the trail and bring to light the hippies' link with the Indian Ocean via the Goa coastline, as well as the possible reasons for them to make Goa their home for quite some time.

Goa, the smallest state with a total land area of approximately 3,702 square kilometres in India has a lot to offer. The latitude and longitude coordinates of Goa, India are approximately 15.2993°N (latitude) and 74.1240°E (longitude)¹. On the southwestern coast of India situated within the Konkan region lies this culturally rich part of heritage in India. Shaped like the new moon, Goa's beaches are known to the world over. Fringed by swaying palm and coconut trees with cool and comfortable shacks offering a variety of refreshments,

¹ Manoj Kumar, "smallest states of India by area" Population Census, (2023) accessed July 3, 2023

Goa's 103 km coastline is blessed with the most enchanting beaches lapped by the Arabian Sea. Goa is well known for its natural heritage, built heritage comprising the Goan and Indo-Portuguese architecture all over. The neighbouring states Maharashtra and Karnataka. One aspect that cannot be missed while discussing Goa is the River Mandovi, said to be the lifeline of the people living here. It originates in Karnataka, flows 84 kilometres and merges with the Arabian Sea thus connecting Goa with the international waters.

The arrival of the hippies in Goa dates back to nearly the late 1960s.² The subject of the Hippies in Goa will be specific to the coastal areas of the shoreline in North Goa that includes Anjuna, Asagao, Vagator, Baga, Arambol, Morjim, Calangute, Candolim. The focus however will be largely centred around Anjuna, in Bardez Goa as it was in this village that they first inhabited for quite a long time. The impact is majorly seen in the locality of Anjuna, with the greater number of active party places, youth hostels around there.

This work is particularly on the Hippie Movement concerning Goa, the land and its people. The impact, the influence, the new beginnings, the new arenas and a whole new outlook towards Goa. The land and its riches back then in the 1960s and 1970s and the transformation and the evolution that is evident today, visible to the eye. Today it is hard to ignore the revenue collected through the night bazaars and flea markets in Goa which was sparked through an idea during the Hippie Movement here that has ignited the whole tourism industry. There are many of these that take place on a weekly basis. Tuesday market in Arambol, Anjuna flea market on Wednesday, Arpora night market on Saturday, Goa Hilltop in Vagator on Friday. They also function on a seasonal basis. Roles played by the hippies in these markets are as a vendor in

² Andrew, Pereira. "The Hippie who got Goa the globe". *The Times of India*, November 22, 2015.

selling items that include food, drinks, clothing, and other various trinkets. They have their influence in terms of music and art in Goa. They possibly chose Goa over any other part of India, since the people over here had been much accepting of their ways in the initial phase. Being a colony of the Portuguese for around four and a half centuries, language and communication wouldn't be a barrier. In the same regards, the role played by the Goans cannot be ignored.

As Wilson Fernandes mentions in his work *Hippies in Goa*, 1983, it is not surprising that the hospitable, mild-mannered, and law-abiding people of Goa, not to mention our sunny beaches and health resorts, have drawn visitors from all over the world. Other enticing features include: picturesque scenery, shady coconut groves, verdant hills, ancient historical temples, churches and cathedral, and a plethora of other enticing features that bountiful nature has bestowed on this sun-kissed land. No surprise, then, that hippies chose this spot for their stay in Goa. Local journals and other publications have exhaustively covered the various aspects of their way of life. Some have vilified hippies, while others, by focusing their attention on different aspects of their way of life, have highlighted some of their redeeming qualities. While refraining from outright condemnation of their methods, it should be noted that hippies, seeing their fellow man steeped in materialism, now seek serenity and peace of mind in simple living and high thinking. If they have turned to nudism, it is possible that they have realised that man is excessively obsessed with materialistic requirements, lust for wealth, and the lure of money, and that having tasted the bitterness of luxurious living, they have now turned to more primitive ways.³

³ Wilson Fernandes, "Hippies in Goa," *Journal of South Asian Literature* Vol. 18, No. 1(1983):253
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40872593>

The hippies as they are termed, it has been quite difficult to provide any exact definition. It has got to do with music being one factor, a fusion of rock music and folk music and this kind of fusion produced the hippies. It combined an emphasis on folk naturalness, liberty, some form of pop culture with youth rebellion. The wildness of rock is again some form of Hedonism.

The word 'Hippie' originated from hipster to designate beatniks who resided in Greenwich Village in New York City, Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco, and Old Town in Chicago⁴. Although the term hippie had been used elsewhere previously, it was popularised in the media by San Francisco writer Michael Fallon. A hippie, also spelt hippy, is a member of the 1960s counterculture, which began as a youth movement in the United States in the mid-1960s and extended to other countries worldwide. Hippies supported pacifism and love, with a famous saying being "Make love, not war," and were also known as "flower children." They argued for tolerance and openness as alternatives to the limitations and regimentation they saw in middle-class society.⁵

'Hippie' is a Transnational Identity⁶. Looking at the international impact of the London-based psychedelic magazine OZ, Andrew Hannon argued that the countercultural elements of the hippie phenomenon, which linked America to Britain and Australia, "can only be fully understood by looking beyond both disciplinary and national boundaries". Similarly, works on

⁴"Definition of Hippie" Academic Accelerator, accessed June 2, 2023.

⁵ Ed. Encyclopaedia Britannica "Hippie Subculture" History and Society, Britannica, accessed June 2, 2023

⁶ Andrew Hannon, "Hippie" is a Transnational Identity: Australian and American Countercultures and the London OZ". *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2016) 39
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44779790>

hippies in the Soviet bloc published over the last two decades have challenged the notion that hippies could only be found in the capitalist world.

Many residents have found it unfortunate that simple living and high thinking have been pushed to extremes in their dress, but to their credit, the majority of them are cultured and refined in their ways, proving that hippies, on the whole, are not devoid of self-respect, dignity, moral and spiritual refinement. There are different groups that then gradually emerged, some of them being freaks, and ravers.

Hippies in Goa can be traced back to the late 1960s, when travelling hippies landed in Goa, which was frequently their final destination on the Hippie Trail. Goans were welcoming to all cultures and people, and the authorities paid little attention as the migrant surge increased tourism in the country. The first hippies arrived in Goa at the end of the 1960s, exhausted by the atrocities of the world wars, and stayed for a long time on the beaches of Anjuna, Vagator, and Baga, which attracted them. Goa lured young people because of its cultural seclusion, tropical beauty, and spiritual atmosphere. They felt liberated, free of the constraints imposed by old Europe's orthodox morality.

Though not much to a great extent, can be seen today about the hippies in Goa, the customs and the activities still go on in many coastal areas around in Goa. It has become more of a community that many people identify and associate themselves with. Not just of one nationality but multiple origins. And this community has been seen growing in Goa in the last few years giving many others to be a part of this journey of self discovery. There are the rave parties and markets hosted in the specific time of the year making it more seasonal today. Providing an area of comfort as well as discomfort for some and many others. While all of this

has been going on in a way that has not necessarily been previously, it has been commercialised and commodified to some extent, that was not the initial intent. For example, the Goa Collective Bazaar hosted every Friday in Vagator Hilltop, has an entry fee of Rs.100/- charged from every individual entering the market. Even the parties hosted, many a times as a tribute to the disc jockies and hippie figures from the yesteryears. Today the case is entirely different and will be elaborated on in the subsequent chapters. The fact that it has continued this way for so many decades thus shows the dependence of the Goan economy on means like these. Thus this view cannot be neglected and has to be taken into account. There are varied notions by the Goans on the hippies - the group, their ways and therefore the impact they left on the morality of the Goans since then and until now. The way Goa and Goans themselves have been projected in theatre, speaks a lot of the views that certain people have set about Goa and the Goans in their minds and then spreading it to the rest.

The hippies have been highly influential politically, culturally, and morally. They are said to define a particular time. They are said to be revolutionaries and emphasis on emancipation, on liberation, on feminism, civil rights, some suggest environmentalism as well. They are referred to as cultural trailblazers. Intercourse and drugs and rock and roll, self expression individualism, a sort of hedonistic lifestyle as well and then morally they were said to be the visionaries of love and peace, nonviolence, tolerance, diversity. The whole hippie culture was also closely tied up with a notion of identity, they are the climax of the age of authenticity, they can be defined as the embodied pursuit of originality and naturalness. However, it is believed, with their decreasing number, the age of authenticity also faded away. In the late 1960s, there have been student protests, then there was the Woodstock festival and starting with the 70s a rapid decline was noticed after the death of major hippie figures like Jimi Morris. The end of the Vietnam war in 1975 can also be pointed out as the end of the

hippie movement. They expressed themselves through their music, clothing, unrestrained way of dancing, being informal and always emphasising non conformism. They didn't indicate a specific social status for instance, with the clothes they just simply expressed some form of anti establishment attitude, so socially it's clearly Counter Culture. Non-conformism being outside of society against a traditional role based society and its emphasis on sincerity to some extent. It gradually declined elsewhere with the change that was seen in music. They went from long hair to shorter hair that transitioned from hippie culture to punk culture and then later on to the new wave.

The hippie trail (fig. 1.1) refers to the overland journey taken by members of the hippie subculture and others from Europe and West Asia through South Asia, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, from the mid-1950s to the late 1970s. The hippie trail was a type of alternative tourism, with one of the main components being to travel as cheaply as possible, primarily to extend the length of time away from home. The term 'Hippie' became popular in the mid-to-late 1960s, replacing the earlier term 'beatnik' from the late 1950s. Every major stop on the hippie trail had hotels, restaurants, and cafés for Westerners to network as they travelled east and west. Hippies interacted with the local population more than traditional tourists. Journeys would often begin in western European cities such as London, Copenhagen, West Berlin, Paris, Amsterdam, or Milan. Icelandic Airlines transported many Americans to Luxembourg. The bulk of voyages stopped at Istanbul, where routes were divided. The old northern route went through Tehran, Herat, Kandahar, Kabul, Peshawar, and Lahore before heading to India, Nepal, and Southeast Asia. Travelling from Turkey to Iran and Pakistan via Syria, Jordan, and Iraq was another possibility. All travellers were obliged to pass via the Khyber Pass, which connected Pakistan's Peshawar and Lahore with the Pakistan-India border at Ganda Singh Wala (or subsequently, Wagah). Popular destinations in the east

included Delhi, Varanasi (formerly Benares), Goa, Bombay (now Mumbai), Madras (now Chennai), Kathmandu, and Bangkok.⁷

There is a fundamental urge in Urban-Industry modernity, which may be described as physical, to search for geographic and sensual beyonds. The hippies were looking for something beyond just travelling. They wanted to be a part of the particular place and the spirit. Their motto in life being “live to the fullest”. In a way, recent researchers have attempted to see theoretical and psychological attributes of the subculture that resulted in the hippie movement. It can be traced back to the Romantics, theosophists, and surrealists, and in the 1960s, this psychedelic urge became concentrated in hippiedom. Goa, the former capital of Portugal's Indian Ocean empire, became a major stop on the Euro-American traveller culture circuit.⁸

Being quite aware of the challenges while taking up this topic, there are a few limitations and those are, detailed verification of people's accounts of their interactions with the hippies may not be possible at the moment considering the resources and these will be personal accounts. The rise of criminalization during the time of the hippies can be intimidating to work on. The language barrier to some extent also poses as a challenge to get detailed translation of the accounts written by the hippies in their native languages as there are many resources and books published in foreign languages.

The hippies due to various reasons that arrived on the Goan land and chose to stay back lived as happy as they could be for they had chosen their lives for themselves. Eventually not all could live here until the very end and some made their way back. Some hippies chose to

⁷ “The Hippie Trail: a Pan Asian Journey through History” History Extra, accessed June 8, 2023

⁸ Arun Saldanha, “Music is Force”. *The Massachusetts Review*, Inc. Vol. 50, No. 1/2 (2009) 70

stay in Goa. But many more left. Before long, the Indian government began to regulate the businesses that the hippies had set up. To some, this meant the end of the hippie culture that had pervaded the region since the 1960s. The impact of the Hippie culture is noticed in various aspects of life. Be it music, where it gave rise to a whole new music genre for the people, but also the markets to raise money for their living and various other lifestyle utility aspects. Throughout the 1970s, hippies created their own little cocoon of psychedelic presence, particularly in the coastal village of Anjuna. Anjuna's impromptu party culture was then amplified in massive outdoor parties.

The hippies and their contribution to the culture and ethnicity in Goa, cannot be disregarded. Goa being a coastal land and as mentioned earlier, Portugal's Indian Ocean empire proved to be a spot that the hippies could call "Home" for a long time. Since Goa had its long history under the colonial rulers for about 451 years, the locals were well versed with the English language and partly the Latin influence here may have served as supporting factors for the hippies to establish contact with the locals. Thus connecting them cross-culturally, and spanning across regions, subjects and archives that are conventionally treated alone.

Identification of Research Problem

The presence of hippies in Goa has left a significant mark as it is visible amongst the locals in Anjuna today. The deeper question lies upon the impact of the hippie settlements over the Goan communities especially in Anjuna and the inherent morality of the Goans as highlighted in the sources. This is further reflected in the imaging of Goa in theatre and media. A lot has been said and done about the hippies by the scholars and most importantly, by the hippies themselves. However, not a lot of extensive work has been done from the perspective of the

affected population, i.e from the perspective of the Goans especially in Anjuna. Through this study, the views over the same will be taken into account and will provide an analysis.

Objectives

- To understand the factors of the arrival of the hippies in Goa.
- To seek out influence and contribution by them in cultural and cross cultural heritage.
- To understand the impact of the hippies on the village of Anjuna over the Goan Community and the inherent morality of the Goans.
- To understand and analyse their perspective of living, and the kind of views held against them.

Literature Review

Karin Larsen. *Faces of Goa*: Larsen's work is divided into three sections that are rich in exclusive information and data about Goa's culture and history, its socioeconomic facts, new dynamics of cultural patterns and evolution as a result of rural urban migration, and dynamics of the west coast as a result of Portuguese presence. It provides insights into the cultural realms that existed in Goa in the presence of other cultures at the same time, thus providing a synthesis of the diversity in the smallest state of India.⁹

Frederick Noronha. *Another Goa*: The essays in this book are about Goan migration, the current land grab in Goa, and mining and how it despoils the state. Some of the essays' points of view may spark an argument about Goa. The book is significant for the research since the

⁹ Karin Larsen, *Faces of Goa* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1998).

problem of land grabbing has grown in the 2000s. Noronha also mentions concerns about Goa's population growth rate being below replacement, bearing child later in life and childlessness he says are issues that go unaddressed, but are believed to be western ideas.¹⁰

Paulo Coelho. *Hippie*: In the book *Hippie*, Paulo Coelho tells a story based on his own life experiences, relationships, political ideas, and personal values, as well as his travel adventures and fear of kidnapping. Throughout the book, he adds his thoughtful beliefs and describes the ways of the world in the 1970s. The book gives a complete picture, the prejudices we tend to hold against certain kind of people because they don't fit into something that is mainstream for us. The book provides every aspect of the author's journey and gives an insight for those who are new to this and brings back the nostalgia for those who have been through it. Since it is a memoir, it has proved helpful in gaining an insight into the trail and life within the same.¹¹

Tribhuvan Kapur. *Hippies: A study of their drug habits and sexual customs*: Tribhuwan Kapur, an Indian social anthropologist, has studied the drug usage, sexual mores, and religious beliefs of hippies visiting India. Kapur has provided elaborate descriptions about the hippies, the places they have been to in India, the kind of clothes they wore, and the kind of attention they attracted from the locals. The end product is a peculiar combination of scientific declarations and enthralling details of a decidedly different way of life. The author has primarily used only text to make his points, rather than statistical analysis, which would have been beneficial.¹²

Ed.. Graham St. John. *The local scenes and global culture of psytrance*: This is a collection of formative research on the culture of global psytrance, a contemporary electronic dance music

¹⁰ Frederick Noronha, *Another Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2009).

¹¹ Paulo Coelho, *Hippie* (Broadway: Knopf, 2018)

¹² Tribhuvan Kapur, *Hippies: A study of their drug habits and sexual customs* (Noida: Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD, 1981)

phenomenon. It explores its transnationalism, interdisciplinary research, and its cultural implications. The collection explores psytrance in various countries, focusing on theories of globalisation, postmodernism, counterculture, youth subcultures, neotribes, and the internet's communication capabilities. The chapters in the book introduce psytrance in Goa, the UK, Israel, Japan, the US, Italy, Czech Republic, Portugal and Australia. It is one of the first scholarly volumes of its kind.¹³

Cyril D'Cunha. *Those were the days*: The book is a collection of writings of veteran journalist and sportsman Cyril D'Cunha during his long illustrious career. There is a significant amount he mentions of the tourist population in Goa and those locals who are at an advantage and a disadvantage, maybe at the same time. He also speaks about the nostalgia during the time of the Portuguese colonisation in Goa. *Those were the Days* covers a rich tapestry of topics ranging from heritage, religious festivals, music, art, culture to politicians, tourism, Konkani and celebrities.¹⁴

Cleo Odzer. *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India*: This is a unique document of the life of a hippie in the 1970s. It speaks about the 1970s style of hedonism. The author's visits to Goa and the duration that she lived here for. These Hippies were called Freaks because they were hardcore drug addicts and serious drug dealers. Unlike a lot of other hippies, they didn't use drugs in rituals to try to uncover truth or expand their mind. Drugs were the most important things in their lives and the entire community revolved around the use and smuggling of drugs. Cleo and her friends certainly did live a life of excess and adventure, but all of them paid a

¹³ St. John Graham, *The local scenes and global culture of psytrance* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

¹⁴ Cyril D'Cunha, *Those were the days* (Goa: Goa cuts, 2013), 215-217.

heavy price. This book is helpful as it is a memoir and serves as an insight on the ways of the hippies.¹⁵

Teresa Albuquerque. *Anjuna - Profile Of A Village In Goa*: The story culminates on the most stunning stretch of sun-kissed beaches in the Indian Union's newest state. The book recalls gruesome feuds and petty faults from bygone periods entrenched in local folklore. It discusses the constructed heritage, Portuguese missionaries, and monuments, as well as the existence of a basic community from various backgrounds in the area.¹⁶

Manbeena Bhullar Sandhu. *Layla in the Sky with Diamonds*: The book speaks about Layla, a 1960s flower child, has travelled the world in pursuit of a utopian place. Her life tale begins with her wild rock and roll years in New York and continues with her hippie days in San Francisco and Goa, where hippies from all over the world flocked to live a bohemian lifestyle. Her heady habits were paired with a few terrible situations and bad choices, eventually leading to her spiritual awakening, but not without a high price. This engrossing text blends 1960s and 1970s hedonism, Indian culture, narcotics, family, destruction, passion, spirituality, and fascinating people. The author transports you on a voyage of vivid impressions, bringing the spirit to life.¹⁷

¹⁵ Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (Wisconsin: Blue Moon Books, 1995).

