

# Spirit of Tavernas: Architectural Analysis and the Role of Goan Society in Shaping Them

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**Abstract**— This research was driven by the author's curiosity about the intricate connection between the architecture of tavernas and the role of Goan society in shaping them. It was an effort to answer questions about the fate of hyperlocal cultural spaces as the community around them evolved, especially in a migration-affected context like Goa. The study explored whether tavernas were defined more by their physical spaces or the cultural practices that nurtured it, and if either could survive without the other.

The taverna, a traditional local bar serving country liquor, has been an important element of Goan society's daily life. This research focuses on the architectural changes of Goan tavernas, examining how they have evolved in response to social and economic shifts in society, especially due to urbanization.

Initially, tavernas were simple extensions of homes, where a small room at the front of a house served as a counter for Feni, a local spirit. As demand increased, these spaces became independent structures built from local materials, featuring simple layouts and furniture. However, after Goa's liberation, the introduction of Indian-Made Foreign Liquor (IMFL) triggered a significant typology shift, transforming traditional tavernas into modern bars and restaurants.

The research used historical data to understand the early design of tavernas and the factors that led to their transformation. Case studies were conducted in urban working-class neighbourhoods, religiously influenced regions, and commercial spaces to examine the changes in tavernas' designs and functions.

One key finding was that verandahs and thresholds, once social spaces for community interaction, were redefined. Many were rented for illicit activities like gambling, losing their original communal purpose. The study also found that IMFL, longer drinking hours, and economic migration led to the rise of more practical-designed tavernas to maximize profitability as the major customer base shifted to the migrant working-class population. Some tavernas merged with general stores or restaurants due to urbanization and land value increase. Additionally, global branding and advertisements modified the façades of tavernas, making them more commercial and less locally distinct.

Despite these changes, traditional materials and designs were still used, reflecting cultural resilience. In conclusion, Goan tavernas have been transformed from community-focused spaces into commercially-driven establishments, raising questions about their cultural and architectural identity in a changing Goan society.

**Keywords**—Taverna, Architecture, Cultural Identity, Urbanization, Goan Society, Social Spaces, Economic Shifts, Functional Adaptations, Thresholds, Place Attachment, Cultural Resilience, Social Drinking

## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper primarily focuses on the architectural analysis of Goan tavernas. It analyses how the evolving social and cultural fabric of Goan society has shaped these spaces, from their origins as intimate, family-run establishments to their current roles as bars and multifunctional venues.

A typical Goan taverna often began in a small village, when family needs surpassed the income from regular sources, and the idea of earning a little extra through a tavern took shape. A corner of the house was repurposed, and a family member, often an aunt or uncle managed the operation. The tavern served a simple menu, offering local snacks like grams or dry mackerel, while the primary focus remained on Feni, the traditional local spirit made from cashew apples or coconut palms. (Sawkar, 2009)



Figure 1: Illustration of Jozhinoz Taverna (1963), Colva in a domestic setting (source: author)

The increasing number of tavernas led to the emergence of independent structures constructed from mud. Architecturally, these tavernas were modest structures, typically measuring 3x3 meters, with simple yet functional features: a single door, a window, and a wooden bench.



**Figure 2: A Traditional Taverna Replica at Big Foot Museum, Loutolim (Source: Author)**

Taverns have played a crucial role in shaping the social fabric of Goa throughout history. Goa's very strong culture, a blend of Portuguese influence and Goan traditions, has embraced taverns and made them its own. The development of tavernas in Goa cannot be separated from the broader socio-economic and cultural shifts over centuries.

However, with time, these traditional tavernas have begun to transform. According to the article "Portuguese Era Taverns - Dying a slow death?" by Herald, In 1984, a shift occurred when the Goan government allowed taverns to convert into bars and restaurants in 1984, provided they offered basic facilities and served Indian Made Foreign Liquor (IMFL). Many owners saw this as a chance to modernize. Soon Goa saw a rush to upgrade taverns into bars and restaurants that catered to a new, broader clientele. Therefore, this study analyses whether Goan taverns have evolved by adapting to changes or if they have resisted societal shifts, maintaining their role as crucial communal spaces in a rapidly changing culture.

## II. NEED FOR STUDY

The number of tavernas in Goa has dropped drastically over the years, making this study important. As of 31st March 2023, records from the Excise Department show there are only 123 tavernas left in Goa. This is a big decline compared to the 4,787 tavernas recorded in 1992 across 11 talukas, as mentioned in the Herald article "Drinking Booze by the Gallons" on 7th January 1992.

Many tavernas are turning their licenses into bar licenses due to changing social, economic, and legal conditions. This study is critical for understanding the transformation of Goan tavernas as these spaces are slowly losing their cultural roots and transforming into new concepts.

To preserve this space's disappearing identity and offer guidelines for upcoming design decisions, it is crucial to maintain documentation.

## III. AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

Aim of this research paper is analyse the architectural changes and cultural shifts in Goan taverns in response to social influences.

In order to achieve the aim the following objectives should be achieved:

1. To derive historical data for understanding the original design and use of traditional taverns in Goa.
2. To examine how Goan life and social interactions have changed over time, focusing on the broader shifts in social patterns and trends.
3. To document the existing taverns with a focus on their architectural design and interior changes.
4. To analyze the impact of the transformation in Goa's social life and changing trends on the architectural design of the taverns.

