

Parallels in Goa

International Tourism and the New Imperialism

Vikram Gill

April, 2006

Indian Paradise. The phrase is an attractive draw that is meant to describe the idyllic setting of Goa, a state on the mid-west coast of the Indian subcontinent. But a look beyond its slick façade uncovers a chasm of history, current processes, and questions about the future. Is Goa ‘Indian?’ Is it just a paradise? Or does it embody both of these qualities, and if so, to what extent is this paradise distinctly *Indian*? This paper will outline the historical, political, and economic situation of Goa’s past, present, and possible future, and how these intertwine to give a better understanding of the phrase in question. In the past few decades, mass tourism has changed the face of Goa, not to mention its presence in the western world. As globalization becomes a blind international force, western capital is taking a trip around the world, stopping to invest in foreign markets without the local knowledge that is essential to an understanding of unique developing world cultures. In the following paper, I use concepts of mass tourism, power imbalances, and the built environment to suggest that there is a new imperialism taking hold of exotic spaces through the globalized tourism industry. I implant this theory into the case of Goa, and parallel the time of Portuguese colonial rule

in the 16th century with present day Goa to provide shocking correlations that attest to the existence of a new imperialism in this specific locality.

GOA'S HISTORY

Goa's history is one that is riddled with outside influences. From almost as early as people could travel, the picturesque, fertile lands and impossibly long shoreline of the small state have seen everything from curiosity to colonial invasion. Long before contact with the Portuguese colonialists, Goa was the capital of the Kadamba dynasty, which began rule over that region of India in the 10th century.¹ Even before this, it was a part of numerous Indian empires and land-control arrangements. The area's major religion was Hinduism, although Buddhism was also prevalent and respected by other groups.² Thanks in part to its 101 kilometres of coastline, Goa gained prominence after the 10th century as a major shipping port.³ Its strategic position on the mid-West coast of India allowed access to and from key points in the Middle East, Africa, and even Europe. Abundant trade with Arab countries introduced Islam to the region, and many Muslim merchants and businessmen took root in Goa. Because only the most successful Arab people could make the move to a foreign land, they occupied the upper echelons of Goan society. This opened the door for the 14th century attacks and invasions from the Bahamani kingdom, a group of Muslim conquerors that controlled the Deccan region of India north of Goa, and also many parts of Southern India.⁴ Although it was briefly conquered by a Hindu empire,⁵ Goa remained under Muslim control for the next century and a half, until contact with the Portuguese colonialists. Also,

¹ "The Pre-Portugese Era," *Goan History*, 21 March, 2006 <<http://www.goacom.com/culture/history>>

² Romesh Bhandari, *Goa* (New Delhi: Lotus Collection, Roli Books, 1999) 25.

³ "History of Goa," *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*, 25 April, 2006, 21 March, 2006 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Goa>

⁴ Bhandari 36

⁵ Bhandari 37

its historical art, architecture and culture remained very much Indian and in line with the rest of the subcontinent up until this time.⁶

In the 15th century, the Ottoman Empire was expanding through the Middle East, North Africa, and Eastern Europe. The Muslims that controlled this empire were heavily taxing the goods being traded overland between India and Western Europe. Merchants in Europe were desperate for an alternative route to India and looked to the Portuguese to break up the power.⁷ Vasco de Gama was the first Portuguese captain to make the long journey to India. This voyage required rounding the continent of Africa via Cape Town. On his mission, Vasco de Gama gained much knowledge about the West coast of India, and learned that Goa was a wealthy trading centre, which would be incredibly beneficial for Portugal to tap into.⁸ This knowledge was taken back to Portugal with de Gama and later put to fruition with Affonso de Albuquerque's 1509 mission to India, in which he and his crew surprised the Muslim rulers and officially seized the city of Goa in February of 1510.⁹ After a brief takeover by the Bahamani, Albuquerque ordered a massacre of Goa's Muslim inhabitants and recaptured control.¹⁰ The next few years saw the building of a colonial post. Massive fortresses were built up and down the Indian coast, the largest of them in Goa, and the demolition of mosques and Hindu temples made way for Roman Catholic churches built in distinctive Portuguese architectural style.¹¹