¹⁶ Teresa Albuquerque, *Anjuna - Profile Of A Village In Goa* (New Delhi: Promilla & Co Publishers, 1987), 82-89.

¹⁷ Manbeena Bhullar Sandhu, *Layla in the Sky with Diamonds* (Indiana: Archway Publishing, 2017).

Research Design and Methodology:

1. Literature review: Examination of existing literature about the topic. Thoroughly skimming through existing literature, including historical records, scholarly papers, books, and archival material, to obtain background information and relevant data.
2. Field Observations: Travel to the coastal villages of Anjuna, Vagator, Calangute, Candolim Baga and document cultural practices, festivals, flea markets, night bazaars and events. Participate in participant observation and gather visual evidence to back up claims and research findings.
3. Interviews and surveys: Interview local people, cultural specialists, and the ones that identify themselves as the hippies and to learn about their experiences, beliefs, and practices and perceptions of cultural characteristics.
4. Examine the acquired data for parallels and contrasts in cultural practices, traditions, and the overall impact of hippies in Goa in regards to the various other Indian vendors setting up their spaces in the likeness of the hippies.
5. Data Interpretation and Conclusion: Analyse the findings to develop conclusions about the cultural qualities of the communities, emphasising their distinguishing features and contributions.

Scheme of Chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction

In the first chapter, one will be introduced to the topic with the help of the definitions, provided by scholars and hippies alike, review of literature used. The methods used to procure data and the methodology used to conduct this research. Aims and objectives of the study along with the scope and relevance of the study will be mentioned in the chapter.

Chapter 2: Settlements of the Hippies

This chapter will speak about the origin and history of the Hippies in Goa, the political context in Goa during the time of their arrival, and the kind of position they held in the life of the Goans at the same time. The factors that led them here and the factors that proved favourable for their gradual settlement in Goa will be studied. The chapter will also speak about their lifestyle and the areas in Goa that they initially inhabited. The activities they indulged in, the practices they followed will be studied. The period of their stay in Goa, and the conditions that led to it will be studied in this chapter.

Chapter 3: Cultural Background of the Hippies

In this chapter, the cultural heritage of the hippies and the influence, changes seen in cross cultural aspects will be analysed. The chapter will also deal with the gradual changes taking place in the hippie culture scene in Goa along with new elements getting implemented. The kind of gatherings they had, some of which may have been continued till date will be looked

into. The ideals and beliefs behind the practices will be studied. The cultural elements which were the driving force behind the existence of the hippies in Goa will also be studied in this chapter. The Goan community and the life of the Goans during this time and the increasing interdependence between the two groups will be dealt with in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Impact of the Hippie Culture

This chapter will provide an understanding of the level, degree and intensity of the hippie influence in Goa. The main areas of their settlement in Goa and the conditions at the time that helped them in particular. Impact particularly on the Goan life along the coastline in Anjuna in terms of the economic activities, like the flea markets, transport and accommodation, the ‘season’ time, all of this play a major role in our life today through its gradual evolution. Impact in terms of the inherent morality of the youth in Goa will also be studied in this chapter. The degree of involvement of the villagers of Anjuna during the process of cultural assimilation and the factors that make Anjuna different from the other villages in Goa will be studied. The idea of sustainability and our ways of getting back to it today, shall also be studied.

Chapter 5: Issues and Challenges: Imaging of Goa

In chapter 5, the outlook of the hippies towards Goa as well as how the locals have been dealing with the community will be emphasised upon. The problems associated with the hippies in Goa, the influence it has left behind in terms of the religious elements during their rave parties in Goa. Anjuna as a result of the amalgamation of the these cultural practices shall be dealt with in this chapter especially in terms of the economic activities and cultural upbringing. The

issue with the imaging of Goa and the Goans in theatre, as one effect of the cultural assimilation will be studied in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In conclusion, an analysis of the Hippie Movement in Goa and the life around it will be studied. The emphasis will be on the Goan populace and their take on the settlement of the hippies in Goa. The kind of issues and problems they dealt with while also benefiting out of the conditions at the time shall be looked into. Tourism as an industry that developed at the time and the idea of sustainability that prevailed then will be focused upon in the conclusion.

Scope and Relevance

The lesser known part of the contribution by hippies in Goa in the cultural aspects, that of art, music, lifestyle, their overall outlook will be highlighted. Similarly the practices today, in the same manner, yet different will be looked into. The ways incorporated today by many seeking inspiration from the means of this community here back then. The study will also look at how the tourism industry is shaped today, after the arrival of the hippies. The impact centred largely around the villagers of Anjuna will be focused upon.

The Catholic Church in Goa has taken a position on a topic that has been a source of contention in the state for some time: tourism. And, as expected, the report has elicited a wide range of strong reactions. 'Renewal', the Archdiocese of Goa's official bulletin, published the Diocesan Pastoral Council's 15-page report. The Pastoral Council is a high-level church body made up of elected representatives from various lay groups and parishes. Expectedly, the

church has requested tougher measures to combat nudism, drug peddlers, sexist advertising, flea markets, and hippie-organised moonlight beach parties. What was unexpected was the church's call for a moratorium on licensing new luxury hotels and expanding existing ones.

According to the Pastoral Council report, the prevalence of drug abuse among youth in the north Goa coastal belt was much higher than in the interior of Goa. Therefore the concerns of the locals, the Goan Catholic community regarding the issues will be elaborated and looked further into the study.



Fig. 1.1: Map of the hippie trail

Picture courtesy: www.historyextra.com

Chapter 2

Settlements of the Hippies

Goa has been a popular destination for hippies for decades, with many travellers flocking to the region for its beautiful beaches, laid-back atmosphere, and spiritual culture. Some come to escape the stresses of modern life, while others are drawn to the area's vibrant music and party scene. Whatever their reasons for visiting, hippies have long been an important part of Goa's cultural facet contributing to its rich history and diverse community.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the 'Hippie Trail' emerged as a popular route connecting Europe to South Asia and Southeast Asia, with Goa positioned along this path. This led to an influx of hippies who embraced the laid-back lifestyle and tranquil beaches of Goa as they journeyed overland from Europe. Many hippies were drawn to Goa for its reputation as a hub for spiritual enlightenment and introspection. Influenced by Eastern philosophy and alternative spirituality, hippies arrived in large numbers to Goa to meditate, practice yoga, and engage in spiritual pursuits. The tranquil ambiance of Goa provided a respite from the pressures of Western society, appealing especially to young individuals disillusioned with mainstream culture and materialism. With its rich history as a former Portuguese colony and a melting pot of various cultures, Goa attracted visitors eager to immerse themselves in a diverse array of traditions. The unique blend of Indian and Portuguese influences, combined with a vibrant arts and music scene, captivated hippies seeking cultural enrichment. While not the primary motivation for all hippies, some were enticed to Goa by its gradual reputation as a place for drug experimentation. Psychedelic substances like LSD (Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) and marijuana were popular among hippies, and Goa's relaxed attitude towards drug use provided an ideal setting for mind-expanding experiences. Affordable accommodation options, such as

beach huts and communal living arrangements, made Goa a thriving spot for hippies embracing alternative lifestyles. Many hippies formed communes and intentional communities in Goa, embodying their ideals of peace, love, and harmony with nature. The communal living arrangements in Goa allowed hippies to connect with like-minded individuals, fostering a sense of community and belonging amidst Goa's intriguing backdrop.

There were many hippies that arrived in the 1960s. There have not been any records as such but as per what the locals had to say about “Eight Finger Eddie”,(fig 2.1) he was born in America to Armenian immigrants in Depression-era Boston. He was a former Bass player whose real name was Yertward Mazamanian. He was nicknamed Eight finger Eddie because he was born with only three fingers on his right hand. As also clarified by Cleo Odzer in her work, when there were two or more people with the same name, there were describing words attached to their actual name to avoid confusion.¹⁸ He was born on March 8, 1924 and died on October 18, 2010. For a brief period in the beginning they did stay in south Goa, at beaches like Colva in Salcete taluka. In the accounts that have been preserved of Eddie's life, it is recounted that he made his way to Goa and took up residence in Vincy's house located at the end of Colva beach from 1963 to 1965.¹⁹ During this time, Eddie welcomed anyone who wished to enter his abode and stay with him, going as far as offering complimentary meals to his guests. However, Vincy eventually transformed his residence into Vincy's bar, prompting Eddie to start seeking alternative accommodations. Fortunately, some old friends whom he had previously aided extended an invitation for him to come and stay with them in Baga. Thus, Eddie's journey of hospitality and exploration in Goa continued on a new path. There onwards there were settlements that eventually also came up in Anjuna.

¹⁸ Cleo Odzer, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (Wisconsin: Blue Moon Books, 1995 ecopy).40

¹⁹ Domnic Fernandes, *Village Anjuna: Vignettes from Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2015), 85

After hearing about the beauty of Anjuna beach from a Japanese girl, Eddie decided to explore the area further. He asked his friend to check if there were any properties available in Anjuna. That evening, Jack, his friend returned to Baga with the key to a home near Joe Banana's in the ward named 'Danddo'.²⁰ Joe Banana was a small place that operated as a shack that was run by a Goan named Joe, serving milkshakes and coolers to the ones at the beach. Eddie was eager to see the opportunity in Anjuna and was excited to start spending his time in this picturesque location.

The 1960s, Goa saw an influx of bearded hippies with long hair embracing the values of the flower children and back-to-nature lifestyle. Many young men adopted the trend of wearing their hair longer, inspired by the hippie culture. This era saw a shift in dressing styles, with hippies roaming around Goa in very little clothing. The lives of the hippies revolved around swimming, smoking enormous amounts of hashish (drug), and hosting full moon parties on the beach. Electricity was introduced in 1975, allowing for the amplification of music. Arun Saldanha in one of his works says that the unique description by late Cleo Odzer of Anjuna's hedonistic heydays in the 1970s, *Goa Freaks: My Hippie Years in India* (1995), must be read with caution, since many generational survivors believe her experience cannot be applied to other foreigners at the time. Anjuna has had long and strong ties to the Osho Commune in Poona sadhus, yoga, Ayurveda, meditation, and New Age techniques like Reiki and palm reading. Karma, mandalas, auras, and chakras appear in everyday talks. Anjuna's hedonism and spiritualism have always existed, perhaps not side by side, but inextricably linked, driving the scene onward.²¹

²⁰ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 353.

²¹ Anthony D'Andrea, *Global nomads: Techno and new age as transnational cultures in Ibiza and Goa* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 173

The dressing style of the hippies has been very distinctive. The style in Goa has been very specific to this location that they lived in (fig. 2.2). While most male hippies chose to wrap a translucent piece of muslin fabric around their waist, some opted for the Goan *kashtti* (loin cloth) as it aligned better with their style. These individuals often embraced minimalism and simplicity in their clothing choices, choosing to wear nothing else on top, emphasising comfort and freedom in their dressing. Hence, the dressing style of the hippies in Goa during the 1960s was a reflection of their values and beliefs.²² It was a time when individuals expressed themselves through their clothing, embracing freedom and simplicity in their choice of attire. The evolution of hippie dressing in Goa serves as a reminder of a transformative era in history, where fashion became a medium of self-expression and rebellion.

During the 1970s, a group of hippies and neo-sannyasins (Osho followers) settled in the northern Goa beach towns of Anjuna and Vagator²³. Despite fleeing the west, they profited from Goans' Christian-Westernized legacy of tolerance for leisure and independence. In the years after, Goa has come to represent a party-and-drug paradise throughout the winter.²⁴ In the late 1980s, post-hippie post-punks created a new form of electronic music known as 'Goa trance' (or 'techno trance'), which was played at covert 'trance parties' in Goa's remote beaches or jungles. This notion spread to the West, resulting in the growth of 'Goa parties' all over the world, as well as the marketing of Goa music into more docile types like 'mainstream trance'. As these events show, the dissemination and resignification of countercultural behaviours, artifacts, and symbols may be mapped in terms of reterritorializing fluxes. In an interview with

²² D'Andrea, *Global nomads*, 355

²³ St. John Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion* (London: Routledge, 2004), 239

²⁴ Robert, Newman. "Western tourists and Goan pilgrims: a comparison of ritual dramas. in *Of Umbrellas, Goddesses and Dreams*": *Essays on Goan Culture and Society Mapusa, Goa: The Other India*. 2001

a resident from Anjuna, Glen Fernandes with an interest in music, states that the hippies altered the already existing trance music and added Indian Hindu religious aspects of Shiva and Kali to produce the ‘Goa Trance Music’, trance music that is specific to Goa.²⁵ This also creates a perception towards the party scene in Goa, where in the western style of party was perceived by many Indians in the state of Goa, and that is what they came to seek here.

Many Hippies were also involved in drug peddling. So much so that they set up workshops in underground chambers of their bungalows in Anjuna. Many of them coming from developed countries could afford their kind of standard of living in Goa despite the limited resources at the time.²⁶ But with drug peddling and smuggling, they made a lot of money to be able to purchase a house for themselves in Goa. There were hippies coming from the Commonwealth countries and the other parts of the world. Among the other foreign goods that they traded, the passports were also sold. The Commonwealth passports in particular, was a costly commodity among the hippies. It could be sold to the hippies belonging to the non-Commonwealth countries for anything between Rs. 500/- and Rs. 1000/-.²⁷ Since the hippies belonging to the non-Commonwealth countries, would have to report to or register with the police for their stay. With little manipulation and changes in the passport, they could stay in India and Goa as a Commonwealth citizen without any obligations. This was also a way how the hippies made their money in Goa and continued to stay for long periods of time. In an interview, a resident shares that many a times, the hippies would sell their passports and upon being asked they would state that they had lost it²⁸. Hence, this being the reason they were not

²⁵ Glen Fernandes (resident of Anjuna) in discussion with Raysancia, February 2024.

²⁶ Albuquerque, *Anjuna*, 85

²⁷ Atmaram, Jog. “Hippies: They consider Goa a Paradise” *Goa Today*, March, 1978, 11

²⁸ Mary Fernandes (resident of Anjuna and former owner of San Francisco) in discussion with Raysancia, February 2024.

permitted to leave India by the authorities until they had a new passport made. Therefore they were able to stay in Goa for prolonged periods of time.

Ozrant, often known as Small Vagator, became another spot for hippies and their families. This is where one can notice nudism and semi-nudism amongst the foreign travellers even today. There is no nude beach in Goa, but this is how the area became known. Though the authorities fined the hippies a sum of anything between Rs. 5/- to Rs. 50/-, it was too meagre for the hippies to pay and thus nudism continued²⁹. The hippies transported the Garden of Eden to Anjuna, where men, women, and children lived as Adam and Eve would have. In the north of Goa, these are a few areas that came to be sort of populated by the hippies. North Goa's seashore spans from Aguada in Candolim, which lowers into the Mandovi River, to the Tiracol Fort on the Maharashtra border.³⁰

Anjuna, a village in the Bardez taluka of Goa, had a population of 9,636 as per the report released by Census India 2011. Out of that number, 4,921 are males while, 4,715 are females. The village has a total administration over 2,243 houses. Out of the total population, 3,943 were engaged in work or business activity. Back in the earlier times, Anjuna used to be a small agriculture village. The work occupation of the people was farming, fishing, toddy tapping, coconut plucking.³¹ Later on it became a hub for the foreign nationals. Anjuna, where 'Goa Freaks' those are the first European hippies to move in Goa lingered on in a crazily multinational mix that nevertheless has an alternative atmosphere. Chapora and Vagator, were the villages nearby where cafés are packed with smokers brazenly blowing on smokestack-

²⁹ Jog, "Hippies" *Goa Today*, 12

³⁰ Cidalia Bodade, *Women in the Tourism Industry: A Case Study of Goa* (Jaipur: S.K. Jain and sons, 2016), 19

³¹ Interview with a resident of Anjuna, February 2, 2024.

sized chillums (a straight, conical smoking pipe) as well-connected residents watch. Today we have the 'House of Chapora' which is a party venue for foreign and domestic tourists alike. Music like Techno, Rave, and Psytrance is played during the parties at the venue. The place is adorned with upcycled furniture, miniature decoration, many of them artificial mushrooms, techno and neon lights, illustrations of Shiva, and many other Indian motifs. The food offered at the venue also encompasses Mediterranean cuisine. All of this reflects the attempts of the current owners to create the space in the likeness and preferences of hippies from the yesteryears.