## IV. METHODOLOGY

*Step 1: To derive historical data on taverns.*

To compile historical information about tavernas, the research begins with a thorough review of the literature. This is critical to fully understand how tavernas have changed over time.

*Literature Review:* Toner, D. (2011). Everything in its right place? Drinking places and social spaces in Mexico City, c. 1780-1900. *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, 25(1-2), 69-92.

This article offers insights into how similar research has been conducted in Mexico City which is a different cultural setting providing help in the framework of my research.

*Historical data on taverns:* For the specific case of Goan taverns, I review the article Rodrigues, M. P. de M. (2007). Taverna and its socio-economic impact in colonial Goa. In T. R. de Souza, *Metahistory*. This article provides the groundwork for understanding how taverns functioned throughout colonial times by providing important historical insights.

*Legislative Frameworks:* Historical regulations and new regulations for tavernas are examined, including Diploma Legislation No. 334 (September 17, 1928), as well as Taverna Excise Department Rules and Regulations (1964).

*Site Visit and Interview:* A visit to the Big Foot Museum in Loutolim, Goa for an interview with the founder MaendraAlvares and an analysis of the replica of the typical Goan tavern.

*Step 2: Understanding the changing social trends in Goa concerning public drinking.*

*Literature Review:* Pereira, B. V. C. (2015). One for the Road: The Role of Alcohol in Goan Society offers an in-depth analysis of alcohol's impact on the Goan social structure.

*Interviews (Primary data):* To conduct a series of interviews with tavern enthusiasts and customers of taverns in Goa.

*Step 3: Documenting and analysing the existing taverns through case studies.*

To document and analyse the case studies I follow the methodological approach by Burte, H. (2008). Space for Engagement: The Indian art place and a habitational approach to architecture.

To suit the particular setting of my research, which focuses on the function of tavernas in Goan culture, I have modified this framework.

*Case study selection is done through purposive sampling.*

This step also helps me achieve considerable information for Objective 2 from the case study analysis, particularly about how modern societal trends affect the layout and usage of tavernas.

*Step 4: Analysing the impact of changing Goan society on tavern architecture and its interrelation.*

The last stage combines the results of Objective 1, Objectives 2 and 3 to analyse how the architectural styles and spatial arrangements of Goan tavernas are being influenced by shifting societal trends. Step 5: Forming the Final Conclusion and Discussion: Synthesize the findings from the architectural analysis, historical data, and social study to draw conclusions. This will include a discussion comparing the Goan tavernas to Mexican cantinas, analyzing how these establishments operate within their respective contexts and what this reveals about taverns globally.

## V. THE ORETICAL PREMISE

In this study, I aim to reinterpret Himanshu Burte's elements of architecture from Space for Engagement to develop a framework for analyzing Goan tavernas.

In Space for Engagement, Himanshu Burte explores the relationship between architecture and human interaction, proposing that architecture should transcend functional purposes to foster deeper connections and engagement among individuals. Burte identifies five key elements for creating spaces that encourage sociocultural participation: occupiability, penetrability, legibility, sociability and possessability. These elements form a methodological approach for analyzing how spaces are experienced, interacted and personalized.

*Occupiability:* refers to how well a space accommodates and supports human presence, making individuals feel comfortable and connected. In my study, I reinterpret this concept as The Evolution of the Taverna Typology, examining how the design and layout of tavernas have evolved over time to meet the changing needs of their users

*Penetrability:* reinterpreted as Tavern Thresholds: The Architecture of Entry and Social Transition. This concept focuses on how the design of the entrance and the transition from public to private spaces in tavernas shape the social dynamics within.

*Legibility:* This focuses on the clarity of a space. How easily it can be understood and navigated by its users. For tavernas, I reinterpret this as The Architecture of Visibility and Identity, examining how architectural features make tavernas distinct, recognizable, and culturally meaningful within their local context.

*Sociability and Possessibility:* Sociability, in Burte's framework, is about how spaces encourage social interactions, while possessibility explores how individuals can personalize and feel ownership of a space. In my study, I merge and reinterpret these as memory and place attachment to study how tavernas create a sense of belonging and continuity in Goan culture.

This reinterpretation provides a framework to analyse the relation between Taverna's architecture and Goan society.

## VI. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF TAVERNAS IN GOA

### A. Portuguese Influence and the Emergence of Tavernas

From the Portuguese conquest in 1510 to India's annexation of Goa in 1961, colonialism highly influenced Goan culture, religion, social structures, and architecture.



The Portuguese introduced the cashew plant and adapted local fermentation techniques in Goa to produce feni, a drink integral to Goan heritage. Only licensed tavernas, called Tavernas Licenciadas, were allowed to serve feni, becoming the main venues for social drinking. (Cruz e Pereira, 2015)



**Figure 3: A name plate depicting the Tavernas Licenciadas number in Jozhinoztaverna( 1963) colva( Source- Colva Chronicles)**

By 1920, tavernas were mostly owned by Casados (mixed-race couples). These tavernas were often run from homes, with owners serving feni through a window. The businesses closed by 8:30 p.m., after the angelus bell, showing their close integration with the community. Tavernas were also a key source of government revenue, with the College of St. Paul leasing spaces and providing barrels for toddy storage. (Cruz e Pereira, 2015)

The Portuguese regulated distilleries until 1925, but only tavernas could serve larger volumes of alcohol. (Cruz e Pereira, 2015) The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 allowed European imports, creating a divide between elite drinking clubs and community tavernas. While tavernas faced a downturn in 1886 due to taxation, the rise of laborers at Mormugao port boosted their sales (Rodrigues, 2007).