The period following this is known by many as the age of "Golden Goa." There was a wealth matched by very few colonized Asian settlements, and the Portuguese colonialists had gained reverence from many locals. Also, Goa was recognized throughout the world as one of the most

⁶ S.K. Joshi, "Defence Architecture in Historical Goa," *Goan Society Through the Age*, ed. B.S. Shastry (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987) 283

⁷ Bhandari 44

⁸ Bhandari 48

⁹ Bhandari 51

¹⁰ "The Portuguese Conquest of Goa," *Goan History*, 21 March, 2006 <<http://www.goacom.com/culture/history>>

¹¹ Bhandari 55

prestigious ports in all of Asia and the Middle East.¹² In just a few decades, the Portuguese had transformed Goa's cultural landscape. Christianity was practiced by much of the population, and architecture and lifestyles reflected the European influence. This was seen as an accomplished feat for Portugal, all during a time when they were gaining recognition as the most powerful naval organization in the world. Of course, this view of prosperity is quite one-sided. As Romesh Bhandari states: "Markets, buildings, churches, cathedrals, and streets bustling with activity with Portuguese landlords, merchants, clergy and the general elite moving around with liveried slaves carrying umbrellas to protect their masters from the scorching Asian sun."¹³ This characterizes the obvious inequality that existed at the time between natives and foreigners, and shows just how subordinate the native people were in the new colonial society. As Goa moved into the 17th century, however, "Golden Goa" began to falter. There were attacks that threatened Portuguese control over Goa by the Dutch (Portugal's long time trade rivals) and the English. Although they failed in their attempt to take control of the colony, the attacks cost the Portuguese a great deal in terms of defence expenses; this at a time when Goa was losing status as a world-class commercial port.¹⁴ After this, Portugal retained a loose grip on Goa until the mid-20th century through the Jesuits, a Christian religious order, as it was no longer financially useful in any significant way.¹⁵

The time of Indian independence in 1947 marked a revolutionary climax to the liberation movement fuelled by the teachings of Ghandi. However, Goa at that time was still under the control of the Portuguese. After Indian independence, it was made very clear that India wanted the Portuguese to relinquish their holdings in the country, as the French had already done.¹⁶ Portugal, however, was not as responsive, and held onto Goa and two other Indian regions. There were

¹² Bhandari 81

¹³ Bhandari 83

¹⁴ Anthony Disney, "Goa in the Seventeenth Century," *The First Portuguese Colonial Empire*, ed. Malyn Newitt (Exeter, UK: Exeter U P, 1986) 86.

¹⁵ "History of Goa"

¹⁶ "History of Goa"

numerous unarmed invasions on the state through the next few years, which usually ended with the Portuguese killing people of the Indian socialist groups that entered. These invading liberators followed Ghandi's ideology of "satyagraha," or passive resistance.¹⁷ Then, in December of 1961, India proceeded with an armed attack on Goa, which lasted 26 hours and claimed Goa as an Indian Union Territory. Today, Goans celebrate 'Liberation Day' on December 19th, the day of the Indian takeover.¹⁸

In the early 1970s, Goa was discovered as a place of freedom from the stresses of western countries. The so-called 'hippie' movement of that time found a laid-back atmosphere in Goa's beautiful surroundings and tropical attitudes.¹⁹ Following the 'hippies' came the charter flights from Germany and Britain, the beginnings of mass tourism, which drew much public protest. However, the government saw this as an opportunity for investment in their newly liberated territory, and after Goa gained status as an Indian state in 1987, tourism was made an official industry.²⁰ Soon thereafter, the government introduced Land Acquisition so that they could take over private property for the benefit of public society. In other words, they wanted to take over private land to sell to investors interested in building tourism projects and infrastructure.²¹ This marked the beginning of the mass tourism era of Goa, which continues today.