When it comes to the hippie settlements, Vagator, Morjim, Mandrem and Arambol also had a role to play for the hippies. North of Vagator, the beaches start to clear out, and some are nearly barren. Morjim presently supports a strong Russian subculture. Mandrem's unusual combination of freshwater and ocean surf leads to the renowned Arambol, where modern-day flower children live in thatched dwellings surrounded by coconut trees. Even today, Arambol retains its edgy counter-cultural atmosphere. Today, in Arambol and Morjim, there are shops and temporary settlements offering hair braiding, hair beading, services with reference to how the hippies in Goa looked like. What is even more astonishing is that these services are provided by the non Goan Indians. The kind of accommodation the hippies lived in back then were given to them by the locals themselves. Essentially, it was the Goan toddy tapper community and the fisherfolk community that came to their aid. In essence, originally, the Goan fisherfolks that had their thatched sheds at the beach, where they used to keep their canoes, fishing nets and other requirements for fishing, mainly the storage area, began to let it out after some improvement on it for the hippies to live in. Similarly, this happened in the case of the toddy tappers as well. They had their settlements at the beach amidst the coconut palm trees that they let out to the hippies. In this way the locals back then began to rely upon the hippies for some

extra income. At that time, the daily charges for the rent charged by the locals ranged anywhere between Rs. 3/- to Rs. 10/-.³² This was again possible because the hippies were quite okay with whatever little that was provided to them. This was how the concept of the ‘beach shacks’ came about.(fig. 2.3, 2.4). In the year 1978, it was stated that on an average, about 3000 foreign hippies visited Goa every year. Nearly half of them came from the Commonwealth countries and the remaining from the rest of the world.³³ The influx gradually affected the language pattern, and food options of the areas. As Dr. Cidalia Bodade puts it, “during peak season, a day on the beach may easily be spent with 10,000 other tourists, with Hebrew as the common language and waiters and hawkers as the only Indians in sight”. Aside from the beaches, North Goa is home to some of India's most ambitious restaurants, including Burmese, Turkish, Italian, and French establishments.³⁴ These factors slowly resulted in the hippies preferring to live here longer than they actually intended. They set up in Anjuna, Vagator, and Baga and realised they had all they needed for a good holiday. They subsequently settled mostly around the Anjuna football ground to sell the products they had brought along. They attracted buyers among locals and hippies alike. This technique evolved into the flea market, which has virtually become a brand unto itself. This was followed by the famed full moon parties of the 1960s and 1970s, which included world-renowned bands and were well attended and appreciated by both visitors and residents.³⁵

Anjuna has given a beach environment for spontaneous hippie dance and music performances from around 1968, with ecstatic dance gatherings taking place on Anjuna,

³² Jog, “Hippies” *Goa Today*, 11

³³ Jog, “Hippies” *Goa Today*, 11

³⁴ Bodade, *Women in the Tourism Industry*, 20

³⁵ Bodade, *Women in the Tourism Industry*, 23

Calangute, and Vagator beaches since the early 1970s. Many people recognize the ‘original freak,’ the charismatic jazz bassist and existentialist writer Eight Finger Eddie, as a key figure in this period. Looking out for Eddie in particular, there was Goa Gil, his actual name was Gilbert Levey, is an American DJ (Disc Jockey), musician, and spiritual seeker who is widely acknowledged as a pioneer of the Goa trance and psytrance music genres. He is well-known for his contributions to the popularisation of electronic dance music, notably in Goa. He arrived here seeking Eddie in 1970. He became widely known as Goa Gil by the 1980s.³⁶

Trance may be defined as an abstracted union of techno and house music that originated in Germany. Trance is popular in the early twenty-first century at rave-style events (typically more psychedelic) and among super-club DJs. It may be found in a range of locales, including Goa, Bangkok, Australia, Japan, Germany, the UK, South Africa, Israel, and Greece, as well as in various settings such as legal clubs, squats, and rural parties.³⁷ This sensation, however artificial and machine-like, may be seen as blatantly natural and tribal, and so acutely prehistoric. The act of dancing to house music at specialised dance gatherings is ceremonial, both in open-air and urban settings.

There were bands formed. In the 1970s, the spontaneous dance jams at the beach were evolving into Regular Full Moon gatherings.(fig. 2.5) The first live party took place in Anjuna on the Anjuna beach on November 10, 1974.³⁸ Bands like ‘The Anjuna Jam Band’, ‘The Big Dipper Band’ came about during this time. They would rent large Indo Portuguese mansions in Anjuna to keep the music gear, for rehearsals and eventually these also turned into Music

³⁶ St. John Graham, “DJ Goa Gil: Kalifornian Exile, Dark Yogi and Dreaded Anomaly”. *Dancecult: Journal of Electronic Dance Music Culture* 3(1). (2011). 102.

³⁷ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 51.

³⁸ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 104.

Houses. The 'Italian House' that went by that name in Anjuna is one such example. By 1976, it was Anjuna that became a thriving seasonal freak music scene. By the 1980s, the parties had expanded in size as a reflection of the growing numbers of foreign visitors to Goa: increasing from 17,234 arrivals in 1977 to 33,430 in 1980 and 97,533 in 1986, during which period a younger traveller population imported new stylistic identifications, including punk, reggae, and soul.³⁹ Thus we know that the concept of seasons in the context of tourism started way before the arrival of charter tourists in Goa. The main season time being between October till February. The time between March till May was usually too hot for them. But the hippies would definitely not want to stay in Goa nor in other parts of India between June to September as it was the monsoon time here. Because of climatic circumstances, the tourist season coincides with the trance party scene from November to April, just before the monsoon season begins. Cleo Odzer in her memoir mentions that only the losers stay in India during the monsoon due to lack of money to travel to their homes. Therefore many hippies lived in Goa for six months of the year while they would travel to other areas like Ibiza and Portugal during the other six months of the year. This explains the growth of the party culture in these areas as well. Many of them, to be able to afford their stay in Goa, would work in their countries for six months, and then travel to Goa and stay here for the rest of the six months. The amount of money they earned in their countries may have not sufficed their lifestyle there, but in Goa it was way more than enough to live comfortably. Many others just preferred to stay and settle in Goa. They would make their money through drug peddling and smuggling drugs to other places. Thus there are these concepts of off-season and on-season in terms of Tourism in Goa today.

During their time here, villagers, trance freaks, backpackers, Israeli ex-soldiers, Japanese hippies, Osho sannyasins, Nepalese workers, Goa businessmen, Karnataka beach

³⁹ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 106.

vendors, Kashmiri traders, European charter tourists, drug dealers, sadhus, and others interacted closely. As per an account given by Andrea, he went to check out the 'party scene' on the beach. Those anticipating an Ibiza-style afternoon frenzy will be disappointed. A few visitors reclined on the sand, surrounded by cows hungry for the fruits that merchants insisted on selling to them. Two white males played a sport by the water while dressed in minimum beach attire. German Bakery is a hotspot for expats and wealthy individuals. Anjuna hamlet contained around twenty hostelry facilities, the most of which were family-run guesthouses established on the grounds of their own homes. There were a few updated hostels with contemporary facilities including swimming pools, saunas, and cable television. Many locals rented rooms in their homes. Accommodations were generally clean, while hygiene in public areas (such as streets and restaurants) might be a problem for first-time visitors. In a vivid example of the impacts of uncontrolled urbanization, while internet cafes were visible on every corner, many eateries lacked running water, and open 'pig toilets' could still be found around the millenium.⁴⁰

Joe Banana's Restaurant became the first hippie hangout more in the early 1970s. It is a significant reference in Cleo Odzer's biography.⁴¹ Tony Almeida, Joe's son, owned Joe Banana's, which was located in south Anjuna. Joe founded the eatery in the late 1960s, after returning from Kenya, where he worked as a factory technician. Their restaurant became famous with hippies since they were one of the few families that spoke English fluently. Hippies enjoyed tea and pancakes while conversing. The pancakes were called '*filos*' in the local language Konkani. It is one of the traditional Goan tea time snacks. It is prepared just like a pancake using wheat flour, mashed bananas, milk, eggs and palm jaggery. Today the place

⁴⁰ Anthony D'Andrea, *Global nomads: Techno and new age as transnational cultures in Ibiza and Goa* (New York: Routledge, 200), 186.

⁴¹ Odzer, *Goa Freaks*, 106.

Joe Banana's is permanently closed and has been converted to the 'Funky Monkey Hostel' (fig 2.8). Cleo goes on to state that Tony recalled that there were no guest houses back then, only homes and huts⁴². The nearest police station was in Mapusa in the Bardez taluka, and that they did not care what was going on here.' Like Joe Banana's there have also been many other business enterprises that came about in Anjuna to cater to the needs of the hippies.

There are a few traces of the hippie settlements in Goa that have remained over the years. There are many more that have come about in the same likeness but with modern amenities. For example, one of the things the hippies left behind in Vagator is the stone carving of Shiva at the beach. There are many versions of the stories behind the same. As per what a worker at a beach shack there said was that it was carved by an Italian hippie a long time back or perhaps a group of them did it. Another version has it that it was carved by a hippie couple as an offering. There has been no definite record of the same.⁴³ However, today foreigners, locals and Indian tourists as well come over to offer fruits and incense sticks at the carving.

In this manner the hippies wherever they stayed, even if it was for a brief time had something to give and take from their surroundings and the people. For instance, when the north coastal belt of Goa gradually got frequented by the Indian tourists, they felt intimidated and started moving to the south of Goa in order to avoid the crowd. Thus this reflects that they lived in harmony with the locals along the beach side of Goa

⁴² D'Andrea, *Global nomads*, 187.

⁴³ Interview with a staff member of a shack at Ozrant beach, December 7, 2023.



Fig. 2.1: Yertward Mazamaniaan

Picture courtesy: www.8fingereddie.com

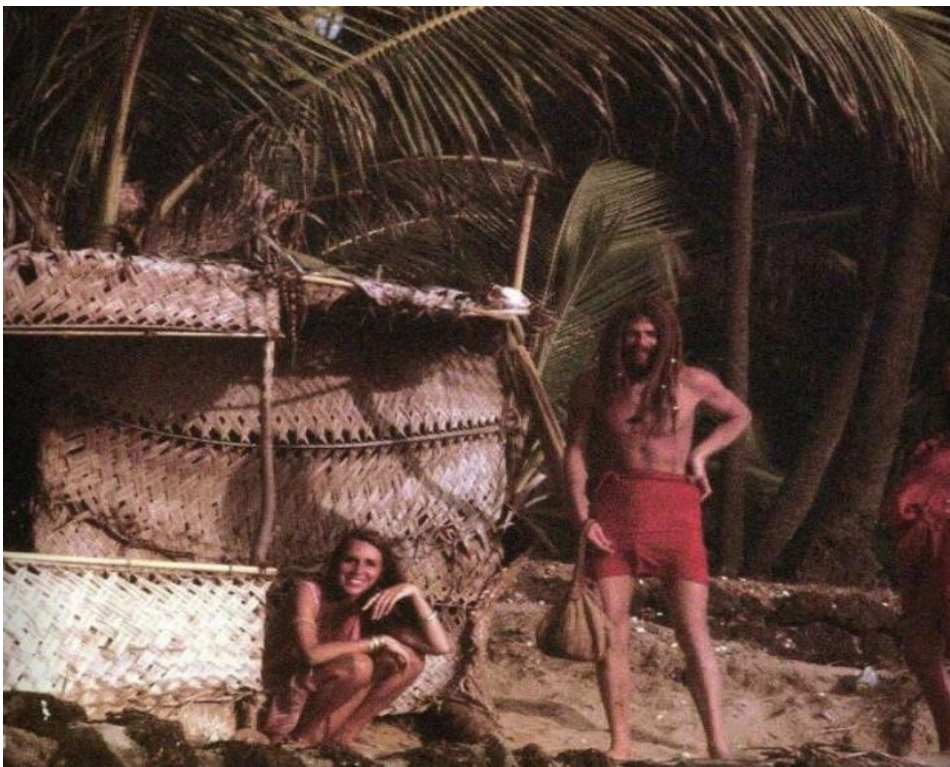


Fig 2.2. Clothing of the hippies specific to the Goa region

Picture courtesy: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/goa-hippie-movement#8>

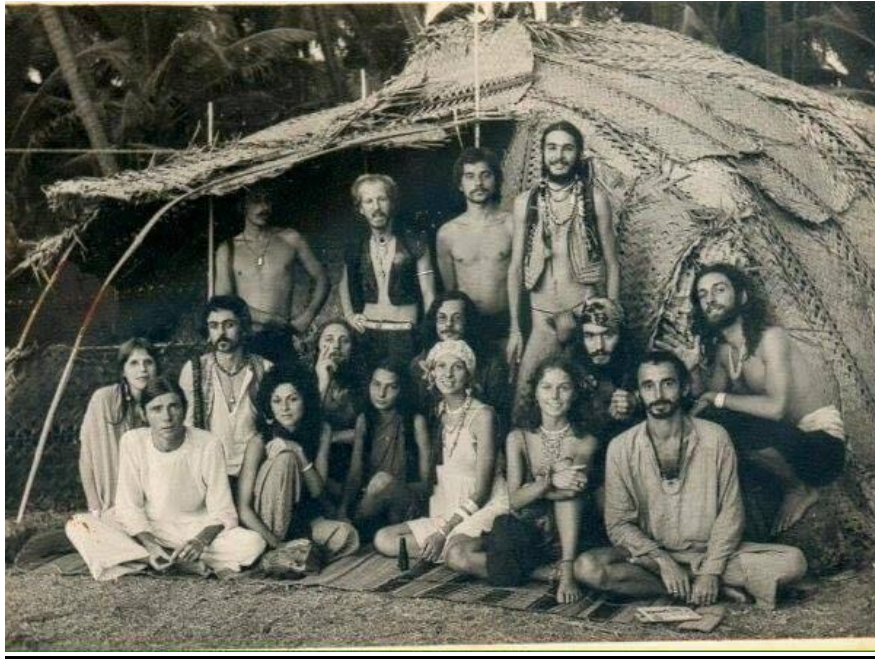


Fig. 2.3: Hippies and their hut settlement in Goa. 1960s , 70s

Picture courtesy: Graham St. John, Research Gate



Fig. 2.4: shacks and cottages in Goa as marketed on online sites today

Picture courtesy: www.tripadvisor.in



Fig. 2.5: Dawn after Full Moon party, Anjuna Beach, late 1970s.

Photo: Tarot Ray.

Photo courtesy: Graham St. John, Research Gate



Fig. 2.6 & 2.7: Joe Banana's in Anjuna in early 2000s

Picture courtesy: www.justdial.com



Fig. 2.8: Joe Banana's that is converted to a Hostel for travellers today.

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 2.9: The space that is converted to a hostel named as 'The Funky Monkey Hostel'

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha

Chapter 3

Cultural Background of the Hippies

Culture and Subculture

Culture is defined as a group's common ideas, habits, behaviours, and practices, which are typically influenced by location, history, religion, language, and socioeconomic position.⁴⁴ Language, food, art, music, rituals, customs, and morals are among the many components that are passed down from generation to generation through the process of socialisation. A subculture, on the other hand, is a smaller group inside a larger culture that shares unique ideas, attitudes, and traditions that set it apart from the prevailing culture.⁴⁵ Subcultures frequently form in response to or rejection of particular features of mainstream culture, and they can be classified according to age, ethnicity, lifestyle, hobbies, or ideology. Subcultures may have their terminology, clothes, music, rituals, and customs that distinguish them from the larger society while remaining within it.

The term "culture" has two basic meanings. On the one hand, it denotes the quality or level of a phenomenon, according to how acceptable it is in the given society. Being uncultured is perceived as a negative evaluation. In this sense, the word 'culture' goes back to the Latin word 'cultura', which meant the cultivation of soil or the raising of domestic animals. Cicero, the ancient Roman orator and philosopher, was already using it to refer to the improvement of human intellect. The word 'culture' in the meaning of improving or perfecting various human

⁴⁴ A.S Prabhakar, *Goa Concepts and Misconcepts*. (Bombay: The Goa Hindu Association, 1994), 14.

⁴⁵ Herbert J. Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1974), 132.

abilities or behavioural patterns gradually entered the lexicon of languages throughout the world.⁴⁶

Goa had been a colony of the Portuguese for 451 years. From the year 1510 up until 1961 spanning across centuries and thus profoundly impacting the culture in Goa. In the cultural realm, it is apparent that colonialism thus created some substantial changes in the overall intellectual lives of the subjugated countries, considering Goa in this case: for one thing, structural alterations in the established order for managing society's intellectual ways of life. The repression and modification of past ways was accompanied by a protest reaction against foreign control and in defence of local intellectual culture. Self-determination, however, was not limited to religious and national communities; it also included a battle for national unity and a true national culture.⁴⁷

The hippies in Goa were very distinct in their opinions on life and their entire existence. Something that the Goans liked and some even disliked. The Hippies also chose their area of settlement based on the degree of acceptance they received from the locals. The hippies - the westerners as per sources published in those years refer to them as a new and greater enemy of the critics, the ones that constituted the youth culture back then. They were criticised for their political radicalism, hedonism, mysticism and nihilism⁴⁸. The hippies that arrived here belonged to different nationalities. Many of them were from the United States of America, United Kingdom, France, Germany and other European countries.⁴⁹ Each culturally distinct

⁴⁶ Boris Erasov, Yogendra Singh, *The Sociology of Culture* (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2006), 13.

⁴⁷ Erasov, Singh, *The Sociology of Culture*, 194.

⁴⁸ Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture*, 134.

⁴⁹ "The Hippie Trail: a Pan Asian Journey through History" History Extra, accessed June 8, 2023.

from each other. Many of them were young backpacker travellers. They came from cities, suburbs, and rural regions across these countries, all driven by a desire to break free from mainstream culture and its beliefs. The hippies like to think in terms of themselves as free: free of family, free of the West, and free of the past.⁵⁰ They celebrated Carnival in Arambol in their own way that is different from the one that happens in the city areas of Goa today. The inaugural Arambol Carnival took place in Goa in 2001.

"That year, the height of carnival (Rose Monday) fell on a Monday that also happened to be a new moon. When there is a new moon on a Monday, the spiritual powers of the holy rivers are supposed to combine in the sea. The Goan villagers of Arambol had a procession followed by a pooja at sea, and after a few hours, the first Arambol carnival march arrived on the beach: a completely different euphoric gathering. The Goan government had requested the villages to revive the carnival custom with colourful parades similar to those held in Panjim and other cities. We all saw this in the press. The march, led by the Arambol freak VIPs, proceeded through the hamlet before ending at the beach. This initial procession was impromptu and uncomplicated in the finest sense of the word..." Djamstore Beats. But in 2023 there was an issue and it resulted in the cancellation of the carnival in Arambol for that year.⁵¹

The cultural Background of the hippies

The hippies that specifically arrived from the USA had a few factors in particular. Cultural backgrounds consistent with the hippies brought up conditions that helped move forward. The Hippies were moved not by the materialism condition, consumerism dream, but

⁵⁰ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 355.

⁵¹ Gerard De Souza, "Organizers disappointed over cancellation of Arambol Carnival in Goa". *The Hindustan Times*, February 20, 2023.

by the conventional ideals of mainstream society. Many hippies felt motivated for the demands of the civil rights movement for equality and a push for social justice. They started taking part in anti-racism marches and demonstrations, as well as aiding for civil rights of the underprivileged population. The Vietnam War was a major driving force for the hippie movement.(fig.4) Hippies were fiercely opposed to the war and protested USA's military participation in Vietnam and promoted peace, nonviolence, and diplomacy solutions to disputes.⁵²

Drugs were a major component of the hippie culture. Hippies were linked to the usage of psychedelic substances including LSD, marijuana, and psychedelic mushrooms.⁵³ They felt that these chemicals increased consciousness and enabled spiritual experiences. They felt that they had reached a level of nirvana and inner peace with themselves and their situations, that everything was fine and everything would be okay. While the factor of drugs was not just specific to the hippies coming from America, it was common to many others coming from different nationalities.