In 1928, some areas with a population of just 300 people, there were as many as four taverns located within a three-kilometer stretch. Interestingly, the number of taverns was even higher than the number of grocery stores in the same region. This led to concerns, and people appealed to the government to control the number of taverns and limit their operating hours. In 1932, new regulations restricted tavernas near schools and police stations (Diploma Leg. No. 334, 1928), but they remained close to religious sites like churches.

During Goa's fight for liberation in the 1950s, tavernas became hubs for political discussions, with Taverna Central in Mapusa serving as a meeting place for activists. ("Drinking Booze by the Gallon," 1992)

#### *B. Post-Liberation Social Evolution*

Significant changes in Goa's societal structure have occurred since its liberation. The focus has shifted from traditional occupations such as farming and fishing to jobs in industries and other sectors. Many migrants flock to Goa due to increasing development and new job opportunities. Beach shacks, upmarket bars, bar and restaurants are on the rise. The attitude regarding public drinking has also changed. The government's industrialisation policy has caused a major impact on the alteration of drinking habits in Goa. This is due to the setting up of many I.M.F.L. (Indian-made foreign liquor) manufacturing units, as I.M.F.L. (Indian-made foreign liquor) has increased the consumption time of alcohol, resulting in longer occupancy durations. Due to the length of their stay, people are seeking a more pleasant environment for drinking.

Customers prefer to visit upgraded taverns with facilities like live bands, music, neon lights, game screenings, television etc. Better education, development and growth of capitalism have impacted the Goan social settings concerning alcohol consumption. For example, it has led to consumers preferring more expensive beverages; those who previously consumed feni have switched to IMFL.

Socioeconomic changes have also had an impact on feni consumption. What was previously a popular drink, associated with Goan culture is now stigmatized as a "poor man's drink". This impact is deeply noticeable in tavernas. On the positive side, Earlier alcohol-related taboos among Hindus are considerably weakened. The younger generation does not perceive alcohol consumption as 'polluting'. Young people, with access to more pocket money, engage in alcohol consumption and urban residents are more liberal than their rural counterparts. Women have also begun consuming alcohol in public drinking places. (Cruz e Pereira, 2015, pp. 97-98). Thus, the sociological impact of changing Goan society on alcohol consumption may be seen in three major categories: age, gender, and community.

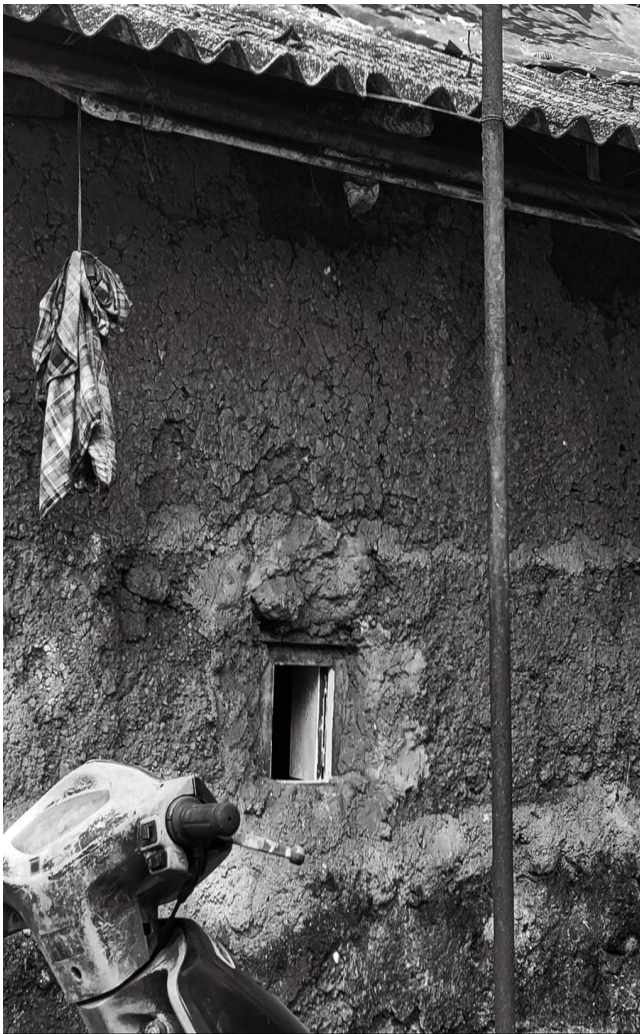
#### *C. Societal Attitude Towards Women and Alcohol*

Alcohol use was predominantly perceived as a male domain, while women's roles were often associated with food and domestic responsibilities. Therefore, tavernas were male-dominated and associated with lower social strata. Crude language and social ridicule further discouraged women from visiting these spaces.

Historically, a woman consuming alcohol alone in a tavern was frequently presumed to be a sex worker, hence deterring women from frequenting these spaces.

This led to a “burrak system”. Burrak was a tiny opening on the rear side of a taverna. It was intended to serve feni shots to women discreetly through the small opening. Many taverns had this system for women to get alcohol without being noticed by the villagers.

Additionally, this arrangement was utilised by men who wished not to be seen in the setup. This was also caused by the strict rules in place during the Portuguese era. After the designated hours, alcohol was sold using the burrak. The word “burrak” is now used to describe establishments that sell alcohol illegally.