MASS TOURISM, GLOBALIZATION, AND GOA

As the bright morning sun rises on thousands of palm trees, a tourist couple lay asleep in their plush 5-star resort hotel bed. They wake up, have a shower and a shave, blowdry their hair, and perhaps even check an email or two through their room's internet plug-in. They exit to the

¹⁷ "Just Looking," *Smithsonian* 33.9 (2002).

¹⁸ "History of Goa"

¹⁹ Oscar G. Pereira, "Tourism in Goa: Risks and Opportunities," *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, ed. Charles J. Borges, et al. (New Delhi: Concept Publication Co., 2000) 94

²⁰ Pereira, "Tourism in Goa," p. 94

²¹ Pereira, "Tourism in Goa," p. 94

outside pool area, which is encapsulated by the surrounding six storey hotel structure. The area is indistinguishable, but stunning; palm trees and ferns punctuate the meandering lagoon-like pool and reclining deck chairs overrun the concrete. The couple takes a short trip through the poolside breakfast buffet (which also plays host to the lunch and dinner buffets), and later proceed to a thatch-roofed hut on the beach to down a cocktail before sun-tanning for a large portion of the afternoon. They had thought about venturing outside of their resort, but were easily discouraged after realizing, on their car-ride from the airport, just how far they were from any local towns; the only attractions in their area are the other hotel resorts that dot the coastline. Regardless, they have taken enough photographs to almost completely regenerate the experience for all their friends back home. Photographs of white sand beaches roped off and guarded by stoic-looking hotel workers; photos of fellow travellers who make up the majority of the resort's daily population, all in various states of tan, from ghost-white to slightly bronzed; photos of the gorgeous pool area, which bear a striking resemblance of those taken on their vacation last year, halfway around the world; and of course, photos of the locals, the hotel workers, who's dark skin and white smiles poke out of the western-style shirts and pants they are forced to wear while serving the tourists. Yes, they will truly be able to share their authentic foreign experience with the folks back home.

The previous description is so indicative of the mass tourist experience that it can be applied to a million experiences of a million people in numerous areas around the world. Mass tourism is a relatively new phenomenon that has exploded with the aid of a revolutionary compression of time and space. People can now travel halfway around the world in hours, as opposed to days and weeks, and in most cases, can do so with instant communication at their fingertips. Travel companies now see the benefit of commodifying travel experiences on a large scale; by moving people in bulk, lower prices are available to consumers and a larger profit is in order. The development and growth of the package holiday, in which tourists pay a fixed price for airfare, accommodation, and in some cases

food and alcohol, has been astounding. Today there are approximately 17 million package holidays sold each year.²² Also, travel companies often profit from the use of direct charter flights, as this is much cheaper than going through the major airlines if enough package travellers are on board. This has been particularly representative of Goa's tourist arrivals, as 50 percent of all foreign charter flights to India arrive in the small state.²³ This lends to the overall boost in incoming tourists to the area, as there are now more than 1.25 million people visiting each year, in a region that has a population of about 1.15 million inhabitants.²⁴ It is crucial to keep in mind that this expansion of the tourism industry has vastly increased the global North to South flow of western visitors to developing countries. As John Urry outlines, the economic and social differences between tourists and locals have a significant impact on how large of a footprint visitors leave in their wake.²⁵

Of course, not all tourists embody the mass tourist narrative. There are many different types of travellers who exhibit a variety of motivations for their foreign journeys. Many seek out the more authentic experience of local culture or the distinctive urban impression. Unfortunately, these people are in the minority because of the planning and cost that go into such vacations. Extensive infrastructure has been set up that caters to the resorts and their bulk affordability. As a result, middle class westerners often find that, financially, package holidays are their only option for exotic travel. Of course, most do not realize that their affordable holiday costs the exotic locality much more than they save. Another possible reason for a difference in travel styles is personality differences. Chris Ryan points to the theory of Yiannakis and Gibson, when they suggest that mass tourists are low risk takers and lack "the cultural self confidence to foray out on their own."²⁶

²² John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, Second Edition (London: Sage Publications, 2002) 46

²³ Pereira, "Tourism in Goa," p. 95

²⁴ Pereira, "Tourism in Goa," p. 95

²⁵ Urry 52

²⁶ Chris Ryan, "Motives, Behaviours, Body and Mind," *The Tourist Experience*, Second Edition, ed. Chris Ryan (London: Continuum, 2002) p. 33, citing A. Yiannakis and H. Gibson, "Roles Tourists Play," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19.2 (1992) 287-303.