Hippies embraced creative genres of art including tie-dye, psychedelic posters and expressive visual art. The art is very specific to this time, much like an art movement in itself! But there is no mention of visual artists of the time in particular. Music comprised a significant part in the 1960s, although identifying its genre and significance is challenging. During the 1960s, rock music became increasingly important in defining the era. It gave songs, dancing, identification, and a sense of belonging to the revolt's mostly youthful participants. Rock also gave a sense of detachment for those who disliked or could not understand its attraction,

⁵² Tor Egil Forland, "Cutting the Sixties Down to Size: Conceptualizing, Historicizing, Explaining". *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Fall 2015), 129.

⁵³ Erich Goode, *Drugs in American Society* (New York: Knopf Publishers, 1984), 105.

particularly elderly individuals. It took on a subversive tone and became a part of the counterculture, while also expanding outside its boundaries.

The music of the 1960s was never purely just rock. Despite their origins in earlier decades, folk, jazz, and blues were synonymous with the 1960s. These styles were popular among Sixties rebels because of their accessibility for those without ‘classical’ music training. Listening and playing did not require parental or instructor instruction. Jazz music, particularly its more demanding versions, sometimes took years of hard labour for both musicians and listeners, which may have contributed to its decline in popularity throughout the 1960s. Jazz may also have been dominated by older generations, making it less accessible, rendering it unsuitable for the youngsters back then seeking a unique identity. Rock music has evolved from rock 'n' roll to a complex and hard art that requires training to fully enjoy.⁵⁴ Artists such as The Beatles, Bob Dylan, Jimi Hendrix, and Janis Joplin were very influential with their lyrics.

Hippies always travelled in groups. They were more on a mission to explore. So even if they joined a trip all by themselves, they made sure to get along with the fellow travellers along the trip. This way they established lasting relations and lived collectively. Many hippies supported communal living arrangement as a rejection of traditional family systems. They founded communes, and intentional communities that emphasised shared ownership, collective decision-making, and egalitarian values. There was a massive number of hippies that arrived in India. They lived across different parts of India. One of the spots for them was Goa. What drew them here and resulted in them staying here longer were the Eastern spiritual disciplines

⁵⁴ Forland, “Cutting the Sixties Down to Size,” 132.

including meditation, yoga, and Buddhism. They sought spiritual enlightenment and various kinds of spirituality beyond the major Western faiths. Hippies promoted environmental protection and sustainability in the ways that they chose to live. This was once very evident in Goa, very specifically in the 1960's and 1970's. They stressed over natural harmony, advocated for organic farming, and spoke out against environmental damage caused by industrialization and pollution. Hippies established their media channels, as ways to show their art and music. These forums gave a counterculture viewpoint voice while also challenging conventional narratives.

The cultural practices, rituals and ceremonies performed by various tribes and communities from Mesoamerica also have been passed down to people. These practices may be sacred to these certain communities. One of such practices is performed in some parts of Goa and that is the Cacao ceremony (fig.3.1). A cacao ceremony is a spiritual and ceremonial activity that involves the ingestion of raw cacao in a ritualised environment. Cacao rituals originated in ancient Mesoamerican societies, notably the Aztec and Mayan civilizations, and were historically used for medical, ceremonial, and spiritual purposes. It mainly has its roots in Guatemala. The ceremonial intake of cacao is said to offer various possible advantages. Cacao is considered to be a heart-opening plant medicine that promotes emotional healing, love and compassion, and strengthens relationships with self and others. Cacao's components, such as theobromine and phenethylamine, are thought to boost mood and promote sensations of joy, relaxation, and well-being. In the case of Spiritual Connection, Cacao rituals can lead to heightened consciousness, spiritual insights, and a closer connection with nature, the divine, or one's inner self.

During a cacao ceremony, participants may consume a ceremonial portion of raw cacao combined with hot water or additional components such as spices, sweeteners, or adaptogens. The ritual frequently involves meditation, intention setting, singing and chanting, many a times throat singing and other forms of practices sacred to them. This sort of practice is continued even today and is suggestive that might have been introduced in Goa during the time of the hippies. Similarly, the kind of hair-do that they mostly have, the braids, hair beads, and dreadlocks also come from the ancient cultures often being said to have come about with the Vikings and the Native Americans.

The cultural background of the hippies coming from the UK, indeed reflect quite a lot of similarities with their American counterparts, but it also reflects particular histories, social, and cultural that are very peculiar to Britain. British hippies were influenced by Beat Generation writers like Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and William S. Burrows, whose works stressed nonconformity, mysticism, and rejection of mainstream ideals. They were into music like The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Who, and Pink Floyd, this music has had huge impacts on hippie culture in the UK. In the political scenario of the time, they shared the same spirit as did most of the hippies on a global scale owing to the same issues the countries faced back then.

In terms of the German hippies, they were mostly post-World War II generations, they came up in the 1960s and 70s. Growing up after the war shaped them and they saw societal and cultural changes. They opposed a lot and went the other way opposing the conventional systems during that time. They were not happy with what was going on around them. We did have many German hippies that arrived in Goa along with the others. Sources refer to German disc jockeys in the northern coastal belt of Goa during their time here. We do have German bakeries set up

in Goa but the ones running it, even though they are Germans, do not identify themselves as hippies today.

The French hippies were also mostly from the post-World War II generation. French hippies arose, maturing in the 1960s and 1970s. They were impacted by the aftermath of the war, and the social and cultural upheavals impacting France and the world. Local movements here and activism were quite similar to their other counterparts. Events like May 1968 had a major influence on their lives and beliefs. Even they reciprocated with the ideas of art and music that the hippies of the other countries upheld with.

Other participants included student power that opposed professorial teaching, decision-making processes, and college restrictions, as well as feminism and anarchism. The impact of student power on society was limited to higher education, making it difficult for the Sixties to leave a permanent impression. The majority of feminism in the 1960s came from the 1970s. Although significant, it was just a recent phase of a liberation movement that began in the eighteenth century and was intensified by the 1960s revolution against patriarchal authority and conformism. The term 'Counterculture', coined by Theodore Roszak in 1968, encompasses anti-authoritarianism, disdain for bourgeois lifestyles, interest in Eastern religion and philosophy, desire for nature, drug use, and personal freedom. The hippie epitomised all of the characteristics of the Sixties counterculture. During the interwar period, European surrealists rejected bourgeois conformism and traditional authority, making them more urban in nature. Closely connected is the continuing phenomenon of bohemians: artists and hangers-on who stepped out of bourgeois society to live what members of that society would describe as a decadent life in the great cities' cafés and nightclubs, from 1920s and 1930s Paris to 1950s New York.

Later in time, besides the hippies from the West, we did have hippies from Asia and Australia as well. The hippies on the hippie trail covered different geographical areas overland and this brought them in contact with people of different regions and backgrounds. In this way they made a huge impact on their lives that even the youth from Asia joined the movement. However, there are no formal records as such of the Asian hippies that arrived in Goa, but as per the personal memoirs and interaction with the locals in Anjuna, there is a high possibility of the presence of the Asian hippies in Goa as well. They could be from Vietnam, Japan. There was a well known group by the name *Bozuku* meaning a tribe or tribes in Japan formed by the youth there based on the ideals same as that of the Western hippies that travelled here to Goa.

Before, people hitchhiked and travelled overland. They were willing to travel to India without money, hitchhike from Europe, and beg. There was greater sharing at the time. They said that one had to get used to people from the other Asian countries first while on their way to the north of India and they regarded it as a completely different experience in South India upon their arrival⁵⁵. Hippies frequently gathered on Goa's beaches for impromptu gatherings while appreciating the beauty around them. Cultural exchanges in Goa encouraged cross-cultural understanding and appreciation. This was evident and is still evident based upon the way they are regarded by the locals in Goa even today.

In regards to the aspect of Art in the hippie culture, the style is very distinctive and a lot different from any other style. They mostly went in for very bold colour palettes, fonts in a pattern that was barely legible but the idea was to capture the attention of the viewer.

⁵⁵ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 361 .

This style has become synonymous with the hallucinogenic 1960s. However, these abstract shapes and curly, hardly visible script did not originate in the 1960s. They come from a well-known art movement that began about a century ago. In the late 1800s, new technology: electricity, telephones, automobiles transformed the way the world operated. And how it appeared. And some people, particularly artists, who lived through this technological revolution were less enthusiastic about the new industry. To put it bluntly: they felt it was ugly. This struggle spawned a new worldwide creative movement known by a variety of titles. Like the Austrian Secessionists and Scotland's Glasgow School. But one might know it as Art Nouveau, which translates to 'new art' in French. Its makers aimed to create art that captured the energy of city life. They employed flat, ornamental patterns, feminine figures, and organic and plant themes, which were frequently styled with fluid, abstract shapes. They used this new visual language to almost everything, including architecture, art, textiles, and more. Because they felt that beauty should complement usefulness. Nothing was too ordinary to be attractive. The late 1800s and 1960s were thus periods of cultural change. In the United States, San Francisco was the core of this transition, with hundreds of thousands of young people arriving there. For activities such as demonstrations, drum circles, and, of course, concerts. There are a lot of concerts. Dance events, particularly those containing dreamy, psychedelic music by bands such as Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead. And there was one key approach to encourage people to attend your concert: a nice poster. Back then, these now renowned bands were only getting started, performing back-to-back gigs at venues like the Fillmore and the Avalon. And to publicize this new wave of hippie musicians, those venues realised that basic text and a grayscale image would not make it. So they commissioned work from a small group of artists who created a whole new way for concert posters. One that drew on a range of established design traditions, including comic books, surrealism, and, of course, Art Nouveau. By the mid-1960s, art nouveau was seeing a rebirth.

The hippie culture favoured vibrant flower motifs on textiles. Which is perhaps why, in 1965, a museum just outside of San Francisco opened this display. According to legend, this is where some of those designers first learned about Art Nouveau. Wes Wilson, a designer, told Time Magazine that he appreciated their "idea of really putting it out there." When it came to creating new concert posters, these designers raised up the art nouveau style. Art Nouveau is known for its depictions of nude women with flowing hair and a "come hither" look. A style that the psychedelic designers definitely identified with. These posters include intricate, two-dimensional drawings that fill the whole surface. Especially flowers and abstract curves. Peacocks are also associated with art nouveau. Psychedelic designers often used pictures from art nouveau posters, but with a unique colour palette. In contrast to the soft pastels of art nouveau, psychedelic artists used intense, high-contrast colours that were said to make your eyes 'vibrate', a reference to the 'visual experiences of an LSD tripper.' The curly, cloudy, barely legible font originated on a 1902 poster by Austrian designer Alfred Roller. In the 1960s, artists adapted the bold, dynamic typeface and pushed it even further, softening its lines and obscuring its edges, making it nearly illegible. Which fulfilled a purpose. It was designed to capture your attention and keep you intrigued for as long as it needed to figure out what the poster was attempting to say. As the music of San Francisco travelled over the world, so did its aesthetic. In part because posters are simple to own, duplicate, and collect. Fans would occasionally rip them down quickly after they were put up. The artists who created them even became superstars in their own right, with a handful receiving their own feature in Life Magazine. The posters they created, with their vibrant colours and twisting lines, encapsulate the spirit of the 1960s. Just as the art nouveau ones depict the late 1800s. While these two historical periods do not completely mirror one other, both movements were able to create something that evoked the sensation of a changing world. And their artwork reflected that.

Like it is mentioned previously in this section that drugs were common to all the hippies, there were specific motives behind consuming only the certain type of drugs. The hippies most often only consumed drugs that were found naturally in nature. These include natural substances such as marijuana, psychedelic mushrooms. The focus on their preference for these drugs is significant for their unique properties. These drugs, unlike synthetic chemical ones, come from natural sources and have been used by indigenous tribes and cultures for generations. Understanding the use of these drugs is important for understanding the interaction between the hippie community and the environment and worldview. These natural drugs are plant-derived psychoactive compounds used for both recreational and therapeutic purposes. Traditional tribal communities have long used these medicines as part of their cultural customs, ceremonies, and healing traditions. In contrast, traditional tribal habits incorporate cultural norms, traditions, and beliefs of indigenous communities. Traditional cultures often employ these drugs in ceremonial and sacred ceremonies. One example is the cacao ceremony that takes place on rare occasions in Arambol, these also have tea ceremonies taking place in a similar manner. Experienced elders often guide these ceremonies, facilitating spiritual and therapeutic experiences for people. These are considered sacred to people of those particular communities. Analysis of a study conducted on the drug consumption by hippies in Arambol by Blessy Milton have the following key results⁵⁶. Data research reveals consumption patterns among the hippie group in Arambol. One of the modes of consumption was Smoking: Joints or hand-rolled cigarettes were the most prevalent method of drug intake reported. Marijuana and other "green drugs" were commonly used in group settings, fostering a sense of community. The other was Edibles and teas: Many community members reported using "green drugs" in the form of food or tea. This mode offered longer-lasting benefits and a more delicate

⁵⁶ Blessy Milton, "BAHA GREEN, Behavior Analysis of the Hippie Community in Arambol, Goa: Exploring the Usage of "Green Drugs" as Part of Culture and Environment". *International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology*, Vol. 8, No. 8, (August 2023), 927.

ingestion experience. And in the end the External rituals and practices: Some community members used external rituals or ceremonies to use drugs. Rituals using natural elements were believed to enhance spirituality.

This was also common to the ways the hippies in Anjuna indulged in drug consumption as per the views and interactions with the locals in Anjuna.

Factors that led to the formation of the Counterculture

To conceptualise the term counterculture, one needs to get the concept of mainstream culture clear. We know that those who comprised the counterculture of the 60s were the hippies. The conditions prevailing in the USA had in its contribution in forming the counterculture in response to the situations back then of the time. Countercultures of the time were formed in response to societal change and dissatisfaction with society's established norms and ideals. This unhappiness had been caused by concerns like injustice, discrimination, oppression, or dissatisfaction with mainstream culture. This was very much evident in the USA and in the other European countries at large. The counterculture of the time was mainly formed by the youth, college students. As the hippie movement mainly comprised youth between the age of 15 to 25 years old. This was mainly done by them to defy the conventions and expectations of previous and older generations driven by youthful enthusiasm, idealism, and a yearning for autonomy and self-expression. Music, art, literature, and fashion are among cultural elements that shaped the counterculture of the 60s.. Cultural movements and trends that question mainstream conventions and promote alternative modes of expression helped to develop counter cultural identities and communities. Counterculture emerged from subcultural networks, in which people shared interests, views, and values that differ from dominant culture. These networks gave countercultural activists a sense of community, solidarity, and support.

Similarly, the unequal distribution of resources and the problem of economic marginalisation among the societies and groups and subgroups may have led to the formation of the Counterculture of the 1960s. This resulted in them forming their own ways of living rather than relying and following the ways of the previous or the older generation. In other words, a way sought by them to rebel against the mainstream culture of the time.

Even though the ideals of the counterculture dwindled in the late 1970s in its actual sense with the shift in terms of the focus, as it gradually narrowed down to smaller groups within the larger cultural groups across regions, the need for it is still relevant. And thus it remained popular for quite a long time even after the 1970s. The term counterculture is relevant even today, as it concerns issues like racism, feminism, inequality, war situations, genocides across the different countries in the world. These issues need to be sorted and hence there is a plea for world peace.

Tourism in Goa

Upon the arrival of the hippies in Goa, it opened a wide range of possibilities for the Goans. No one knew how long this would go on for. But when it did, it went on indeed for a long time. This therefore shaped the lives of Goans over the course of time. The area was specific to coastal sides of Goa. The hippies were open to accepting the culture of the land. While they were here, they indulged in the activities of the locals (fig. 3.2). This included the various festivals, but moreover those that appealed to them. For eg. the Carnival that takes place every year. Thus, proving that the hippies were open to maintaining close contact with the locals of the land. The scenario in Goa continued until the year 1980, when there were initiatives taken to get in the charter flights to Goa and hence the charter tourism. This held the

locals in a very mixed opinion about the whole thing. Gradually there were the Indian tourists also arriving in Goa. A surge in the number of the Indian tourists was recorded and as per the locals and statements of the hippies back then, the rise in the number was also because of their need to satisfy the curiosity of having a look at the white westerners on the beaches of Goa. In a way to kind of have an experience of the West in India while in Goa.

Owing to the idea of tourism in Goa, which was yet to mature as a full-fledge component of our economy. When it comes to Mass tourism, there are different types and categories that the sociologists have classified tourists under. They are the Institutionalised and conventional or Non-Institutionalized and non-conventional categories. Under the Institutionalised and conventional tourists, it is further subdivided into Organised mass tourist and Individual mass tourist. For the organised mass tourists, desire of familiarity in new areas is of utmost importance, exposure to strangeness is least emphasised upon. In this case, his/her trip is virtually completely ensconced by the environment bubble of the tourist establishment. The individual mass tourist wishes to travel on his/her own, tends to expose himself/herself somewhat more to the strangeness of the host surroundings.

Under the Non-Institutonalized and non-conventional category, there are yet other types. Those are the explorers and drifters. A Non-Institutionalised and non-conventional explorer is the one who takes only residual recourse to the familiarity of the services provided by the tourist establishment whereas, a drifter is the one who travels outside the orbit of these services and is most exposed to the strangeness of the host environment. While it might be possible to categorise hippies based on this typology of tourists or visitors, it is not that

straightforward either owing to the observation over the hippie movement in Goa over the course of twenty years.⁵⁷

Classification and Typology of tourists: An attempt to place the hippies in this classification

The classification is just not limited to this basis but they can also be classified based on other categories. The categories being:

1. Motivation
2. Number of arrivals
3. Geographical areas

There is another form of classification being the Psychographic classification of Tourists.⁵⁸In this case, the behaviour based on Psychographic features like lifestyle, self-perceived status, image, attitude, interest for travelling, and personality traits can be taken into account. Plog in 1974, synonymous with the time of the hippies travelling all over, classified tourists into:

1. Allocentric phenomena
2. Psychocentric phenomena
3. Mid-centric phenomena

⁵⁷ Hyojin Kim, Howook Chang, Chang Huh, “The Relationship between Types of Tourist and Destination Authenticity” scholarworks.umass.edu, (2023) accessed November 4, 2023

⁵⁸ Anna Jordan, “Plog’s Tourist Motivation Model” Business Research Methodology, accessed November 4, 2023

In the first case of Allocentric phenomena, we have the Novelty seekers. Their characteristics include having an independent experience of their stay, they are less demanding when it comes to their daily and basic needs, they tend to mix with the local cultures and are adventure lovers and in most cases, they tend to long for untouched spaces.⁵⁹

These characteristics match with those of the hippies based on the kind of lifestyle they led while they were here in Goa.