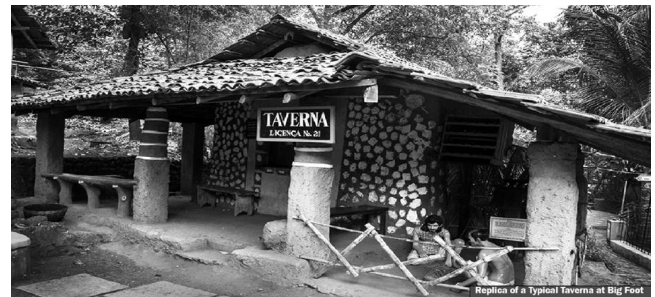
**Figure 4: Burrak system in a Chimbel Taverna (Source: author)**

## VII. REIMAGINING OLD TAVERNAS: MUSEUM INSIGHTS

The purpose of analyzing taverna replica in a museum is to create a clear image of what a taverna would have looked like in the past. The intent is to understand the physical arrangement of these spaces, as well as their role in the past of Goan society.

### *Taverna Replica at Big-Foot Museum – Loutolim*

In the Big Foot Museum, a carefully reconstructed taverna model serves as evidence of these unique settings. Speaking with Mr. Maendra Alvares, the museum’s curator and founder, according to him, a taverna is essentially a country liquor shop constructed from mudstone. The walls are partly whitewashed to increase its visual appeal and to create an inviting appearance. A defining feature of this replica is a long veranda that extends the space outdoors. Thus inviting people to gather and relax in an open-shaded environment. The veranda is a crucial aspect of the taverna, encouraging social interactions and informal discussions in villages.



**Figure 5: Image of Taverna Replica Source: Maendra Alvares**

Inside the taverna replica, the primary focal point of the space is a solid wooden counter that is mounted to a service window. The counter is an essential part of the taverna, where customers are served. Alongside it, there is often an antique hand-operated soda machine known locally as “guddisoda,” which adds an authentic touch to the experience. A popular feature of Goan tavern culture, the soda machine recreates the sights and sounds of a traditional taverna.

The seating typically consists of mud and wooden plank benches. In addition to a space for public drinking, tavernas also serve as a gathering spot for villagers to play tablem(Ludo) and other indoor games like carrom.





**Figure 6: Image of Taverna Replica Source: Author**



**Figure 7: Image of Guddi Soda Machine Source: Author**

#### **VIII. SAMPLE CASE STUDY: ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF DOMNIC BAR (1955)**

Domnic Bar is in the village of ArossimCansaulim in South Goa's Mormugao. Being in a quiet, less crowded area, it offers a peaceful place to relax. The bar was built in 1955 by Ana Ruzada Costa E Fernandes. Now, her daughter, Fatima Fernandes, and her brother run it. Locals fondly call Fatima "Maim."

The bar has always been a favourite spot in the neighbourhood, especially for local fishermen and toddy tappers who come here on a daily routine. Domnic Bar opens twice daily: from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and again from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m.



**Figure 8: Domnic Bar source: author**

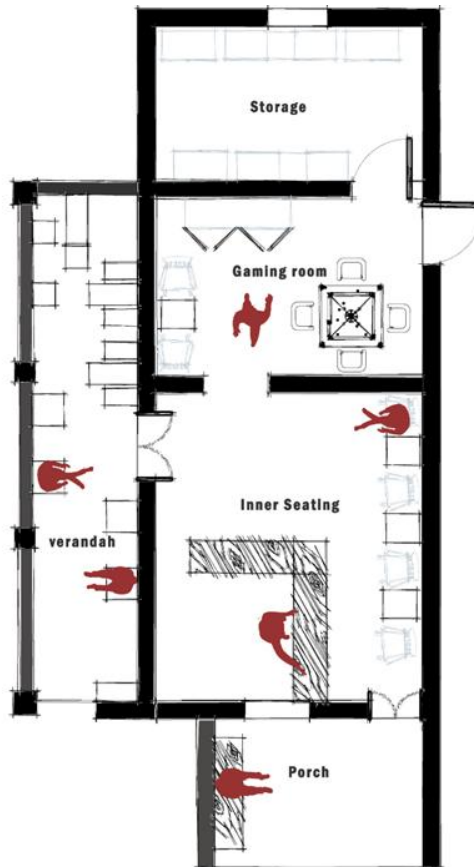
#### ***Planning and Occupancy:***

Domnic's taverna initially functioned through a window of a house. Back then, there were benches in the porch area for people to sit. Later, an additional space for a varenda was built to provide more seating for the tavern. Eventually, the entire house was converted into the bar that it is today.

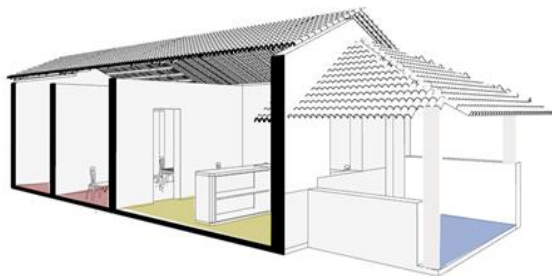
The existing structure of the Domnic bar is divided into different spaces for distinct functions.

The porch at the front is a public space, where people enter the bar. It's open and easily accessible, making it a welcoming area for anyone who wants to stop by. On the left side, there's a verandah that's semi-open.