The increasing convergence of vacation trends toward a homogenous packaging of paradise is what many present scholars are aiming to highlight. It can be seen throughout the developing world, in places where recent architecture (prompted mostly by multinational corporations) reveals almost nothing about a specific locality's cultural environment. It is design of a uniform western style that maximizes profit and reflects stereotypical images of exotic locations. Michael Morgan does not see this phenomenon as surprising, as he theorizes that homogeneity in resorts is a good thing for new tourists. He states: "...the modern architecture and the multinational logos of the hotels promise an enclave of familiarity and security in a strange and threatening world."²⁷ The problem with this, naturally, is that a region's built landscape is not meant to cushion the cultural shock for incoming foreigners; rather, it should be a manifestation of local needs, history, and culture. It is with this situation that the changes in the nature of tourism become glaringly clear. Historically, tourism was meant to be a temporary experience of a different place, perhaps another culture. Mass tourism and the package holiday have transformed this event into an artificial and diluted expression of locality, and landscapes of the developing world are suffering as a result. In Goa, much of the coastline has fallen victim to this form of globalized homogenization. Resorts like the one described previously are numerous and investors continue to build. Only by venturing outside these areas, to the cities, towns, and inland villages, can one truly get a sense of what Goa really is. Unfortunately, for many tourists, this is not needed, as they are visiting a global construction of paradise.

A major concern in many tourist sites around the world is the issue of overdevelopment. Especially where physical space is at a premium, locals have been fighting to keep their lands, or in some cases, they simply want access to their beaches. Darcus Howe recalls an incident in Tobago, in which he was mistaken for a Black local while lounging on a beach chair, and was promptly told

²⁷ Michael Morgan, "Homogeneous Products: The Future of Established Resorts," *Global Tourism*, Second Edition, ed. William F. Theobald (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998) 321.

to leave by hotel staff, to make way for a European couple.²⁸ This is a perfect example of how local citizens are finding that overdevelopment of their lands and beaches is slowly pushing them out of the picture. In many places, the land that corporations have bought for their hotels are strictly privatized to upkeep a tourist experience for their guests that is far enough removed from local contact. Another pitfall of overdevelopment is actually affecting the tourism industry itself. Overzealous businesspeople are taking advantage of exploding tourist arrivals in Goa, without thinking of the consequences of an oversaturated market, and what all that development will do to the tourist experience in the region. As it is stated in an article in *The Architects' Journal*, "...as is inevitable without foresight, and supranational planning control, a thoughtless, short-term tourist trade is destroying what the tourist loves. The sands become litter-covered and foul, and the sea so polluted that the fishes and plant life which the skin divers seek can no longer survive."²⁹ The article uses the case of the Spanish coast to suggest that these overdeveloped tourist spaces are becoming spoilt, and that in that last few decades, tastes have become more sophisticated, and people want a more 'untouched' landscape to experience. This does not necessarily mean that tourists want a more authentic experience, just one that represents that illusion effectively. In an area where resort development has made an exotic coastline look more like a western, crowded city on the shore, the mass tourist might actually realize the inaccuracy of their experience. This could severely hurt the image and marketing power of these overdeveloped vacation spots.