In the second case of the Psychocentric phenomena, we have the type of standard tour packages. In this case, the individuals tend to visit destinations that are familiar to them, get facilities similar to those at home, and comfort at their destination. They mostly seem to be in the company of other travellers. They tend to avoid foreign environments and in most instances live in an ‘environment bubble’⁶⁰. They also hesitate to mix with the local cultures and with the locals. They also tend to make repeated visits to the same places and in a way express brand loyalty.⁶¹ These characteristics may also be true to that of the hippies with an exception of the standard tour packages. But they did make frequent visits to Goa, stayed here for months, went back and arrived yet again. They preferred communal living and when they found their comfort, they hesitated to mix with anybody outside that circle. Such in the case of Indian tourists ogling at the hippies. In a way they gradually formed their own environment bubble over the course of time. However, it is to be noted that this was not reflected in the initial phase of their arrival in Goa.

In the case of Mid-centric phenomena, when the destinations become popular and people show less interest in the old destination, they tend to travel to newer destinations. This

⁵⁹ Catherine Caldwell Harris, “Allocentrism” *The Encyclopaedia of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2013

⁶⁰ HJ Lee, “Mass tourists and destination interaction avoidance” *Sage Journals Publication* 2017

⁶¹ Oliver Cruz, “Psychocentric” *Encyclopaedia of Tourism Management and Marketing* 2022, .

time the Mid-centric people gather to make the second round of change to newly discovered places.⁶² Eg. When areas in the north of Goa got crowded with hippies and inturn led the Indian tourists to arrive in the zone, they started moving to the less crowded beaches in other parts of Goa.

Thus we know that Tourism in Goa began after liberation, when the 'Hippies' found Goa's beautiful beaches in the late 1960s. The hippies who went to Goa were ready to make do with limited resources, amenities, and infrastructure. However, the State government recognized the economic potential of tourism and hence developed it as an industry in the 1980s. This resulted in the development and enhancement of tourism-related infrastructure in Goa. The State Government launched an advertising effort to attract foreign and local visitors, leading to an increase in both 'Bagpackers' and 'Charter tourists' in the state.⁶³

Worldwide dynamics such as cultural rootlessness, hypermobility, and new network forms amplify these shared qualities, contributing to the worldwide development of a transpersonalism culture. Coming from a diverse cultural background, the hippies had a lot to contribute when they got along together. They were mainly having a good time and creating lasting memories in the process of it all. During their stay here they did leave a lasting impression on the minds of the Goans that altered its future till date perhaps, especially in the line of tourism and the shift in terms of some of the traditional occupations of Goa.

⁶² Anna Jordan, "Plog's Tourist Motivation Model" Business Research Methodology, accessed November 4, 2023

⁶³ Avinash Raikar, "Tourism in Goa: An Assessment" *Goa: Looking Back, Looking Forward* Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, (2016) 103.



Fig. 3.1: A social media post by the Arambolians community hosting the cacao ceremony amongst other things planned

Picture courtesy: Arambolians community

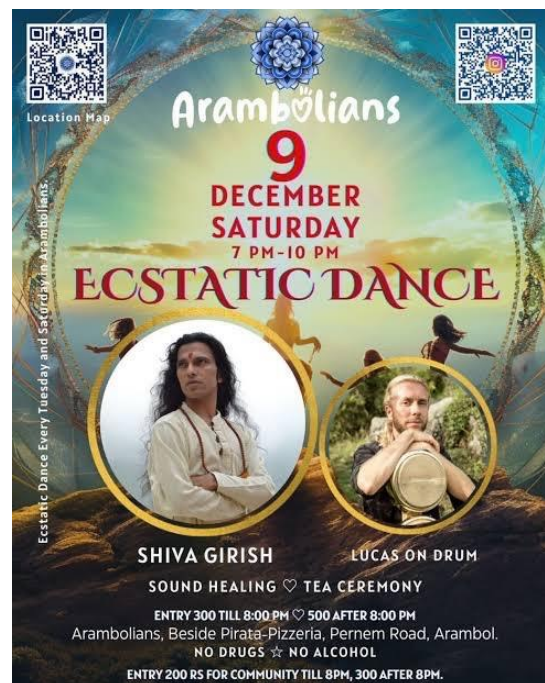


Fig. 3.2: A social media post by the Arambolians community hosting the tea ceremony and sound healing along with ecstatic dance.

Picture courtesy: Arambolians community



Fig 3.3: Hippies along with the Goan fisherfolk at a shore

Picture courtesy: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/goa-hippie-movement#8>



Fig. 3.4: Hippies at one of their communes set up in Goa

Picture courtesy: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/goa-hippie-movement#8>



Fig. 3.5: Hippies at the Arambol Carnival

Picture courtesy: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/goa-hippie-movement#8>



Fig. 3.6: War Demonstration

Picture courtesy: Vietnamart blogpost on Wordpress

Chapter 4

Impact of the Hippie Culture

The hippies lived in Goa for nearly five decades. There are still some that continue even today. And they did leave behind an impact on the Goan population, the economy, and the culture. By the end of the 1960s, hundreds of thousands of European and American freaks had migrated overland into South Asia. Though Goan beaches such as Calangute and Baga lacked power, restaurants, and adequate shelter, they did accept the hippies after an exhausting toil of travel in the East. The natives, most of whom professed Western religions and were already accustomed to Europeans, and were generally tolerant⁶⁴. Every winter, a mixture of a crew of yoga enthusiasts, hashheads, and art admirers would congregate, until the rising heat and fear of the summer monsoon forced them on. Going to Goa was like going home for the holidays, which the hippies celebrated: Christmas, New Year's, and, most notably, full moons. Many of them were searchers, eager to endure the rigours of Indian music, meditation, and yoga in order to experience spiritual powers. However, as heirs of Bohemia, their drive for discovery included drugs, orgies, and overall freakiness.

The hippies were initially mainly concentrated in the areas in North Goa. They lived in Anjuna for the longest time, leaving the maximum impact among the people there. Be it in the economic regards, culturally and to some extent in the religious sense. Since there were generational differences among the hippies that arrived, they were known by different names as well. The ones that arrived in the 1990s and early 2000s are usually termed as Freaks and Ravers. Their motivation and reason behind travelling was particularly the same as that of the

⁶⁴ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 261.

first generation Hippies. Since all of them lived in a community in close contact with the locals, they did leave a significant influence here. Their needs and practices were adapted among the people of Goa, thus changing the face of it to some extent.

Weekly markets

In the economic sense, the hippie culture contributed in terms of the markets they helped set up. Definitely, they did not know how far this would go since they had not done this with the intent of profit in their minds at that time. Dominic Fernandes in his work states that the famous Wednesday Market in Anjuna takes place every Wednesday from October through April at *Daddo* or *Sam Miguel vaddo* in Anjuna⁶⁵. It also happens to be known as the ‘hippie market’. This initially started off on a very small scale. As per what the locals also mention, it is believed to have started on Valentine's Day in the year 1975. Eight finger Eddie is believed to have started it to raise money for the hippies who had no money to return home or to continue to stay in Anjuna. The villagers of Anjuna also agree upon this statement.⁶⁶ In the earlier stages of the market, only the hippies were the ones there, later on they had it again, where things were given away for free. It is said to have been more of a party than a market. The hippies at that time considered Anjuna as a free place and foreigners mostly stayed awake at night and slept during the day. They usually spent time awake together at night, sharing food and stories, conversing and learning about the others. On weekends, they celebrated and partied together. Thus parties had already started and grew on the larger scale much later. Initially, the parties were just based upon live music. There was not much Jazz, a slight bit of it, Rock and roll, and then gradually the New Wave, Punk and slowly Trance. With the usage of drugs among the

⁶⁵ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 352.

⁶⁶ Mary Fernandes (resident of Anjuna and former owner of San Francisco) in discussion with Raysancia, February 2024.

hippies to get the high during Trance music also increased. Dominic mentions Juno Reactor, Total Eclipse, Rajaram, the Infinity Project, Bansi and Riktam. They mostly played Frontline Assembly.⁶⁷

The hippies through their activities actually passed on their fashion to the Goans and the Indians over due course of time through the Flea Markets. They chose to wear loose ethnic type of clothing that was previously owned by somebody else and hence cheaper, colours being vivid and different. The thrift culture in Goa and India is also seen growing today. The market began as a tiny marketplace for the hippies to dispose of unwanted luggage before returning home. They sold their things, which included cameras, bicycles, Walkmans, radios, and so on. Thus, the whole excitement around flea markets began when hippies began selling used stuff in order to purchase new items. Previously, things for sale included guitars, jewellery, and clothing. Today, there is a wide array of things and products: cuisine from all over the world, clothing, trance music, books, facials, massages, tattoos, and haircuts - for foreigners by foreigners, but with plenty of local traders as well.

The Flea Market offered a variety of items for purchase, including pre-owned bikes, Compact Discs, cellular phones, and cameras. Visitors could also get haircuts, eat delicious Goan and other cuisines, and enjoy live music. Bonaventure D'Pietro, a Konkani writer and musician, has played live music at a hotel at the Flea Market for nearly a decade⁶⁸. Tattoos are also available. One may buy river pearls, saris, cotton and silk shirts, caps, jewellery, scarves, and so on. Currently, both Indians and Westerners trade their products at this market. Today, the flea market is one important part of Goan tourism. The location for the Anjuna flea markets

⁶⁷ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 342.

⁶⁸ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 342.

have been changing since it first started. A total of three places where the Wednesday markets have taken place till now have been located on the maps as seen in fig. 4.1.

Tourism began in Goa in the early 1960s, with Western Hippies, followed by Charter Tourists, beginning with Germans in 1987, and Domestic Tourists mostly in the 1990s. When foreign visitors known as Western Hippies and low-budget travellers first began to visit Goa, some locals from Goa's coastal villages, mostly toddy tappers and traditional fishermen, began selling them tea, coffee, and soft drinks right on the beach by erecting a few small huts, cabins, or sheds with a table and a few chairs during the tourist season. The idea of the hippies living at the beach in thatched huts slowly gave rise to the concept of beach shacks⁶⁹. As the number of tourists visiting Goa increased in the 1980s, residents began selling snacks, sea food, and Goan delicacies, as well as drinks, on the beach in the similar huts or sheds known as 'beach shacks'. Later in the 1990s, as the number of domestic and foreign tourist arrivals increased, the demand for snacks, refreshments, and Goan food right on the beach began to rise because it was less expensive and tourists did not have to leave the beach and spend time going to a restaurant or market to refresh themselves. Today, a lot of them are in operation, along the coastline. Shacks are temporary units that serve local food to the tourists, and because of its lower price, tasty food preparation, it leads to the people favouring to dine at the shacks rather than at the starred hotels.

The government of Goa put forth conditions on operating the shacks and has been offering licences on the basis of a lottery. This has led to a cutthroat competition among the contenders. And, upon acquiring the permission to run the shack, they also end up

⁶⁹ Raghuraman Trichur, *Refiguring Goa: From Trading Post to Tourism Destination* (Saligão: Goa 1556, 2013), 101–2.

discriminating against customers. As in the case of Morjim, access to the beach was blocked for the locals making it exclusively for the foreigners.⁷⁰ The first 'Beach Shack Policy' by the Government of Goa came into existence during the month of December in the year 1997. The shacks thus contributed to the socio economic development of Goa by providing self employment, added income to the livelihood, generating profits every season, status and building contacts. It has benefitted the state government by increasing revenue, and reducing the rate of unemployment.

From late October to early April, the 'Anjuna hippie market' is held on a huge plot of land next to the beach every Wednesday throughout the tourist season in the ward Monteiro Waddo. It starts at around 11:00 am and goes on till 7:30 pm. The massive land is surrounded by hundreds of tents, the most of which were managed by Indians from various locations, and a considerably smaller number of Western dealers clustered around the market's centre. Even in the off-season, the stalls are kept empty in the same spot. It is not taken off. (fig.4.2) Throughout the 1990s, the market expanded dramatically, attracting an increasing number of local and foreign tourists, as well as Indian sellers, who today control more than 95 percent of the booths in the 'hippie market.' Since the hippies families settled down here with their families, some Goans say that their children spoke Konkani fluently.

At the markets there were also drugs being sold. Teresa Albuquerque in her work states that not all the tourists were hippies. Some were also notorious drug peddlers wanted by the police in other countries that found a haven in Goa just like the hippies.⁷¹ In addition to these, there are also other weekly markets happening. Those include the Arpora Night Market every

⁷⁰ Frederick Noronha, *Another Goa*. (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2009), 112.

⁷¹ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 85.

Saturday, The Goa Collective Bazaar every Friday. (Fig. 4.3&4.4) These take place on a seasonal basis. The Goa Collective Bazaar organises the weekly bazaar every Friday. The Goa Collective Bazaar is now running for its sixth season until the end of April. It's a one-of-a-kind market established by four long-time friends that offers products other than traditional Indian tourist stuff. Stalls are often set up by long-term Goa residents who are not of Indian heritage. The ambiance here is more boutique-like, with people selling clothing, jewellery, artistic crafts, spiritual gifts, beverages, and, most importantly, food. Apart from that, there were vendors selling masks and headgears. The majority of them were handcrafted. There is also a children's section where youngsters may participate in craft activities in the early evening. Every week, there is an evening session of music with a DJ and live bands till the finish. The live band often plays on the main stage until 11:00 p.m., after which party music with a more house or techno vibe takes over the smaller stage until 1:00 a.m. The booths were set up by various people. The majority of the sellers were non-Indians who sold handcrafted things like crochet, little soft toys, coasters, and other utilitarian items. The seller I was able to connect with told me that she has been putting up her stall there since the last year. Her husband is into tattoo removal and piercing. He also organises Royal Enfield bike trips around India. This is how I felt about the type of life the hippies led in Goa based on the written documents they left behind. There were several vendors like her. The time of the hippies from the 1970s and 1980s also saw a lot of Royal Enfield bikes in these coastal village. In Arambol, there are specific spots where the Russian hippies take their Royal Enfield bikes for servicing. Today, there are Royal Enfield Garage Cafes as a result of the same (fig. 4.5). Other stalls at the market were those set up by artists selling watercolour prints and pillow coverings. They all exude a sense of nostalgia. The food stalls that were set up sold more Middle Eastern cuisine. The market also had an area where visitors could learn to dance to Latin and Bachata tunes. The vendors selling their

produce here, need not have to be registered anywhere as an entity. Thus these weekly markets let many other small business entities take this chance to earn some income.

‘Mackie’s night bazaar’ and ‘Ingo’s Saturday night bazaar’ were also known to be functional in Arpora until possibly when the pandemic Covid19 hit Goa. Today they have merged into the Arpora Night Market on Saturday every week.

Music and Parties

With the kind of music they played here, it gave rise to a whole new kind itself and thus became known as the Goa Trance music. By the years 1976-77, they managed to set up a large stage on the Anjuna Beach. Everyone found Anjuna appealing. It was so dramatic that anybody who came to see it became engrossed. Anjuna rose to international prominence in the late 1960s as a result of Full Moon night beach parties, and again in the 1970s as a result of the Flea Market in Danddo. The Full Moon parties actually took place because it would be bright on a full moon night. Back then, because of no electricity, the hippies looked forward to having full moon night parties that went on for the entire night. Some of these events were organised by locals in collaboration with foreigners, most of whom identified as hippies. While Full Moon Night beach parties are rare these days, and those that occur have become mainstream and commercialised, for eg. This place called Arambolians in Arambol host events like these today. When it comes to the trance parties and the hippie gatherings in Goa, one cannot miss out on Gilbert Levey, very popularly known as Goa Gil. He was born on October 11, 1951, and he passed away on the 26th of October in the year 2023. He arrived in Goa in the year 1970. He was an American-born musician, DJ, remixer, and a party organizer, one of the founders of the Goa Trance and psytrance movement in the history of electronic music. For the beats he

produced, he was known as the ‘Godfather of Trance’. “The party is Holy! It is the Old Time Religion,” and “since the beginning of time mankind has used music and dance to commune with the Spirit of Nature and the Spirit of the Universe.” Gil describes the Goa trance dance as a "ritual" rather than a party, when participants transcend their individuality and become one with the Cosmic Spirit. Under Gil's direction, dancing ecstasy is intentional and initiatory. For Gil and his numerous followers throughout the world, dancing is viewed as a form of "active meditation," allowing them to reach spiritual truth and disclose their personal link with the cosmos.⁷² Therefore he usually performed within a makeshift shrine of a sort. Right at that time, the resources required to host a party like this were not really readily available and therefore they had to make do with all that they had. They made use of Digital Audio Tapes (DAT) to play the music at the parties. So in the kind of shrine that Gil had, had Tibetan flags over it, a statue of Ganesh, with a Buddha adorned in plastic lotus flowers. Gil, dressed in dark shades with grey dreadlocks pulled back, is surrounded by a neon Shiva-Shakti mandala tapestry and another depicting Lord Shiva in the form of Nataraja, the cosmic dancer, both lit by black light. Gil burns incense next to his DAT players, displays framed images of his gurus, and operates a gadget with a red pulsating, the Devanagari symbol for Om, the sacred syllable in Indian faith of Hinduism⁷³. There are many references and instances even today that show a relationship between the hippies and their acceptance of Hinduism or the certain aspects of Hinduism within their work and way of living.

Goa Gil has played a critical part in the growth of psychedelic trance (psytrance), from its origins in Goa, India, to its widespread acceptance in scenes throughout the world. He arrived from San Francisco's acid rock scene, became a renowned selector and producer of dark

⁷² Graham, “DJ Goa Gil,” 109.

⁷³ Graham, “DJ Goa Gil,” 98.

psychedelic trance music forty years later, popularising the genre in his trance dance "rituals" performed at locations around the world at least a decade before "darkpsy" became a recognized genre. For Goa Gil, he is more than just a DJ (some may argue that he is not even a DJ); he is a religious specialist, an initiate in the Shaivite sect Juna Akhara, a cultural exile, a spiritual crusader, and a magnificent abnormality⁷⁴. According to Chiara Baldini (2010), the Goa DJ embodies this ambiguity, since he, with captivating dreadlocks, exotic tattoos, and unusual piercings, may be a focus of desire and animosity, eliciting various emotions similar to Dionysus, the personification of cultic ambivalence. There has been very little scholarly attention dedicated to DJs as cultural activists. Like Gil, there were many others that arrived in Goa. They probably had not planned on staying and make a living here, but they ended up doing so. There was this person who worked as a cameraman shooting the Fred Cohn film-documentary about Hindu holy men *Sunseed* (1973) travelled to India in the year 1970. Later he himself became a holyman and was very active at Goa and at the psychedelic trance gatherings. He was known as Swami Chaitanya among the hippies at the time.⁷⁵

There were a lot of original contributions made by the hippies. For instance, Gil produced his original tracks that include 'God's Children are Everywhere', 'Song to Krishna' and many more. He had to play these tracks on his acoustic guitar as there was no electricity in Anjuna back at that moment. Even then, they made use of car and bike batteries and generators to power small house sound systems. They even DJed using tape cassettes in Anjuna. A method that required much more innovation and creative thinking by them considering the resources available to them at that time. They eventually received and kept receiving gifts from the fellow hippies who kept travelling back and forth between the UK and Goa in particular. So they got

⁷⁴ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 102.