This space has built-in seating. Inside, the bar has a simple layout. One side has seating arranged in a straight line, facing the bar counter. Most of the chairs face the counter because the TV is placed there, and people enjoy watching it while chatting with the owner.

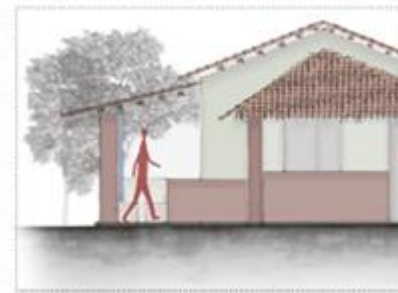


**Figure 9: Modified Plan of Domnic Bar**

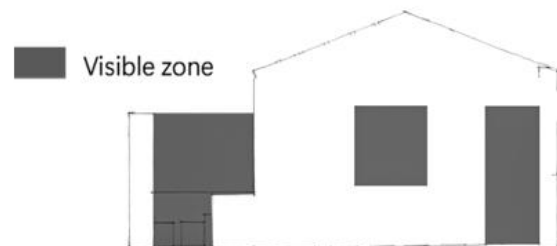


**Figure 10: Division of spaces into (porch), Semi Public (Bar seating) and private (game room + storage) spaces**

*Tavern Thresholds:* The architecture of entry and social transition Domnic Bar has two entry points: First is the tiny gate on the left to the verandah. It creates a layered threshold between the public street and the bar. It offers moments of pause before fully entering the inner space. It is used by regular customers who have a habitual connection with the place. The large main door on the right offers a more direct transition from the street into the bar. Domnic Bar feels open and easy to access when you first see it. The porch at the front is a friendly spot where people can gather for quick chats without going inside. The window next to it creates a small divide, from the outside world, yet keeping a visual connection



**Figure 11: Front Elevation of the structure**

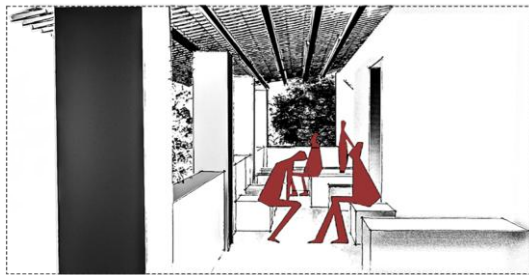


**Figure 12: Visual Opacity of the structure**

*Memory and Place Attachment:* Domnic Bar has a strong sense of place attachment, especially because of its verandah.

The verandah has inbuilt cube-shaped seating, making it a cosy, semi-open space where many people enjoy sitting. The bar area is filled with regulars who are known by the owner, Fatima, called "Maim" by the locals. This connection with the owner creates a feeling of belonging. People sit, talk, and enjoy each other's company.

The TV and radio add to the vibe, especially when customers play Konkani katar (songs) on the radio. When I visited for my case study, the customers themselves showed me around and even convinced Maim to let me study the place. This shows how attached they are to the space and how much they consider it their own. They feel a sense of ownership and pride in the bar, making it a place they want to share with others. This attachment is a key part of what makes Domnic Bar feel like a second home to its regulars.



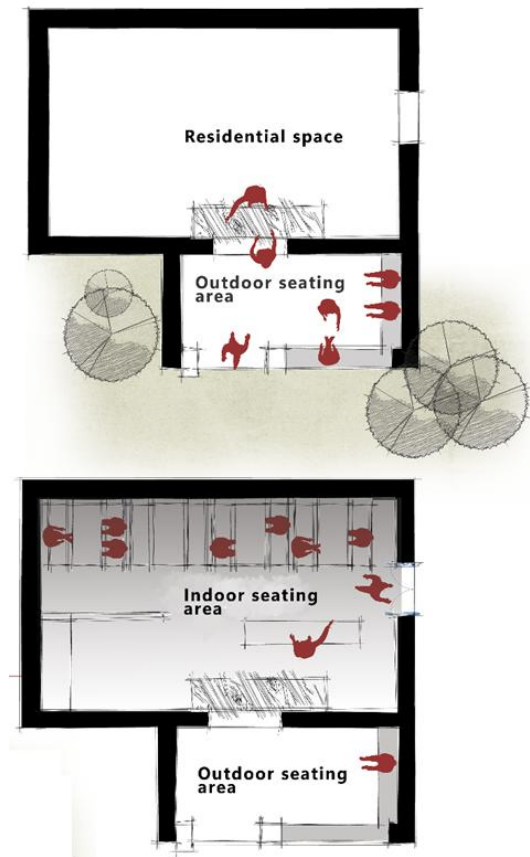
**Figure 13: Varendra with built-in seating In Domnic Bar**

## IX. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### A. Evolution of the Taverna Typology

#### *Initial Setup:*

Tavernas originally operated through a window of a house or an existing room. Feni shots were passed through the window and quickly consumed by customers. It was consumed either before heading to work in the morning or after a tiring workday at sunset. The interaction was brief, with no need for extended stays or seating; there was a single wooden bench provided for seating.



**Figure14 : Evolution of Johnson Bar (1955) Quepem, layout Source: author**

#### *Post-Liberation Changes:*

1. The introduction of Indian-Made Foreign Liquor (IMFL) after Goa's liberation altered drinking habits.
2. IMFL, consumed with mixers like soda and soft drinks, required more time to drink as it was slowly sipped.
3. Customers began to stay longer, creating a need for a seating area.