A serious problem that stems from overdevelopment is environmental degradation. A fear in Goa is that the precious resources it has will be used up by hotels and will be unavailable for local use. Oscar Pereira sees this as a result of the larger international tourism market that has been allowed to flourish through tax and trade privileges: "This situation creates a global hierarchy where

²⁸ Darcus Howe, "In Tobago, I am Told to Move my Beach Chair to Accommodate a White Couple," *New Statesman* 4635 (2003) 12

²⁹ "Beating Up a Coastline," *The Architects' Journal* 18.159: 966.

the large tourism companies can dictate their conditions with the aim of getting fiscal advantages or avoiding the responsibilities and demands linked to the environment.”³⁰ Indeed, there is much evidence in Goa that prove Pereira’s comments true. First is the issue of drinking water. For years, locals have protested the arrival of charter flights. At the forefront of this intensive development opposition is ‘Goan Alert,’ a community group that has consistently revealed environmental and social injustices done by the tourism industry. One of their statements to disembarking passengers of European charters is: "Our limited resources cannot be sacrificed to fulfill your craving for luxury. Our people *don't* have enough drinking water because it is used by the hotels so that you can swim in their pools. Everything has its limits, including our patience. . . ."³¹ It seems as though resorts are doing whatever it takes to meet the excessive needs of their guests, regardless of the drain it has on local conditions. Another example of this is the loose regulations set by the Indian government which are often and easily broken by hotel developers. A law limiting development from 200 metres from the shoreline (already compromised from a more ecologically sound 500 metres) has been breached numerous times, with hotels building structures a mere 90 metres away from the coast. A resort of note that has come to embody the illegality of tourism development is the US-controlled Ramada resort in South Goa.³² This sticks with the theory that foreign transnational developers are most disregarding of local regulation and situation. And because of the abundant wealth these resorts bring into the area, state officials seem content to look the other way.

After poring over the numerous negative impacts of tourism that effect local conditions, it is easy to demonize the industry. However, tourism *is* still a profitable industry, and Goa’s largest one. There have been numerous advantages to being a world-famous representation of Indian paradise. Most notably, the economic situation in Goa is much better off than in many other Indian states. It

³⁰ Pereira, “Tourism in Goa,” p. 92

³¹ Petra Losch, “Don’t Come to Goa,” *Earth Island Journal* 5.3 (1990) 12.

³² Losch, “Don’t Come to Goa,” p. 13.

is known to be much wealthier on average, mostly because of the many jobs that the local resorts provide. However, in many developing countries, mass tourism is seen as a benefit just for creating jobs for locals, when in reality, the land once owned by these people is making far more money than they collectively earn. Tourism started to gain momentum in Goa in the 1980s, and as interest grew, so did land values and property taxes. As a result, many farmers (Goa's main industry before tourism was agriculture) were forced to sell their land to the big hotel chains. These same people who used to own and control their native lands have been reduced to working low-wage jobs for hotel resorts in order to survive, as there are few alternate job opportunities in the region.³³ Mass tourism, in the end, benefits those who created it.

PARALLELS TO A NEW IMPERIALISM

In *Goa to Me*, Teotonio de Souza recalls an unintentionally striking quotation from a chapter on 'Golden Goa' in Maurice Collins' *The Land of the Great Image*: "For Latins the city was a paradise, a lotus-eating island of the blest, where you could sit on your veranda listening to music as the breeze blew in from the sea, with humble folk within call to minister to your every wish."³⁴ This account is an almost overt representation of the parallels that exist between Portuguese colonial rule in Goa in the 16th century, and the tourist trade that exists there today. It seems that a global culture, rooted in western ideology and fuelled by economic means, has quickly taken over numerous tourist destinations around the world in a new imperialism that works its magic under the guise of harmless and temporary travel. As western pools of capital become too large to fit national borders, transnational companies have been born and multiplied. In this process, an abstract culture of global scope and First-World interest has emerged, reaching a hand of influence over the globe that leaves no country unaffected. The parallels between forceful colonial rule and the international

³³ David Nicholson-Lord, "Against the Western Invaders," *New Statesman* 4617 (2002) 24.