⁷⁵ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 102.

the amplifiers and other equipment gifted to the hippie scene in Goa to facilitate their action. What made Gil's work different was that he tried to use music to create a story or storyline, reflecting the world, the things that were being experienced, and the times they were living in. This is what possibly the hippies and the ravers and the freaks most felt related to and therefore it led to this scene of Goa trance reaching out to other people of the kind on a global scale. Gradually DJing became the prominent mode of performance in Goa. Under the pressure to perform all night, maybe many nights per week, at a faraway location, DJing proved to be the most cost-effective and efficient performance delivery approach. Instruments like drum kits were difficult and expensive to move, and band members' stamina dwindled well before daylight. As found in Jamaica and in the proto-discos of New York at the turn of the 1970s, powered machines under the management of the autonomous DJ or team of DJs proved to be the right fit to support the all-night party.⁷⁶

Slowly, from around the year 1978, the younger generation of them started arriving in Goa. It is stated that they returned from European summers the underground disco scenes of Berlin, London, Paris, and brought the mixed sounds and heavier equipment. And thus changed the scene from psychedelic to techno. The traditional hippies in Anjuna rebelled against this as they wanted live music and not much of the beats. The word 'techno' was coined by Toffler, who popularised the concept of an information-based post-industrial society in *The Third Wave* in 1980. Hip-hop in New York gave birth to the electro genre with the robot dance, which was made famous worldwide by Michael Jackson in the early 1980s and influenced early versions of techno⁷⁷. If we look closely, the techno is the one surviving across Goa today. The party venue, House of Chapora today hosts techno parties that they mention are strictly underground

⁷⁶ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 106.

⁷⁷ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 49-50.

and strictly hip-hop. However, the first "Goa" tracks began to circulate in the early 1990s, such as Jungle High's (Johann Bley and Ben Watkins) "Jungle High" from their self-titled record in 1992.

At the time, musicians of diverse types (from punk to techno and hard trance) were inspired by the Goa experience and created work with extended instrumental or ambient passages to facilitate mixing (using DAT players). In India, the day for freaks moved slowly. The hippies do not live an active lifestyle. Life is slow. Some might consider it uninteresting. They stay up late and participate in activities such as talking, emailing, reading, smoking hashish, and listening to trance music. Others quietly prepare their products (handcraft, CDs, drugs, etc.) to be sold at hippie markets and parties or sent to their bases in the West. In the afternoon, people may ride their motorbikes to view the sunset at the beach, but commenting on its beauty is considered gauche, and clichéd. It is a near-sacred moment. They will congregate in restaurants and trance bars, and the activities will take place at night.

Since then on the 1990s and early 2000s also saw a surge in the number of foreign tourist arrivals in Goa⁷⁸. One reason for this could be that Pioneer DJs that has been spreading the Goa atmosphere to numerous areas since the mid-1980s, notably Ibiza, which even today is being a continuing source of absorption and innovation. DJs staged parties in Nepal in 1985 and Thailand in 1987, while others who travelled from Goa, held the first Pagan Production party in Ruigoord, Amsterdam, in 1988, then again in 1990 and 1991, events that Gil claimed were "the first Goa style parties in Europe" Gil began developing his ritual in northern California in 1988, where he quickly gained a devoted following⁷⁹. These factors possibly

⁷⁸ Reports on flight arrivals in Goa. Statistics from the Department of Tourism in Goa.

⁷⁹ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 108.

attracted more travellers from around the world to come over to Goa, to experience the music in the place of its origin itself. They had their own belief systems when it came to organising these dance parties or dance rituals in Anjuna. At his gatherings, followers frequently built up altars at the front of the dance floor, which developed over time as dancers smudged sage and lay candles, flowers, and other gifts. According to McAteer, in the work Goa Gil Gil is an "enshrined object" with the entire dance floor focusing on him overnight. It's a fascinating situation in a civilization with antinomian origins. On the one hand, as ensconced, Gil may represent ego-dissolution, the teacher who, via his "shaktipat" (the transmission of spiritual energy upon one person by another or directly from the deity) and the forest of symbols in which he is nested, takes dancers into the state of "samadhi" (state of intense concentration usually achieved through meditation), provided they make the sacrifice (of their egos).⁸⁰ By the year 1991, the local youth had also started setting up stages with the other DJs.

Then came the celebrity DJs and artists.⁸¹ Thus, we had band names projecting in Goa. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the trance scene was still thriving in Anjuna and Vagator. Nonetheless, the region contrasts from the surrounding charter tourist beaches of Baga and Chapora, with their frenetic hotel development, as well as the more easygoing beaches of Arambol and Palolem, which are popular among backpackers. And new venues are progressively being added to the trance scene, such as the relatively secluded Om beach (in Karnataka), where long and wild parties are periodically held.⁸² Though there were parties happening in England as well, it was different from the ones that were happening in Goa. "That mood is kept on via the music. In England, it's no longer very frightening. It's overly managed.

⁸⁰ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 109.

⁸¹ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 110.

⁸² Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 239.

Some individuals wear appropriate T-shirts, while others shred theirs and sprint down the beach in Goa. There is history of freakdom and free form of living” as is mentioned in an interview in the work by Erik Davis. For them, Goa in a way served as a centre of tradition. Thousands of people gathered on the beach and in the forests to celebrate the full moon and the end of the year. By this point, the urban middle classes of Bombay, Poona, Delhi, and Bangalore had heard about not only the nude or semi-nude white women on the beach, but also the fun to be had at the massive parties, and domestic tourism to Goa had become standardized, with much of the marketing firmly reinforcing Indian sexist stereotypes of white women. The supply of various narcotics was secure, the sound systems were powerful, Arun Saldanha in his work states that “Goan cops and politicians were routinely bribed, locals made money by selling chai (tea and snacks at parties and on the beach), and some of the newest dance music from Europe and the United States was played at the traditionally free parties”.⁸³ This rich ground led to the Goa trance.

Spiritual aspect of life

In the case of rave-styled events, subjectivity vanishes and combines with the surroundings, with what would ordinarily be perceived as the other. This other can be an item, as seen in technical examples, or other topics, such as a strong sense of community on the dancefloor. This approach results in a contemporary concept of spirituality.⁸⁴ The aspect of spirituality was deep enshrined amidst the practices of the hippies in Goa. It was not limited to one sort of it but a lot more than that. Practices like smoking, partying, ecstatic dancing all pointed towards the same aspect of spirituality to the hippies in some way or the other.

⁸³ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 273.

⁸⁴ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 47.

The hippies were spiritually inclined to the Hindu faith. Particularly Shaivism. For dancing in an ecstatic way, meant that they were dancing with the spirit of Nataraja (the lord of dance in the Shaivite sect of Hinduism) within them. Cleo Odzer in her memoir mentions that “Bombolai” accorded to “Bholenath” or “Bom Shankar” was a common word used as a blessing over hash whenever a chillum was lit⁸⁵. Belief was that the louder it was said the better it was. Chillum smoking has been an integral part of Western visitors' culture in India since the late 1960s. The chillum is a simple cylindrical terracotta pipe that has been used by Hindu sadhus (the Hindu word for mystics) for hundreds of years to smoke *charas* (hashish) and *ganja* (marijuana), and it is now a staple of psytrance culture. In Anjuna, an arrival at a dance or bar, a good track, a sunset or a dawn is almost always commemorated by a chillum. It's nearly hard to smoke alone. This was when circles of smokers lighting or receiving the chillum frequently shout praises to Shiva, such as "Bom Shankar."

This in addition to a lot of psychedelic art, artworks at this place called Shiva valley in Anjuna (fig. 4.6), the name in itself, the Shiva statue carved out of rock by the sea in Ozrant, the statue of Shiva near the House of Chapora stand in evidence of this. After arriving in Goa in 1970, Gil hitchhiked south down the coast, visiting temples and smoking chillum with sadhus, whom he referred to as "the other guys who had long hair and smoked dope". He immediately travelled with a sadhu who brought him to Puri, Calcutta, Benares, Delhi, and eventually Kashmir, where at the age of 18, he became a learner of Sri Swami Nirmalanand Saraswati Maharaj, a guru in the Shaivite order Juna Akhara. Gil eventually became Swami Mangalanand Saraswati (Mangalanandji), was recognized as a sadhu, and was proclaimed Shri

⁸⁵ Odzer, *Goa Freaks*, 30.

Mahant at the Haridwar Kumb Mela in 2010, making him one of the first foreigners to hold a seat on the Akhara Council, which oversees 200,000 sadhus.⁸⁶

The fact that they felt connected to the Shaivite form was also because they were somewhere or the other also related to Dionysus. Dionysus actually is apart of a Greek tragedy, a play by Euripides. Where in the origin, background and the context surrounding Dionysus is explained. Similar to Shiva, Dionysus is also considered as a God of Dance and therefore Shiva, is considered to be Dionysus' Eastern counterpart, thus lending the hippies in Goa their patron, an East-West duality that also defines the Indian state's psychogeography⁸⁷. Gil believed that "art reflects the time and culture we exist in", referring to his adoption of the Kali Yuga, the final phase of the Hindu "Age of Conflicts" or the "Age of darkness". The topic corresponds with the rise of the Goa movement, whose extreme bizarre features, ecstatic dance and radical links with nature convey the need for regeneration and renewal in times of crisis, which has long been connected with Shaivite and Dionysian cults.⁸⁸ There were tracks made centering around Kali Yuga. This one in particular was made by the Anjuna Jam Band. Words in the tracks include:⁸⁹

"the god of death is the lord of dance,

it's a good day to die,

from death comes life."

"Kali does the Dance,

the Dance of Destruction.

⁸⁶ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 111.

⁸⁷ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 261.

⁸⁸ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 113.

⁸⁹ Anjuna Jam Band, "Kali does the dance" Avatar Records, accessed February 25, 2023.

*Shiva lays down,
to watch the action.”*

Thus, we see the intensity of the strength of the influence the hippie culture has had in a cross cultural exchange between communities in Goa. Chiara Baidini, an ecstatic dance historian, describes him as a "grandfather figure" to these neo-trancers. He is one of the original Goa freaks, thus these youngsters who are too poor to go and have too 'regular' lives to be freaks adore him!... For these youngsters, he is a true redeemer, and his sets provide an extremely profound experience.⁹⁰ While in the religious sense, it shows relevance to Shiva, but it is not just limited to it. In the current scenario, Christian DJ Frankie Vibe describes himself as a preacher on turntables, claiming that he can bring people closer to God via dancing. The objective of the dance-floor mentioned on their site on www.christianraves.com conveys a serious mission: "to come together and reclaim ground that Satan has stolen and perverted... to win souls through the blood of Christ and give God praise and glory!" These characteristics also went through phases like puritan oppression and gender-related issues in the other countries. Between 1982 and 1985, Goa's DJs rapidly abandoned psychedelic rock and reggae in favour of solely electronic sets, with a strong preference for industrial new wave, electro pop, and proto-techno such as Front 242. Music fans would bring back cassettes from Goa, hoping to replicate the thrilling LSD-induced ambiance of Anjuna's open-air events in their studio. The resultant tunes were Goa hits the next season. Thus, by the end of the decade, Goa trance had emerged amidst a network of cassettes, acid, and travellers. Goa trance, which is neither techno nor house, precisely duplicates the neurological effects of LSD with a persistent kick rhythm, swirling layers of staccato sounds frequently in Eastern scales, otherworldly

⁹⁰ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 120.

samples, and mesmerizing timbre changes. By 1994, the genre's particular sound and fluorescent Hindu-kitsch-meets-fractals iconography had been consolidated and released on Compact Disc.

Goa trance parties spread worldwide, including Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and Sweden, as well as Israel, Thailand, Japan, Australia, Portugal, South Africa, Brazil, Hungary, and Russia. Meanwhile in Anjuna, there were regular outbursts in the local press about the decadence and fundamental corruption of the trance scene, and the police would frequently crack down on the parties. The 1999-2000 season marked the definitive commercialization of Anjuna's party culture. Sponsorship, admission fees, magazine and documentary reports, London club hosts, and expanding numbers of charter and domestic visitors are quickly transforming Goa into a new kind of Ibiza.⁹¹ Freaks and Goans have quite diverse interests at trance parties. The former were amateurs who enthusiastically regarded such gatherings as practically religious ceremonies and claimed to be opposed to their commercialization. However, they had to consider the economic interests of Goans and other powerful Indians on the scene. Initially, major bar-restaurant owners used special permissions to raise profit margins and limit competition from other establishments. They transformed 'trance bars' into Gothic masterpieces with the help of immigrant artists. In addition to serving as social places for freaks, these venues gave some solace when trance parties grew scarce. There were the Goan youth in contact with the hippies, they were able to start DJing. In an interview with Carlos in his home in Anjuna, he says that he started DJing in 1997. He recalls the minimum crowd at the gathering would be between 3000 and 4000 people. There were no

⁹¹ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 273.

entry fees charged and it was purely held for fun. Today, the case is different he says, as the parties are commercialised and therefore getting a crowd of minimum of 1000 people.

The dependence of the Goa populace over the hippies increased over time. A large segment of the village population made their living on the party scene. Local youth groups profited from providing sound systems and bar service at trance parties. In addition, they were brokers in informally negotiating the possibility of parties with police officers, usually involving the recourse to bribery using funds provided by Western promoters. Without their intermediation, trance parties were virtually impossible.⁹² A 'chai economy' grew around the party area. The village women placed beach mats on which they offered candy, cigarettes, and chai (tea) prepared on-site. There were many business enterprises that were started in Anjuna along the shore line. One example is the restaurant named 'Slow Tide' in Dmello ward of Anjuna (fig. 4.7). Today, it is ranked among the top 30 restaurants in Goa. It was started in 1962. The family named it 'William's Chai Shop' at the time. They only served tea to the hippies. Later, the family passed it on to their daughter Mary Fernandes in 1978. She served the traditional Goan *filos* to the hippies. Despite many challenges she managed to continue with the business and they set up a larger area also serving traditional Goan food. In the 1990s her son, Carlos Fernanades took the charge of running the spot. He wished to name it after St. Francis, but was denied a licence for that name by the government. He then got it named 'San Francisco' after a location (fig. 4.8 & 4.9). The restaurant was in operation under that name for quite a long time. He managed to establish lasting contacts with his guests so much that he recalls a guest from twenty seven years ago who came to visit him again this year. He acquired his licence for the same in the 1990s. Today he says that the government is posing a threat to

⁹² D'Andrea, *Global nomads*, 196.

them and many other local enterprises that they are declaring the establishments illegal, whereas it has been in operation way before the 1990s. Due to the natural wear and tear, not all the documents are present. But the ones that are there are not being considered, he states. The challenges today include the government favouring the wealthy Delhi lobby over the locals who wish to scale in the tourism sector. Making it difficult for the locals to benefit more out of the current situation. He goes on to state that barely three enterprises in his ward are managed by the local owners whereas about 98% of it are sold to the Delhi based enterprises leading to a significant loss in the economy for the locals.⁹³ 'Slow Tide' thus commemorates this tradition via its architecture, interior design, and cuisine, all of which are inspired by the vibrant characters of the Anjuna community. The interior design and architecture is designed using sustainable material like bamboo and ropes. Adding an aesthetic charm to it. This case is similar to many other local business owners in Anjuna that started with the type of the business because of the hippies in the very first place. Carlos also states how each guest has been important to him and this sort of concern is mainly seen among the locals towards their guests.

The tea stalls are still in operation even today where the village women stay all night at their shops to sell, especially where there are parties on the weekends during the season time. At Chapora, freaks appreciated their presence since it provided exoticism to the hallucinogenic atmosphere. Finally, other communities supplied essential auxiliary services such as bicycle rentals, internet access, and medications, in addition to bars and restaurants, hostels, food stores, bike mechanics, and so on. To summarise, although the party scene was popularised by largely low-budget visitors, it really generated a significant amount of funds that were immediately taken by the local population. Western party promoters did not pursue economic

⁹³ Carlos Fernandes (resident of Anjuna and owner of Slow Tide Restaurant in Anjuna) in discussion with Raysancia, March 2024.

gain; rather, they frequently lost money in the process. Contrary to popular misconception, they did not encourage parties that sold narcotics. Drug consumption was undoubtedly high, and promoters considered it as a means of creating a 'pleasant environment.' In their daily lives, some of them finally traded narcotics for a one-time simple transaction, but this was not a constant practice used to promote or support parties. Though British and Russian gangs wanted to control the drug trade in charter tourism zones, they never interfered with the party scene, fearing that they might disrupt Goans' direct interests.⁹⁴ As a result, drug distribution was carried out by a range of people who quietly but freely pushed hashish, acid, and ecstasy.

The actions of the hippies, in its economic, social manner, influenced and impacted the Goans and Indians to attach to material goods. This happened while they were getting rid of their material goods while renouncing materialism, on the counterpart, the Goans got infatuated with their material that they were ready to buy pre owned items from the hippies, as for them it was goods from foreign that attracted them and that is many Goans and Indians got into this. Even today there is concern regarding growing materialism among the Indian Youth. While the hippies were here, some Goans also felt uncomfortable at their sight. However their presence unleashed a revolution in the economy of Goa. The impact most clearly visible in Calangute and Baga that turned them from villages to towns during the Tourist Boom.

Teresa mentions that although the hippies have become a part of the Anjuna scene they are generally polite and mind their own business, not really intruding on the privacy of the locals.⁹⁵ Goa became a destination for cultural exiles i.e. displaced people with displaced

⁹⁴ D'Andrea, *Global nomads*, 196.