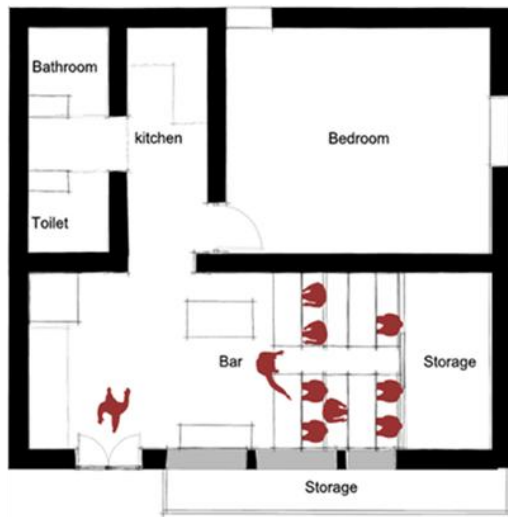


*Typology Shift:*

To accommodate this change, the taverna's layout evolved. Rooms previously used for other purposes were converted into inner seating areas. Tavernas transformed from quick-service counters into spaces for socializing, where customers could relax and enjoy their drinks over extended time.

Tukaram Bar initially shared space with a family home, converting the living room into a seating area for customers. Although the family eventually moved out after financial improvements, the spatial arrangement remained unchanged. Similarly, Jozhinoz Taverna, located near the beach, primarily served fishermen who would enjoy a quick feni shot in the outer seating area before heading to work.

As houses transitioned into bars, indoor seating replaced outdoor arrangements to accommodate more customers and adapt to changing demands. Entertainment elements like carrom boards or televisions were introduced due to the longer occupancy times resulting from increased consumption.



**Figure 15 :Tukaram Bar—Residential setting**

Initially, feni was stored in traditional earthen pots, collso, mounted on wooden planks supported by iron rods, requiring minimal storage space. However, the introduction of IMFL (Indian Made Foreign Liquor) necessitated additional storage for bottles, mixers, and freezers, leading to the development of storage rooms and cabinets, reflecting the diversification of bar infrastructure.



**Figure 16 :Feni stored in collso( earthen pot) in Silva's Taverna (source- author)**

In spaces with limited room for additional storage, ceiling-mounted cabinets were introduced to free up floor space for seating. To access these elevated cabinets, a rope-and-pulley mechanism was formed, allowing efficient use of vertical space while maintaining functionality.



**Figure 17 :Storage cabinets mounted to the ceiling with rope pulley mechanism**

**TABLE I**  
**ANALYSIS 1**

SOCIAL CHANGE	ARCHITECTURAL RESPONSE	IMPACT ON TAVERN EXPERIENCE	INFERENCE
ALCOHOL LAWS AND REGULATIONS (EXCISE DEPT. RULES, 1964)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bars are prohibited near schools, places of worship, and labor colonies, but exceptions for estate successors allow many taverns to remain close to churches and chapels today.</li> <li>• Despite the prohibition, bars near industrial areas continue to serve truck drivers on duty.</li> </ul>	Users experience more privacy, creating a sense of discretion while drinking in close-knit villages, especially on Sundays or during religious events, avoiding the judgment of family members or villager	Proximity to worship places influences patron behavior and the spatial arrangement of taverns, prompting them to create discreet areas and conceal activities to align with community norms.

As seating spaces moved inside, verandahs and porches became vacant, so tavern owners started renting out this spaces for illegal gambling activities like matko. Goa Public Gambling Act prohibits illegal gambling, yet local bars often rent out their verandas or porch areas or any additional spaces to matka sellers and gamblers. This practice highlights an irony in the law, as establishments that are technically breaking the regulations still operate openly, reflecting a disconnect between legislation and local customs.

*The Architecture of Visibility and Identity: H Burte’s Methodological Approach—Legibility Reinterpreted*

The visibility of most tavernas studied is generally low due to the residential architecture style, making their function less obvious. Tavernas with medium or high visibility typically have modifications like advertisements or billboards using bright colors of global brands. The visibility of all tavernas studied was low. The reason was Goa tavernas were never about visibility. They thrived on community engagement. But now as the social dynamics are changing, these spaces are going unnoticed. Tavernas with medium or high visibility typically have modifications like advertisements or billboards using bright colors of global brands.



**Figure 18 :Legibility of tavernas**

### B. Impact of Advertising and Commercialization

Since this spaces are born in residential setting, The function of this spaces went unrecognized by passersby. So to draw attention owners opted for global brand advertisements on its façade. As this companies also provide them with financial aids and façade maintenance. This has created a more commercial appearance losing its identity. Taverns without global brand advertisements retained their original identity but had low legibility. Only locals who knew about the place would visit, limiting their customer base to familiar local customers only.



Figure 19 :Facade of tavernas studied



Mapuca- Cabin- Mapusa

Figure 20 :Facade of Mapuca Cabin Taverna

*Inference:* Most tavernas are built with key elements like porches or verandahs and the well-known taverna window, creating a gradual transition from the outside to the inside. These porches, while no longer used for the old custom of drinking feni outside, still play an important role. They act as welcoming spaces that connect the public street to the private bar inside.

The taverna window is also meaningful. In the past, it served as a spot where people could buy drinks from outside while standing in the porch area. This window still holds strong symbolism, keeping a visual link between the inside of the bar and those outside. It's a semi-open barrier, allowing people to see in but still marking a boundary. Together, the porch, verandah, and window create a flow of spaces that guide people from the street into the taverna. They offer different levels of visibility and openness, letting people decide how they want to enter and participate.