³⁴ Teotonio R. De Souza, *Goa to Me* (New Delhi: Concept Publication Co., 1994) 69.

luxury tourism industry are countless and, in contrast to many scholarly opinions, much too correspondent to simply imply observational coincidence³⁵. The subordination of native Goan people for the benefit of holiday travellers matches the banishment of locals to the bottom of the class-hierarchy and their entrance into servantry five hundred years ago. The demolition of former beachfront properties to allow for new behemoths of ambiguous, unauthentic architectural design corresponds to the demolition of Hindu and Muslim temples to be replaced by Portuguese-influenced Catholic churches and a transformation of religious attitudes. The promise of the tourism industry to bring wealth to the state of Goa directly reflects the promise of the Portuguese colonists to bring western prosperity to the Indian coast. The list goes on, as does the denial that the effects of mass tourism are deeply resonating.

This new imperialism through globalized tourism stems from a foundation of power inequalities. In a present-day world controlled by global market systems, power is usually measured in terms of capital and, in turn, economic livelihood. In developing countries that are en route to integrating into this process, foreign investment from western countries is seen as a mixed blessing. On one hand, there is an instant capital injection into the country's economy. On the other hand, some form of resource, whether it is spatial or fluid, is given up to the incoming corporations. In other words, some form of power is put into the hands of a globally-minded (and often locally-ignorant) organization. And when a multinational corporation builds a hotel on a section of Goa's beach, disregarding local regulations and getting away with it, it is a potent reminder of the local balance of power. As Donald Macleod indicates, "...power, in the guise of the ideas and culturally influenced desires of contemporary tourists, eventually becomes imprinted on the surroundings." He goes one step further, to imply that power ultimately sits in the hands of the consumer, the tourist, who is usually the most uninformed about the issue as anyone in the industry: "[The hotel

³⁵ Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt, *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World* (London: Routledge, 1998) 49.

guests'] ostentatious habitat of the hotel and its grounds, their charmed, unhindered wanderings over land, sea, and air, demonstrate a kind of power, manifestly economic, by motivation cultural, at root ideological."³⁶ It is important to note that when this transfer of power occurs, there is also a transfer in benefits. The profit that is received through large-scale hotel developments will go into the hands of the parent company that decided to build it. For example, of Thailand's \$4 billion tourist industry, approximately 60% of it goes outside the country.³⁷ This power differential allows for the further exploitation of exotic lands for pleasure and profit, which seems (not-so-coincidentally) like a form of imperialism.

In Goa's case, what has happened to these recently transferred lands is that they have become symbols of a newly imperialized region. Just as the Portuguese-styled architecture of Goa's major city, Panjim, stands as a visible reflection of what occurred 500 years ago, so too do the new hotel structures tell a unique story of a shift in power. According to Amos Rapoport, the cultural landscape that is exemplified by the built environment is always symbolic. He feels that these landscapes provide telling information that can be used to study the people and cultural situation of an area.³⁸ Janet Abu-Lughod presents a different take, suggesting that architectural forms are migratory, and the case of hybrid architecture through colonialism should not be criticized for being unauthentic, but seen as opportunity for inspirational influence and innovation.³⁹ But perhaps what should be emphasized is the intent of these built landscapes; not necessarily what they are saying, but if what they are portraying is indicative of local identity, however hybrid it may be. As we have seen with the discussion of mass tourism in Goa, false representation can be dangerous for a locality

³⁶ Donald Macleod, "Selling Space: Power and Resource Allocation in a Caribbean Coastal Community," *Confronting Environments*, ed. James G. Carrier (New York: Altamira Press, 2004) 33.

³⁷ Mowforth and Munt 48.

³⁸ Nezar AlSayyad, "The End of Tradition, or the Tradition of Endings?" *The End of Tradition?* ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London: Routledge, 2004) p. 9, citing A. Rapoport, "On Cultural Landscapes," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 3.2 (1992) 34.