⁹⁵ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 85.

minds.⁹⁶ The case of Anjuna with regards to its visitors has not been stable. Certain factors leading to its bad state to some extent. The 2001-02 season was a dismal one for business. While this was related to the events of September 11, 2001, it had far more to do with the deterioration of Anjuna's reputation as a party destination due to word-of-mouth and email complaints about the zero-tolerance noise-pollution policy. The simple solution being to legalize the parties but regulate them between villages or on the beach. This is becoming increasingly difficult to implement as corruption also grows, venue owners and drug dealers become more greedy, competition heats up, ravers become more arrogant, and Goans become more conservative about their local identity. But overall the families in Anjuna consider the coming of the hippies as a great blessing over their economy, as they were able to make a full fledged living out of it, improve their living conditions, quality of life and make space for their value in the tourism industry of Goa.

⁹⁶ Graham, "DJ Goa Gil," 113.

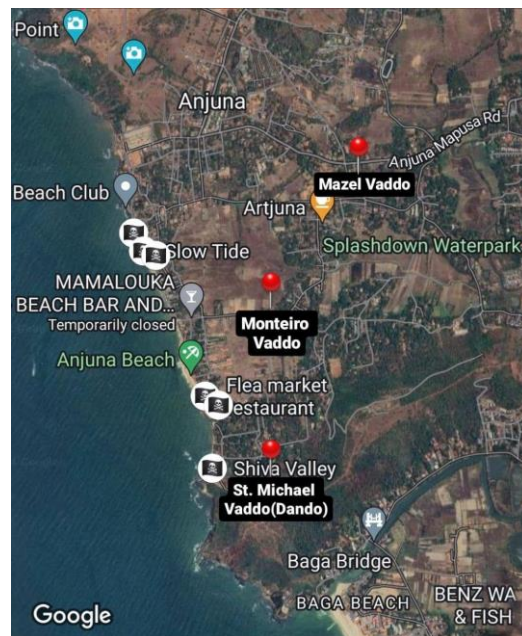


Figure 4.1: Satellite view of the three locations for the Wednesday Markets in Anjuna

Picture courtesy: Google maps

Edited by: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 4.2: stalls set up for the Anjuna flea market. Clicked during off season

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 4.3: A stall set up at the Goa Collective Bazaar at the Vagator Hilltop in the current scenario.

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 4.4: Temporary tattoo set up by a non Indian at the Goa Collective bazaar at the Vagator hilltop.

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 4.5: A part of the Royal Enfield Garage Cafe in Arpora

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 4.6: Shiva Valley facing the shore

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 4.7: The Restaurant 'Slow Tide' captured in 2022. Formerly known as 'San Francisco's'.

Picture credit and courtesy: Ishita Sitwala



Fig. 4.8 & 4.9: The Restaurant 'San Francisco' captured in 1987.

Picture courtesy: Carlos Fernandes

Chapter 5

Issues and Challenges: Imaging of Goa

While there are certain views set about Goa in the minds of the non Goans, most of the time it is almost always the stereotypical way. Much of this stereotypical view has been facilitated by what the Bollywood film industry projects about Goa and its people on screen. The Goans also have certain views over the same. One of the locals had to say that there are two sides to how Goa has been depicted in Bollywood. For example, Goa has been brilliantly represented in films such as 'Golmaal', 'Dear Zindagi', and 'Dil Chahta Hai', making the Chapora Fort a popular tourist destination. However, there are those who slander Goa; it cannot be claimed that drugs, drunkenness, and prostitution are a myth. We have all of those things going on here, but the level of exaggeration displayed in films like 'Dum Maaro Dum' is just unneeded. You will discover diverse sorts of individuals in every state and continent, yet movies are frequently generalised. Goans wearing a flower print shirt, shorts, with a cap and a beer bottle in the hand is unnecessary. In fact, if you see anybody that way, it is mostly the non Goan individuals⁹⁷. Another individual had to say that Bollywood has a specific attitude towards Goa. Goa is a vibrant location, without a question, but we must focus on the true gems of Goa, such as the cuisine and ambiance that one may enjoy during a visit. Goa is known for its rich cultural legacy and scenic beauty. “Goa's stunning beauty is what makes it special”.⁹⁸

Goa is viewed to be different from the other parts of India. These consideration has been attributed to the colonial past of Goa. Goa is pictured as a place of permissiveness, tolerance, exotic, easygoing, westernized, and also alcoholic. Several reasons contribute to

⁹⁷ Interview with a resident of Arpora, December 7, 2023.

⁹⁸ Interview with a resident of Mandrem, December 7, 2023.

Goa's perceived distinction from the rest of India. First, there is the 'hippie mystique' that still surrounds Goa's beaches. Although the hippie era has passed, Goa's identification with 'hippies' remains strong--in fact, backpackers are still referred to as 'hippies' by locals in Goa. Hippies were drawn to India by the low cost and easy availability of drugs, a romanticised and exoticized image of India as more spiritual than the West, and the wealth disparities between their home countries and India, which allowed them to stay in the country for extended periods of time on relatively little money. The image of Goa as a safe spot for hippies continues even to the present, as some backpackers attempt to recreate the 'hippy experience' while in Goa (and elsewhere in India for that matter)-through clothing styles, drug consumption and more recently through rave parties in a contemporary evocation of the 'freak' past. Indeed, even some charter tourists in Goa for just a few weeks can be seen donning their tie-dye clothes and indulging in drug and party tourism before returning to their office jobs in the west. This tendency is supported by domestic visitors who incorporate day visits to Anjuna beach (formerly the epicentre of hippy culture in Goa) as part of their vacation in the expectation of seeing and photographing hippies in their "natural environment". The beach (and, by extension, Goa) has become, for some tourists, synonymous with a neo-hippie experience: sited (on specific beach locations such as Anjuna), cited (in travel brochures and travel guides such as 'the Lonely Planet'), but rarely seen except in ritualised shadow-plays of the past.

The church in Goa, like in other areas of the world, has openly condemned tourism-related activities. It points out that the self-respecting local people, before working as farmers, toddy tappers, fisherman now being hired in the hotel industry "in servile positions". "Their wives and daughters become prostitutes or masseuses; their children become touts, pimps or

errand boys". The Churches collectively have been particularly critical of the "negative effects of rich tourism in poor countries"⁹⁹

As the hippies gradually started settling in Goa, the locals had a huge role to play. Eight finger Eddie actually mentioned that in those days the locals were very pleasant. In case anybody got hurt under any circumstances, many people would approach to take care of them or shift them to hospital. They are affectionately nicknamed locals in Anjuna. One such was Warsala (Orsal), a local vendor who used to bring papaya and was nicknamed 'Warsala *Papaya mama*'.¹⁰⁰ The hippies while they were here were also characterised by the way they dressed. Accounts of them given by the locals saying that they moved about clad scantily. Partially due to this reason, it was noticed that the Indian tourists would agree to pay any amount and would be ready to do anything in order to see the nude or semi nude foreign visitors on the shores in Goa. This also led to an influx in the number of Indian tourists visiting Goa. The Ozrant beach even today lives to the above mentioned description. The elderly in Anjuna initially would say that the foreigners resembled Jesus in their appearance, when they saw the bearded hippies and their long hair.¹⁰¹ However, they quickly realised the truth. The hippie cult was anti-fashion and preferred to dress in inexpensive ethnic and preowned attire. Colours were vibrant and diverse.

For the Anjuna flea market on Wednesday every week, people in charge of setting up stalls arrive early and leave the place late in the evening. Traffic in Anjuna on Wednesdays is

⁹⁹ Clara D' Souza (resident of Siolim) in discussion with Raysancia, December 2024.

¹⁰⁰ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 355.

¹⁰¹ Mary Fernandes (resident of Anjuna and former owner of San Francisco) in discussion with Raysancia, February 2024.

at its heaviest and worst, the locals say.¹⁰² Right now, there is a significant contrast between previous Flea Markets and those of today. During peak season (October-April), the market now encompasses nearly the whole south beach, and there are just a few. Western residents and long-term visitors are on the selling side of the fence. The majority come to see and purchase, while the hawkers are from Gujarat, Rajasthan, and the semi-nomadic Lamanni tribe of Karnataka. The latter accounts for the bulk, offering heavy silver jewellery, brightly colourful textiles, and trinkets from all across India. They have a distinct attire and lifestyle and live on the outskirts of Goan society, much like the long-staying tourists that visit Anjuna and the market. The Lamannis are also good salespeople, as any traveller who has been taken by the hand around the market to see a display of items would agree to this. These Lamanni sellers are now occasionally snapped and portrayed in publications as natives - Anjunkars!¹⁰³ As we all know, this is not the case and should not be. With this, today among a handful of original and genuine foreign goods, there are also fake products from North Bombay being sold at the market in the name of foreign goods. (fig. 5.1&5.2)

With the lifestyle of the hippies including usage of drugs and in many cases the mind altering drugs. Not many locals, Goans on the whole, actually point out to the hippies for affecting and bringing about a decline in the morality of the youth in Goa. But there are some that say that the hippies have been blamed for causing a fall in public morality, and the drug epidemic that has broken out is undoubtedly serious, with Goa's youth being particularly vulnerable. Foreign tourists introduced drugs and drug culture to Goa. Today, these substances are not only found in coastal locations, but also in numerous institutions, schools, and high

¹⁰² Gavin Mascarenhas (resident of Anjuna) in discussion with Raysancia, December 2024.

¹⁰³ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 360.

schools. There have been drug arrests and occasional deaths of tourists that have been reported.¹⁰⁴ This drug culture that now pervades the wealthy First World countries is so corrupt that semi-nudism and nudism are popular among them. In fact, they claim that civilised people all over the globe tolerate nudism and thus expect them to go naked on our beaches, even if it offends our cultural and moral sensitivities and violates our law. But the locals were devout Catholics and some had been upset by hippies swimming naked in front of their homes. However, this was no longer the case. They didn't mind the hippie lifestyle. The hamlet as a whole were glad to boost their earnings by renting out rooms in their houses to budget visitors and running small cafés and bars that fell far short of dominating village life. Despite its shortcomings, this type of tourism remains a viable alternative to the five-star tourist culture. It is better for the environment and the locals concerned. There is a real endeavour to respect the people's cultural sensitivities. If only some of the less attractive parts could be removed, we could have the seeds of alternative tourism right here. Not only do these low-budget visitors require little more infrastructure to serve them and put the least strain on existing water supplies, but they also provide other, less immediately quantifiable advantages. Even when it came to alcoholism, one of the locals stated that it is solely upto the individuals whether to give in to the vices pervading in the society or not. For example, Carlos himself, a 44 year old resident of Anjuna says that he has never consumed alcohol, although he grew up in an area where it was readily available. Therefore, one cannot generalise all Goans being a particular way given the individual differences and the preferences based over the same.

In the interest of foreign exchange, we are also compelled to endure late-night beach parties with loud rock music. With the lifestyle that the hippies led, it also resulted in vices among the Goans. There also came about the problem of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency

¹⁰⁴ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 36.

Syndrome). Today, the greater authorities like the Mafias have established a network on Goan beaches. In addition to locals, Kashmiris, Keyneans, Nigerians, and Russians are involved in the drug trade. In fact, by 1979, the problem of drug addiction among Westerners in Goa had become so severe that a rehabilitation centre was established specifically for them in Vagator. Om Yesu Niketan (A Refuge for All in the Spirit of Jesus) was founded by a Pallotine priest, a Franciscan sister, a Brahmachari from Shanti-vaman, and a lady from the Servite Secular Institute. It intended to provide tranquility to those seeking it, as well as personal care and medication to addicts throughout the tough phase of withdrawal, all of which were favorable to their return to a socially acceptable existence. It even extended out to help European detainees in general hospitals, psychiatric hospitals, and prisons, as well as those experiencing difficulties with visa extensions, passport renewals, and repatriation. The ashram received the aid of the Archdiocese of Goa, financial support from international benefactors, active cooperation from local authorities, and the willing assistance of volunteer social workers. Aside from serving meals to around twenty people at a time, the center also hosts an art workshop, a library, an information camp, and yoga classes.¹⁰⁵ There were still more ashram and rehabilitation centres then during that time to aid the ones struggling with the addiction. The guests, as is mentioned in the work by Teresa Albuquerque, came from many countries. Ashrams like Asha Bhavan, for the males, Shanti Sadan for the girls. Several groups encouraging sports and healthy amusement have been founded to distract the youth's attention away from present problems. Today, there are the Armstrong Sports Club, the Anjuna Villagers' Association, the Athletic League, and the Chapora Yuvak Sangh.

Tourism has emerged as a major economic driver and source of income in tourist locations. People's lives revolve around the tourism season. They earn during the tourist season

¹⁰⁵ Albuquerque, *Anjuna*, 86.

and rely on those earnings during the lean period. Shacks along the shore, for example, close down during lean season. Many of the cafés, nightclubs and bars are also open during tourist season. In Anjuna itself, there are over 1000 hotels and small business enterprises. Locals rent out their homes to visitors, and many of them own restaurants, laundry services, and other tourist-related businesses. Some generate money by renting out automobiles, motorcycles, and scooters to visitors. Popular companies on the beaches include water activities, boat trips, dolphin sightings in speedboats, and so on. In terms of the growth in tourism as a result of the hippies in Goa, there were many issues concerning employment in Goa. Beach shack owners and taxi drivers in Goa were facing problems as they have mentioned that there were many cases wherein foreigners were seen running beach shacks and tourist taxis. This in a way threatened the livelihood of a large number of taxi drivers and owners in the North Goa belt. Goa's status as a tourist destination gave rise to charter planes. Charters first flew into Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Goa. To complement this flood of tourists, Goa saw the emergence of various low-cost lodgings, particularly along the north Goa beach belt. Many locals converted parts of their homes into guest rooms, while others built small accommodations on their properties, in addition to the already established starred hotel Fort Aguada, a vision of Tata and the then chief minister, Dayanand Bandodkar, commissioned the five-star hotel in 1974. Tourism has made Goa extremely popular. The villagers' lifestyles have been altered with affluence, due to the increased cash obtained by Goans through tourism. This has resulted in the disintegration of moral and social ideals instilled by close-knit Goan households.¹⁰⁶

The waste disposal problem is one of the most pressing issues faced by Goa today. As Dr. Cidalia Bodade makes it evident in her work that Goa, which was previously recognized for its cleanliness, is now littered with waste not just in the cities, towns, and coastal areas, but

¹⁰⁶ Bodade, *Women in the Tourism Industry*, 24.

this has spread to the villages as well. A total failure on the part of the government, particularly the department of urban development and civic authorities in Goa, is gradually but steadily branding Goa as a filthy destination as also stated by a resident from Anjuna. Despite all of the study tours conducted in India and overseas, and millions of rupees invested, we do not have an effective waste processor in place. With this, we also have a lot of people from the other states migrating to Goa. While there is demand for souvenirs from Goa, authentic products from Goa among the travellers that travel to Goa, there are many non-Goans selling products that are not genuine, posing a threat to the livelihood of the people of Goa. Especially of those who are involved in the arts and handicrafts activity. Even though the Goan artisans need to get registered with the art and culture department of the government of Goa, to avail of some subsidies, schemes and other benefits, the problem of the migrants coming and selling their products under the false label of made in Goa should not be neglected.

Migration, primarily from Karnataka, began four or five decades ago. These folks work in lowly vocations such as day labourers and hawkers. Flourishing tourism has resulted in the migration of handicraft artists from around the country, including Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Gujarat, who sell their creations in stores along the beach. A huge number of Nepalese migrants offer clothing, costume jewellery, and handicrafts. During peak tourist season, a large number of tailors go from Gujarat. During the tourist season, individuals from West Bengal, Maharashtra, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Madhya Pradesh travel to work in hotels, shacks, and restaurants. In Calangute, for example, masseurs are mostly from Karnataka, chefs and assistants are from Orissa, and waiters are mostly from Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Nepal, Bengal, and Bihar. With the increase in building activity, there has been an influx of day labourers from Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Chattisgarh, and Jharkhand. People from the Karwar area of Karnataka, which

is about an hour away by bus, visit Canacona to sell fruits and other articles such as costume jewellery in Goa. Many of them travel up and down every day. Many foreigners engage in commercial operations.

Every year, numerous foreigners visit Pernem, Bardez, and Salcette to make money and do business in a range of enterprises. There are shacks and restaurants with signboards in foreign languages. Boats also bear inscriptions in foreign languages. Foreigners have invested in land and structures in Goa, primarily in the name of the locals. During the tourist season, a huge number of foreigners dwell on the beaches as well as in privately leased lodgings. When visitors leave, many rent their accommodations to other tourists. Tourist police are stationed on all prominent beaches to help tourists and maintain law and order.

The worldwide freak community is a tiny minority, maybe a few thousand persons, among the 1.1 million yearly visitors that visit Goa State and its 1.5 million residents (Goa Directorate of Planning, Statistics and Evaluation 1998). Although 90 percent of tourists in Goa are male Indians, the sector focuses on the tenth of Western tourists due to their greater spending power. Foreigners are from the United Kingdom, Germany, Israel, Japan, Italy, and Scandinavia, among many more countries. The bulk is made up of charter tourists who do not go around but instead stay a couple of weeks in beach resort locations, showing no interest in local life, let alone culture and history. This was not how it was when it first started. The existence of large hotel chains in Goa and Ibiza has resulted in environmental deterioration, capital alienation, and social conflict.¹⁰⁷ On the other side, the existence of freak communities signifies decentralised revenue for local people, as well as the attraction that they bring to

¹⁰⁷ Norman Dantas ed. *The Transforming of Goa*. (Mapusa: The Other India Press, 1999), 196.

visited locations, accidentally opening the road for tourism. However, the surrounding community opposes alternative lifestyles (dressing, parties, sociability, nudity, drugs, music, and noise).¹⁰⁸

By the early 1980s, despite heroin fatalities, smuggling scandals, and pervasive paranoia, Anjuna had become a must-see destination for punks and New Agers alike! Musicians, bohemians, Rastafarians, and world travellers from Europe, North America, Latin America, and Oceania. Thousands of people gathered on the beach and around the trees in the interiors to celebrate the full moon and the end of the year. The hard core of hippies and ravers traditionally despised the presence of charter and domestic visitors at events, particularly those in late December. Indians are often stereotyped by the hippies as wearing inappropriate clothing, incapable of dancing, prone to intoxication, and harassing white women. Freaks always arrived a little later to ensure that there were not too many domestic visitors. This was especially evident during the 2001-2002 season, when a few hundred domestic visitors tried to make the most of it until the party kicked off at daybreak, when the freaks began to arrive, the majority of whom had just recently woken up.