TABLE II  
ANALYSIS 2

SOCIAL CHANGE	ARCHITECTURAL RESPONSE	IMPACT ON TAVERN EXPERIENCE	INFERENCE
SECURITY CONCERNS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Addition of <b>Iron Grills</b>.</li> <li>• Addition of <b>false ceilings</b>.</li> <li>• Modifying of large tavern windows</li> </ul>	Safer environments but with reduced openness	Due to increase in crimes like robbery Taverns prioritize safety over the open, communal atmosphere of earlier times.




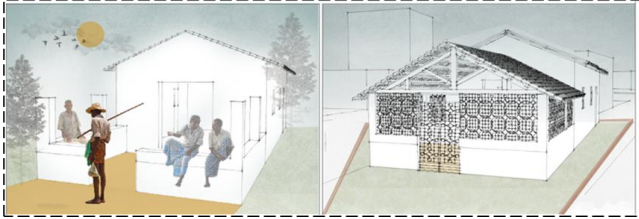
		
<b>K Shirodkar Bar- Saligao (1929)</b>  A wooden false ceiling installed beneath terracotta tile roofing for easier maintenance	<b>Francis Bar and Restaurant- Mala (1994)</b>  Cement board false ceiling installed due to past 17 robberies from breaking through the terracotta roof	<b>Domnic Bar- Arrossim (1955)</b>  Cement board and plywood false ceiling installed with slight ornamentation for the purpose of safety and aesthetics

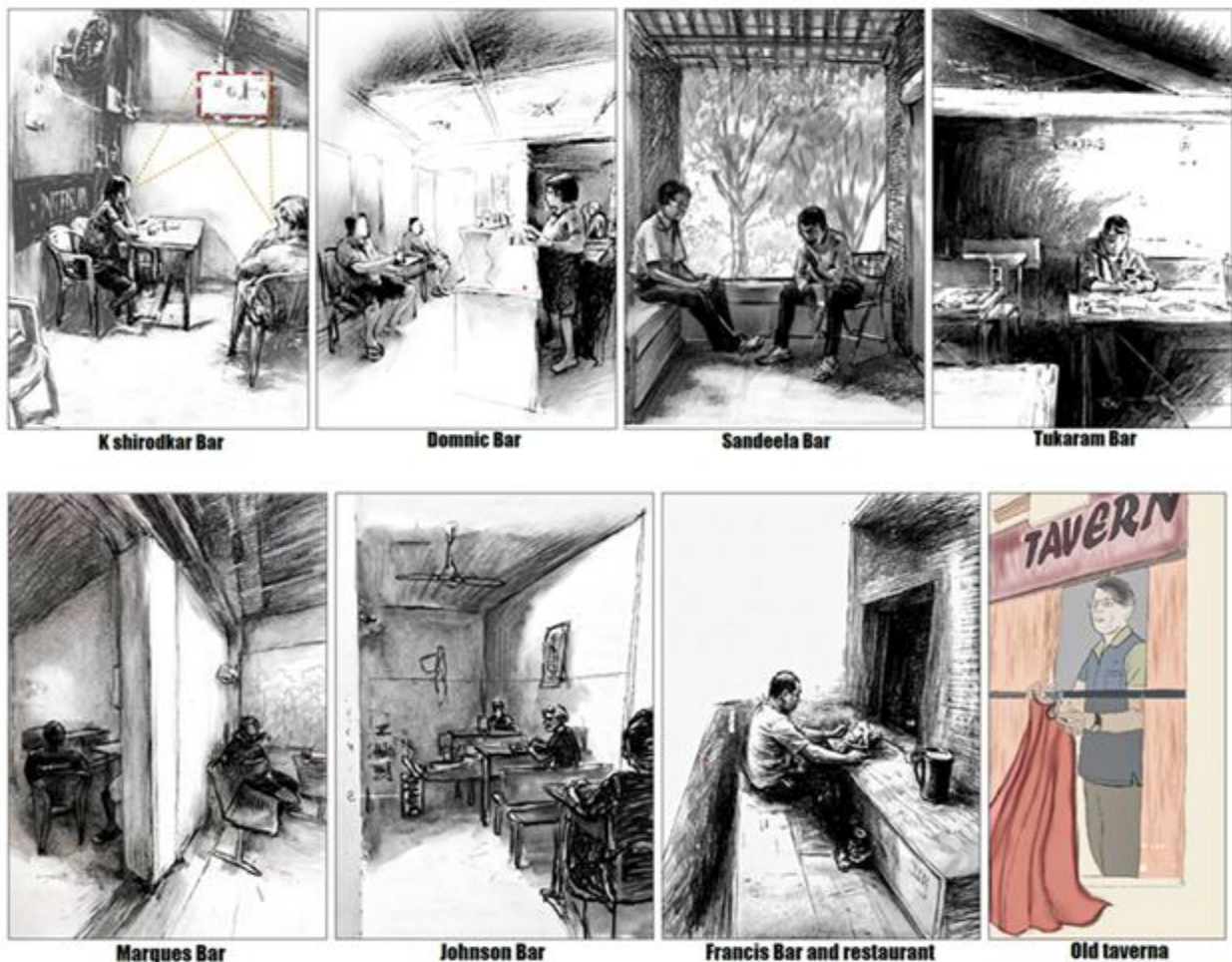
Figure 21 :Ceiling Analysis





**Figure 22 :Marques Bar modifications made**

Originally, the structure had an open front porch area which made the activities spill out. Modifications were made in response to problems including robbery and privacy concerns as the number of robberies in localities increased.