³⁹ Nezar AlSayyad, "The End of Tradition, or the Tradition of Endings?" *The End of Tradition?* ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London: Routledge, 2004) p. 10, citing Janet Abu-Lughod, "Disappearing Dichotomies," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 7.1 (1995) 8.

attempting to fit itself in a global scheme. As Clara Irazabal states: “Often, people uncritically accept cultural ideas and social relations embedded in the built environment because they are taken as non-ideological material facts, when indeed they are representations that have become alienated or naturalized to the point that their social origins may be lost.”⁴⁰ With new imperialism, structures that stand as testaments to global capital invested in Third-World markets have the potential to take on the role of landmarks in local history. Decades from now, Goan hotel resorts will tell the story of a second wave of conquer, that of imperialism through capital.

Ninety years ago, Vladimir Lenin prophesized the process that we now call globalization. Except that he called it ‘imperialism.’ He saw this imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, and stressed that free markets would create “international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves.”⁴¹ What the world presently has termed ‘globalization’ is really nothing more than a few states extending their influence throughout the world, and in turn taking control of the majority of remaining countries, not through physical force, but through the domination of global assets. The discourse created in recent decades has been politically strategic in the way that it is purely economic and shies away from parallels with imperialism.⁴² A Third-World community is more likely to accept an unstoppable flow of globalization rather than the stigmatized image of a neo-imperialist movement. However, a look just beneath the surface reveals the undeniable parallels that I have pointed out above.

⁴⁰ Clara Irazabal, “Architecture and the Production of Postcard Images: Invocations of Tradition Versus Critical Transnationalism in Curitiba,” *The End of Tradition?* ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London: Routledge, 2004) 144.

⁴¹ Frank J. McVeigh, “Lenin’s Prophecy of Globalization,” *Sociological Viewpoints* 21 (2005) p. 68, citing Vladimir Illyich Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Petrograd, Russia: 1917).

⁴² The globalization of capitalism and the new imperialism

GOA AND THE FUTURE

As Goa moves into its fourth decade of internationalized tourist interest, many questions arise. How many more tourists and resort developments can the region take? What is the main trend occurring now that will determine the strength of mass tourism in the future? What new forms of tourism exist and do they have the momentum to save Goa and other resort centres from a new imperialism? There is no doubt that a strong cultural identity and sense of unique locality is at the basis of the tourist draw. Although I have talked about illusions of locality and unauthenticity, there must be some form of originality that can be packaged and marketed to the rest of the world. It is the mix of western comfort and exotic *Indian* locale that compel travellers to choose *this* particular paradise. When Goan advertising campaigns are created for the European and North American markets, much emphasis is put on the natural beauty in an exotic land, and the resort accommodation is seen as an engine through which to experience it all. In reality, this is usually not the case, but it lends to the illusion of experience.

In “Tradition is (not) modern: deterritorializing globalization,” Jane Jacobs speaks of how, in the face of global capitalism, there is a renewed sense of local tradition, and suggests that “a homogenization of culture...is the most obvious, but least plausible, outcome of globalization.”⁴³ The first idea is proven in the Goan case with the numerous protests that are organized by locals who passionately want to make their voices heard. Goa’s turbulent history has made the local population aware of the threat that mass tourism has on their community. Groups like the previously mentioned ‘Goan Alert’ are at the forefront of a new fight to keep the power of the state in the hands of the people who live there. This, according to many locals, has made Goa a distinct entity that happens to be part of an Indian nation. Natives are quick to point out that they are not Indian, and they are not Portuguese, but that they are Goan, and have characteristics that are more

⁴³ Jane M. Jacobs, “Tradition is (Not) Modern: Deterritorializing Globalization,” *The End of Tradition?* ed. Nezar AlSayyad (London: Routledge, 2004) 32.

affluent than Indians, yet more exotic than Europeans. In other words, it is precisely the fear of losing their culture that makes locals hold on to their identity (however already-influenced it may be) even tighter. The second statement reveals how globalization is a far too complex and abstract process to meld cultures into a global standard. However, a homogenization of culture does exist, but on a weaker level of spreading influence from the western world. Cultures are not taken away from localities; rather, a global culture of influence affects sites integrated into the world system. Jacobs recovers this point when she says that tradition, rather than disappearing, has been “reshaped and enlivened in a range of unexpected ways.”⁴⁴ According to Stanley Stewart, Goa has not lost its cultural identity; it is simply hidden behind the crowded tourist spots. In his travels to Goa, he experienced an authentic representation of the people and the history by penetrating through the layer of globalized influence that blankets the region.⁴⁵