Then there are the dangers. Every year, at least a dozen people are killed on the road in Goa, and many more are injured, including cyclists, pedestrians, and animals. The air pollution may be minimal, but so are most distances travelled. When a pub like 9bar in Vagator shuts, it creates a cacophony of exhaust pipes. Some of them adore the thud so much that they modify their exhaust to boost the volume. They appear to want to leave traces of their deeds wherever they go. So the smoothness of the riding experience is inextricably linked to the striations of noise, accidents, ego, and sleepiness. This is especially true for raves, which are usually held

¹⁰⁸ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 247.

outside and never far from homes. The elder residents worry about the cacophony of Goa trance, which travels all the way to the neighbouring villages. The major New Year's raves last for days. It would be difficult to organise parties of this magnitude in the Goa freaks' native nations. However, the majority of Anjuna's residents rely on tourism and so serve as co-organizers of the scene, at least indirectly, by supplying rooms, food, bikes, internet connection, drugs, etc. Only on rare occasions would they campaign to cancel a rave, such as when school exams are due. Those Goans who do not earn any money from tourism, largely middle-class Catholics, have deliberately opposed the hippie and rave scene in Anjuna. Following recurrent moral panics in the press, the Goan government and High Court banned loud music in 2000. Though the prohibition was consistently enforced during the first months of 2001 and 2002, it is frequently violated—bribes reach government officials as well. Anjuna without loud music (in pubs, parties, or restaurants) agitates Goa enthusiasts. Frustration grows as reports of parties are spread almost daily, only to be cancelled for no apparent reason. Many foreigners believe they have an inalienable right to party, justifying their stay with the money the parties bring to Goa.¹⁰⁹ Over the last few years, many disillusioned ravers have ceased travelling to Goa, instead moving to Koh Phangan in Thailand, Bahia in Brazil, Madagascar, or trying to arrange events overseas.

The Goa government wanted to outdo the hippies and tourism regarded the hippies as they were the low spending mass in Goa. Hence they promoted the package tourism to generate more income to the state. That was not received well by the locals and hence came with its own set of problems. The authorities of the time appeared to want to boost up-market tourism. Hippies and backpackers do not earn enough money. Package tourists could work, but only if millions of them are allowed in. International high-rollers bring in a little amount of money.

¹⁰⁹ Graham, *Rave Culture and Religion*, 281.

(The Director) was not concerned that hotels would damage Goa's shoreline, driving international travellers to move on to some other place. To prevent structures from being too near to the beach, strict rules were implemented. Tourism is expected to be the primary economic driver in Goa. The local press also advocated for up-market tourism for social and environmental reasons, rather than financial gain. Targeting upper-middle-class tourists instead of plumbers, masons, and bar tenders would improve the tourism industry's focus on quality over quantity. If tourist traffic is allowed to increase indefinitely, especially in an unprepared manner, the weak infrastructure that is under great pressure may collapse.¹¹⁰

In India, technological and new age activities have become sources of revenue for local people. Goa's trance parties were a collaboration between Goan gangs and Western DJs, with the former seeking profit through sound-system rentals, bar sales, and police bribes, and the latter seeking shamanic excitement and prestige, in addition to the chai economy. Although drug usage abounds at Ibiza and Goa's clubs, pubs, and parties, there is rarely a fundamental economic incentive combining party planning with drug trafficking, as is frequently assumed with trance events. Party promoters are fully aware that their events frequently fail to generate profits. Nonetheless, narcotics are permitted as a means of establishing a 'nice atmosphere' among friends and the crowd. In the early 1990s, legal suppression of raves in the United Kingdom contributed to the spread and monetization of parties and drug usage in Ibiza and Goa. In contrast, in 2000, villagers from north Goa protested the strict control of trance parties by government and police, which choked their major source of survival by frightening freaks, backpackers, and party-tourists away. Goan authorities have to respond by recalibrating their activities to meet varying interests. This meant that some degree of freak behaviour had to be tolerated.

¹¹⁰ Dantas, *The Transforming of Goa*, 204.

Indeed, countercultures have been examining strangeness, rootlessness, and displacement long before these characteristics were recognized by the media and academics as central to modern social life.

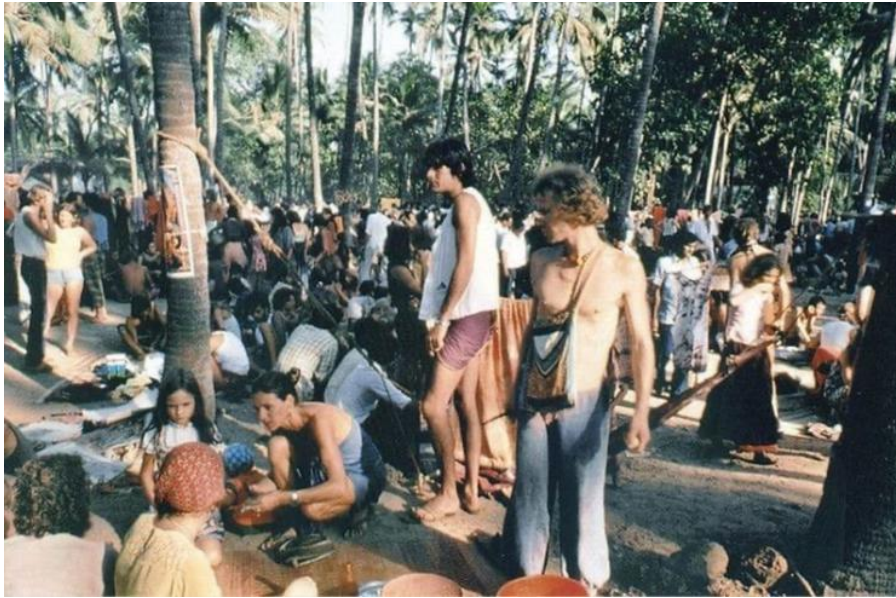


Fig. 5.1: Anjuna market in the 1970s

Picture courtesy: <https://allthatsinteresting.com/goa-hippie-movement#8>



Fig. 5.2&5.3: Anjuna market in the present times

Picture credit : Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig 5.4: Sumitra, a vendor winding up her business for the day at the market

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 5.5, 5.6 & 5.7: Live music performer at the Arpora night market, the drums for sale, the kind of service provided in regards to palm reading.

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 5.8: The name tag in Russian language of a business at the Arpora night market.

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig 5.9: leather bags, Indian masks amongst other items for sale at the Arpora Night Market

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The hippies that arrived here had a significant role to play in the lives of the Goans. From the time they arrived here, lived, and settled in these areas in Goa had great significance in the both the ways. They travelled overland, stopping or choosing to make their way to Goa and making the decision to live here and finally settle down was their conscious idea. True that they found a paradise in Goa and made it their own, owing to the historical conditions and background of the place. There have been factors that have led all this to prevail even today even if it's not in the form of pure physicality as we do not find the communes of the hippies in Goa in its true form anymore. One of the reasons behind this can be commercialization. Dominic Fernandes in his work states that anything that makes money survives.¹¹¹ The flea market survives because it has become an industry, and techno, the clothes - Trance Fashion.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi stated at the time, "There are two categories of tourists in our nation. There are folks that come and stay, hire a houseboat, bring binoculars, and observe everything. And then there are other folks who come here wearing only sneakers and stroll around meeting people. We would want the second type, which is considerably better."¹¹²

Today in Goa, especially in the north belt where tourism is thriving, there is presence of a large number of restaurants, cafes and bakeries that offer food of different cuisines like, German, Italian, and other western food being served. Similarly there are spots serving Indian food like, Punjabi meals, North Indian, South Indian cuisines. These have been set up to mostly cater to

¹¹¹ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 353.

¹¹² Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 361.

the people of their type for the specific cuisine rather than actually trying something authentic to Goa. Thus this led rise to staged experiences or pseudoevents to tourists today. Anjuna Beach served as a thriving home to hippies. Although most of them have left, their legacy lives on. The Wednesday Anjuna Beach flea market is busier than ever, and once the day is done, hundreds gather in the shacks along Anjuna Beach to listen to psychedelic trance as the sun sets. The Shiva Valley and Shore Bar were complete institutions on the rocky beach coast, offering lodging, food, snooker tables, music, literature, friendly people, and everything under the sun and above the grass as Domnic Fernandes puts it.¹¹³ The Anjuna flea market is infamous for drug peddlers, however this has lessened due to numerous raids by local authorities.

The conditions and the prospects seen for Goa during this time, resulted in Tourist Boom and this proved to be of a great advantage to some. Earlier the Goans continued with their traditional occupations while also catering to the hippies in Goa. But eventually when tourism came in, a vast number of Goans gave up their traditional occupations to cater to the tourists then. The rapid growth of hotels, motels, bars, restaurants, pizza places, milk bars, sugarcane juice stalls, shops and stores, banks and bakeries, and, of course, drugs, as well as many auxiliary sectors, is strong evidence of this.

The parties that are hosted in Anjuna especially during the season time they would go on for all night. This used to be the case when there were no restrictions on sound post 11:00 pm which is the case today. During the night back then, the whole village of Anjuna would be kept awake just for the build up of the party. And one can imagine this happening during the high season, several times in a week. The villagers would get annoyed but had no choice then as they themselves depended upon those parties as their source of income. Even today, there

¹¹³ Fernandes, *Village Anjuna*, 362.

are village women selling tea, cigarettes and Maggi noodles outside party venues like the House of Chapora. Some of the locals in Anjuna could not tolerate this and went ahead to file complaints against the problematic situation of the loud trance parties of the time. Amidst all the seriousness of the time, one cannot forget the vices that came in with the hippies that settled in Goa. There were problems like drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution, and AIDS came in. Much of the Goan youth fell prey to these problems.

Many times Goa is referred to as a place to relax and have fun. The Goans are also regarded to be laid back in any situation. Besides its tropical weather in Goa, that facilitates life of self sufficiency, and contentment here, these attributes could also be a result of the presence of the hippie culture in Goa. Thus the hippie culture in Goa set apart the village of Anjuna from all the other villagers in Goa. Thus the hippie movement led to the imaging of Goa, making it a brand identity in itself to the rest of India and on a global scale.

Today, there is a wide array of aspects that carry on the attributes of the hippie culture in Goa as well as in the other states of India. In Goa, especially in Arambol, there is a strong community of Russians leading a lifestyle of the hippies. They are mainly concentrated on the shores and spend their time engaged in different activities. Every weekend, there is a ‘drum circle’ that takes place. It is open to anybody interested in it. The news of this spread over a story announcement on their Instagram profile. The ones participating in it are to get their own instruments and sit in a circular manner to facilitate better contact. The rhythm is established and then they continue with the beats for long. Most of the time it is the foreigners that participate in the drum circles (fig.6.1). Typically, participants form drum circles with others from the community. The drum circle promotes equality since there is no head or tail. It consists of people of various ages. The primary goal is to share rhythm and get in sync with one another

and oneself. Besides this, there is a community of foreign nationals that have come together to form a group called 'Hare Krishna in Goa'. Like it is mentioned earlier, these nationals are very religiously inclined to some aspects of the Hindu faith in India. They stay in Goa throughout the season time, and then travel to Vrindavan, a city in the Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh, India of historical importance. It holds religious importance for Hindus who believe that Krishna, one of the main deities in Hinduism, spent most of his childhood in this city. Their activities while in Goa include meditation, collective prayer, temple visits, community praise and worship. They mostly take place at the beach itself and they live just around. They believe in spreading the message from the Bhagavad Gita, the holy book of the Hindus to the wider audience. (Fig 6.3)

The cacao ceremony is practiced even today. It is hosted on rare occasions only in certain parts of Arambol thus making it very difficult to make a point to witness it. But as per those who happened to visit it and witness whatever happens throughout, said that it was very different and more sort of a 'tantric process'. While this response is subjective, it cannot be generalised. However it is hard to ignore that the same ceremony used to include human sacrifices as part of the ritual. Today it is paired with ecstatic dancing that includes one to make their own music through their voices. It could be chanting, singing, throat singing or at times even screaming and moving themselves to it. This takes place in the current scenario.

Every Tuesday, the community in Arambol gather for a collective market in a designated space in the interiors of the village. On the week days they party in the same place. Though the place is open for everyone, the Indian mass do not end up staying there for more than 20 minutes. They feel the price set for food and beverages is too high, there is no alcohol, and the live music is more with the use of ethnic instruments and tunes. The Tuesday I

happened to visit was when they sang songs in praise of 'Hari Om'. These foreign nationals depend upon the sale in these markets and to earn a living. While they are having fun in the process, it is quite astonishing and beyond the Indian comprehension that such practices are in existence even today. One thing to be noted is that these are not as popular as the Anjuna flea market or the Arpora flea market (Fig.6.4 & 6.5). The people are seen sitting in a gathering around a bonfire, the altar set up, all of this has been in practice amongst foreigners of certain type since the time of the hippies in Goa (Fig. 6.6 & 6.7). Through an interview with a local, he stated that initially it was the Israelites that inhabited Arambol. The language spoken was Hebrew. Now, along with them are the Russians in Arambol. "There is unity among the villagers of Arambol and that is why we see the hippie culture thriving there whereas it has now dwindled down in Anjuna due to disunity and clash of interests among the villagers of Anjuna" states Carlos Fernandes from Anjuna. Therefore, Arambol, Goa, has become a hub for the worldwide hippie culture, drawing people from many backgrounds seeking alternative lifestyles and cultural inquiry. The village's history, culture, and effect highlight its potential to promote freedom, creativity, and community. Arambol offers an immersive experience that promotes diversity, spirituality, and artistic expression, making it a popular destination for individuals seeking an escape from conventional life.

The way we have the presence of the party place called Shiva valley in Anjuna, where all night parties take place, there is also the presence of the 'Parvati Valley' in Himanchal Pradesh where the hippies party like they do here. A little community set in the lap of Parvati Valley, encircled by the majestic Himalayas, guarded by the Parvati River, and is believed to have been blessed by Lord Shiva. Kasol is also known as the Land of Hippies, Trekkers' Paradise, India's Hash Capital, or just Kasol! Yoga, meditation, psychedelic parties, shops selling hippie fashion are just some aspects of the Parvati Valley. The place is also known for

its Lebanese and Israeli Food and thus is known to be a thriving place for the hippie culture in North India.

Another town of Pushkar in the state of Rajasthan, is also affiliated with the Israelis. Major concentration there includes people speaking Hebrew. But this place is also unique for its blend of the Hindu and the hippie culture together. The psychedelic trance party is also seen in Pushkar. The biggest one that happens is for the festival of Holi. The pre-parties also account for a large crowd there.

In the village of Anjuna, the worry over the growing challenges of mass tourism, loud parties, nudism is still a concern for the residents and the Parish groups. The ways of the tourists in the village, the reckless driving, the use of foul language amongst many other problems pose a threat to the mental wellbeing of the residents of the village. While the hippies in its true form may no longer be seen in Goa today, the legacy and the rise to other groups alike following the similar lifestyle is seen coming up in the recent past for the residents of Anjuna to deal with. Similarly, the impact is also seen on a larger scale, that is all over India. The hippie community today is not limited to the coastal areas of Goa, but to areas in the northern part of India as well. This can be an area for further study over the Hippie Movement.



Fig. 6.1: Drum Circle in Arambol

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig. 6.2: 'Love Temple' the place in Arambol where the drum circle takes place

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha



Fig 6.3: The group 'Hare Krishna in Goa' preaching at a Shiva temple in Arambol.

Picture credit: Pravi Rathod



Fig. 6.4:Arambol Market

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha

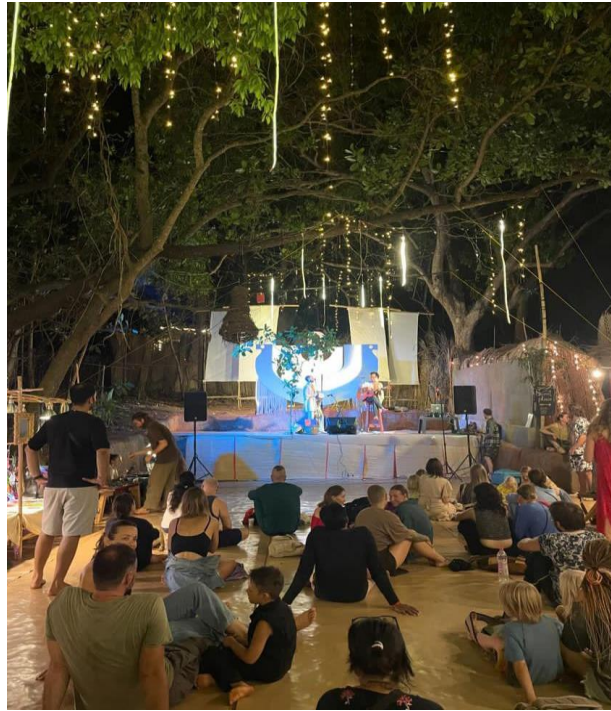


Fig. 6.5: Live performance at the Tuesday Arambol Market captured in 2024

Picture credit: Raysancia D.Cunha



Fig. 6,6 & 6.7: The community and the altar set up at the marketplace captured in 2024

Picture credit: Raysancia D. Cunha

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APPENDIX

For the study on the Hippie Movement in Goa, primary sources for the dissertation include memoirs of the hippies that are published, going through vintage photographs of the hippies in Goa since the 1960s. Observation, in participant observation, discussions and interviews. Much of the interviews have been conducted with the locals from Anjuna. They are residents living in the Anjuna village, owners of different business enterprises. Questions asked in the interviews are as follows:

Name:

Age:

Occupation:

Educational Qualification:

Address:

1. How has it been growing up when the hippies inhabited parts of Anjuna?
2. Growing up, what did you come across living in Anjuna?
3. Were there any challenges associated with it? If yes, what were the challenges?
4. What stories have you heard about Anjuna's hippie communities since the 1960s?
5. How did the presence of hippies affect local culture and economics at the time?
6. Describe the lifestyle of the hippies who settled in Anjuna. What were their everyday routines like?
7. Were there any notable hippie festivals or gatherings in Anjuna?
8. How has the interaction between the local community and hippie settlers changed over time?

9. Were there any issues or clashes between hippies and local residents?
10. How has the hippie period shaped Anjuna's identity and culture today?
11. At the time of the Indian tourists arriving in Goa, what was the situation in Anjuna with regards to the hippies and the Indian tourists at a time in the same location?
12. How has the hippie influence affected Anjuna's identity and culture today?
13. Do any hippie-era landmarks still exist in Anjuna?
14. Have you seen any changes in Anjuna after the hippy movement's decline?
15. How has the hippie period affected the idea of Anjuna as a tourist destination?
16. How has the Government in Goa supported the locals in this field?
17. What are the kind of stereotypical remarks that you have come across given that you are a resident of Anjuna?