**Figure 23 :Sketchesre presenting social dynamics of selected case studies**

### *C. Memory and Place attachment*

#### *H Burte's Methodological Approach—Sociability and possesibility reinterpreted*

The attachment people feel to taverns in Goa is connected to the kind of place each tavern creates for its specific customers. Each tavern attracts a certain group of people based on its location, size, and atmosphere.

For example, Tukaram bar, near Verna Industrial Estate, draws in factory workers and truck drivers. Its small, rustic look makes these workers feel comfortable and fits their budget. It feels familiar, like an affordable place where they belong.

Other taverns, like Domnic and Sandeela bar, with their verandahs and porches, attract local customers who come out of habit.



These taverns feel open and welcoming, making them ideal for people who enjoy routine visits. Small details, like a curtain in an old Mapusa taverna, show how they signal to their regulars when they're open. This lets people passing by know it's time to stop in, showing a simple way of making regulars feel at home. In all of these cases, the design and feel of each tavern build strong connections between the place and the people who visit. Each tavern's setup, whether it's rustic, open, or cozy, creates a sense of attachment for its regular customers.

#### *D. Impact of Limited Urban Space and Multi-functional Use*

In densely populated urban areas, taverns have adapted to limited space by transforming into multi-functional establishments. Many taverns now share their space with general stores, small restaurants, or even residential units, making them more economically viable. This adaptation reflects a practical response to space limitations, as well as an attempt to reach a wider customer base.

Due to these changes, the traditional tavern is evolving into what is now often labeled as a "bar and restaurant." This shift allows taverns to continue operating and remain relevant despite economic pressures, but it also changes the nature of the experience. With these adaptations, we now see three main categories of taverns emerging in Goa:

1. Traditional Local Spots:
2. Modern Air-Conditioned Bars and Restaurants
3. Upscale Establishments for Tourists:

#### *E. Economic Migration and Its Impact on Design:*

Economic migration, particularly the influx of a working-class, migrant population, has influenced tavern design and function. To accommodate this demographic, some taverns are taking on a purely functional approach. This means that they are designed and modified for practical use, with fewer investments in cultural or aesthetic elements. Taverns catering to a working-class clientele prioritize affordability and simplicity over decor, creating spaces that are accessible and economically friendly. This change leads to a more utilitarian atmosphere, focusing on practical, low-cost materials and functional design that meets the needs of a working class community rather than focusing on ambiance or heritage.

## X. CONCLUSION

### *Conclusion: The Changing Landscape of Tavernas in Goa*

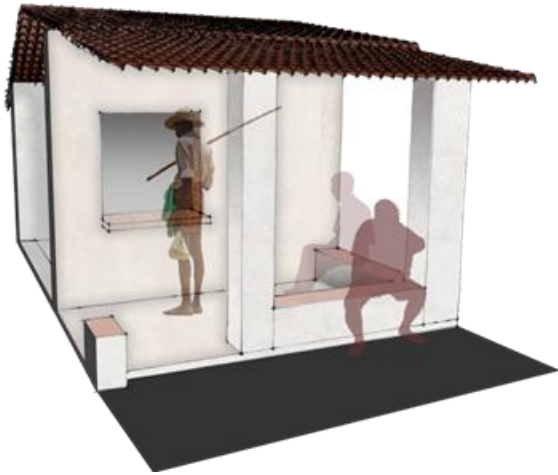
This research has traced the evolution of Goan taverns from traditional, community-centered spaces to more commercialized, multi-functional venues, largely influenced by the changing social patterns, economic shifts, and urbanization pressures in Goan society. Through historical analysis, we understood that traditional taverns originally served as key social spaces, where locals gathered not only to drink but to connect, play games, and share stories. The early design of these taverns, marked by simple features like verandahs and open thresholds, reinforced a sense of place and belonging within the local community.

However, as Goa's social dynamics evolved and urban development intensified, taverns faced pressure to adapt. Rising land values, economic migration, and shifting social structures in Goan society led to a decline in local customers and an increase in migrant working-class customers. This prompted tavern owners to prioritize functional, low-cost adaptations over traditional design elements. Ownership types have played a significant role in these changes: family-owned taverns have tended to preserve cultural features when possible, while rented taverns in urban centers often prioritize modifications for profit, sometimes at the expense of authentic architectural characteristics. Advertising and signage on the façades have become prominent, for Taverna's identity.

Through the documentation of existing taverns, it is clear that traditional design and place attachment have been increasingly compromised by economic demands, tourism, and changes in Goan society. Yet, the essence of Goan taverns survives in spaces that balance cultural memory with basic functional changes.

By examining these shifts, this research highlights the ongoing tension between preserving authenticity and adapting to survive. This captures the layered, evolving identity of Goan taverns as they meet the demands of a transforming society.

As urbanization and migration continue to change Goa, these small yet significant structures are being sidelined, overshadowed by the larger focus on preserving grand, elite buildings. Why is it that while we protect monumental heritage, we ignore the very spaces that reflect the true spirit of Goan life? If we continue to let these taverns to transform or vanish, we risk losing a piece of Goa's cultural identity that cannot be replicated.



**Figure 24: Illustration of a taverna setting**

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