Stewart’s travels to Goa represent a new frontier of international tourism. Most commonly called eco-tourism, this recent phenomenon has yet to be concretely defined, but signifies an appreciation of localities and people as they are, rather than how the west has ‘improved’ them. A definition from the Ecotourism Society states that “ecotourism is a responsible travel to natural areas which conserve the environment and sustains the well being of the local people.”⁴⁶ With eco-tourism, I am less concerned with the ecological aspect (though crucial) and more drawn to the observational character of the tourist. Whereas most mass tourism dialects endorse a high level of comfort in a foreign land, eco-tourism seems to negate that assumption, saying that someone going from the middle of London to the beaches of Goa should *not* feel at home, and should recognize and appreciate how varied the world can be. This type of tourism stresses an awareness of

⁴⁴ Jacobs, “Tradition,” p. 32.

⁴⁵ Stanley Stewart, “Goa’s Not Gone It’s Just Hiding,” *Sunday Times (London)* 11 Sept. 2005: Travel p. 20.

⁴⁶ Donald E. Hawkins and Maryam M. Khan, “Ecotourism Opportunities for Developing Countries,” *Global Tourism*, Second Edition, ed. William F. Theobald (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998) p. 192, citing Ecotourism Society, *The Ecotourism Society Newsletter* March 1991.

difference, that although the world has become smaller through communication and air travel, it is still a culturally enormous place. A problem with eco-tourism is that, as promising as it seems, it remains a niche travel market that caters to those who have the time and money to effectively delve into the underbellies of foreign societies. Also in places like Goa, an observational type of tourism would render all the resorts and invested infrastructure useless, and corporations will not allow that to happen. But perhaps, if eco-tourism does find its place in Goa, it would help to round out the single-tracked mass tourism process.

A logical remedy to reduce Goa's dependence on the tourism industry would be to diversify its economy. Although idealistic, the Indian government has taken steps toward this end. It has created incentives for industry to grow, most notably setting aside large tracts of land in hopes that domestic corporations will invest. The pharmaceutical industry is already prevalent in Goa, and the government is also providing education incentives for youth, as the state has one of the highest literacy rates in the country.⁴⁷

As Goa moves forward, it will inevitably see the long-term effects of a rapidly-grown tourism industry. *The Architects' Journal* describes the intense development of the Spanish coast as detrimental and irreversible: "[Spain] has ruined her coasts for ever for the sake of making a quick peseta."⁴⁸ The article asserts that it is crucial for planning practices to be as passionate about the environment as they are about the built landscape, as a balance will ensue.⁴⁹ The resonating question for Goa, then, is just how much 'damage' has it endured, how much more will come, and how will the Goa of 2050 look as a result? Only time will tell.

⁴⁷ "Marching Ahead," *Business Line* 15 Aug. 2005.

⁴⁸ "Beating Up a Coastline," p. 966

⁴⁹ "Beating Up a Coastline," p. 985

Portuguese Goa no longer exists, but is captive in the people, architecture, and culture of the land. I wonder then, what this landscape will feel like three centuries from now. Will 'Global Goa' be a memory of a radical capitalist empire? Or will the course of tourism come and go with little effect on the long-term fabric of the region? As for now, the study of places of pleasure continues to reveal arresting new ideas and discoveries. In regards to the question posed in the introduction, enquiring a truer meaning of the phrase, 'Indian Paradise,' we can pull from the above paper a sense of domination, mixed with the creation and exchange of local and global cultures. Seeing as how the colonizers of new imperialism come from an abstract global base, perhaps the phrase 'Global-Indian Paradise' would be more fitting.