

Identity, Spatiality and Post-colonial Resistance: Geographies of the Tourism Critique in Goa

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This article maps some of the ways that the critique of tourism development in the Indian state of Goa is connected to Goan patriotism. Reactions against tourism in Goa assume a prior definition of 'Goa', and this definition is often patriotic. One of the central processes to understanding contemporary Goa's identity politics in the face of tourism is its former colonisation by the Portuguese. Treating the tourism critique in Goa as a geographically and historically specific discourse in this article means discussing four aspects of what will be called its spatiality: geopolitics, geohistories/disembeddings, socio-spatial biases and situatedness. It will be argued that the spatiality of the tourism critique shows that its connection to patriotism is not straightforward and immediate, but contingent. It will also be argued that although the spatiality of the tourism critique points to its heterogeneity, it is precisely because there are multiple constructions of 'Goa' and 'Goan identity' that the discourse constitutes its object, Goa.

Introduction

It has been commonplace in critical tourism literature to situate the developments of global tourism within the power relations between the West and the Third World. Third World governments are on the one hand eager to see tourism as bringing in foreign exchange and enabling expansion of infrastructure and employment. Tourism becomes then a 'passport to development', 'development' most of the times being defined in Western capitalist terms (de Kadt, 1979). These governments are also urged by powerful bodies like the World Tourism Organisation to open their borders for tourism investment. On the other hand there is concern, chiefly amongst non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and intellectuals both in post-colonial countries and the West, that global tourism goes hand in hand with 'cultural imperialism', reproducing the dominance of Western culture like European colonialism did before decolonisation (MacCannell, 1992; Nash, 1977; Schiller, 1976; cf. Tomlinson, 1991).

Although this article also presupposes profound inequalities between the socio-economic positions of 'hosts' and 'guests' (Smith, 1978), it is not concerned with the question whether tourism entails a passport to development, or aggravates cultural imperialism. Rather, it seeks to complicate this very question by analysing what historical and geographical conditions are necessary to speak of a particular location undergoing development or neocolonialism in the first place. That is, instead of judging the 'truth' value of the critique of Third World tourism, this article suggests that we look at both *how the critique is constituted* and *how the critique constitutes its object*, which is the location affected by tourism. Critique of tourism is then treated as a 'discursive formation' in the Foucauldian sense,

consisting of heterogeneous, sometimes even contradictory statements which together bring into being whatever they refer to. In Foucault's (1969) 'archeological' method, it is the analysis of the effective linking-up of statements that counts, and not the 'originality', 'centrality' or apparent paradoxical nature of any one isolated statement.¹

The discursive formation that is analysed in this article is the resistance against tourism development in the former Portuguese colony of Goa in South India.² As Wilson (1997) has noted, Goa is often considered together with other Third World seaside holiday destinations as exemplifying the global tourism industry's relentless search for new and cheap markets, with well-documented detrimental effects on the environment and host communities (ISS, 1989; Nicholson-Ford, 1995; Routledge, 2001; Tourism Concern, 1997; see also Richter, 1989; Shaw & Williams, 1994). As in other destinations such as Bali, the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, the Goan tourism sector poses problems which are not confined to economic costs and benefits, but touch upon the very definition of what 'Goa' and 'Goan identity' means.

How the critique of tourism connects to the 'politics of identity' becomes clearer when we look at how it erects socio-spatial boundaries around 'Goanness' and 'Goa' (Keith & Pile, 1993). This article joins the growing body of critical geographical literature on tourism (e.g. Britton, 1991; Crouch, 1999; Edensor, 1998). It specifically joins Routledge's (2001) recent analysis of Goa's resistance against tourism.³ By scrutinising the historical and geographical conditions of Goan identity, there are three aspects about the relationship between Goa's tourism critique and 'Goa' as a discursive construct that will be explored. First, this relationship is not straightforward, intentional or necessary. Secondly, the contingency of this relationship, the way that different voices in the tourism critique constitute 'Goa' differently, has a lot to do with what will be called its *spatiality* (Soja, 1985). Thirdly, this spatiality also shows that the definition of 'Goanness' that contingently emerges from the tourism critique is contradictory and contested.

Tourism and Patriotism in Goa

Goa was Portugal's imperial pride in the sixteenth century, being the capital of its Eastern dominions (see Boxer, 1969; Pearson, 1987). After centuries of economic stagnation Goa was released to India in 1961. It became part of the Indian nation, first as Union Territory, and since 1987 as a proper state with its own official state language, Konkani. Portuguese colonialism over 451 years brought Catholicism, the Portuguese language and certain Mediterranean customs to Goa. Most Goans therefore identify much more with Goa than with India. However, economic recession and the inclusion of Goa into the Indian nation led large numbers of Catholics to migrate to Bombay, Portugal, Brazil, Britain and North America, where they maintain strong sentimental links with their homeland.

On the other hand, nearly one out of three in a population of nearly 1,170,000 comes from elsewhere in India. The portion of Catholics in the Goan population dropped from over 60% in 1850 to its present-day figure of about 28% (the number of Goans with Portuguese blood has always been very small; see Boxer,

1969:305). And yet, Catholics have always enjoyed a hegemonic position in Goa. Goan Catholic pride traditionally draws upon the mythical image of *Goa Dourada* (Golden Goa), a brief period of economic and cultural prosperity in the sixteenth century when Goa was renowned as the 'Rome of the East' – as a civilised enclave in an otherwise culturally inferior continent.⁴ *Goa Dourada* is an intensely modern myth; it was only when the importance of Goa's seaport in Asia steadily declined that Catholic Goan elites started to look longfully at the past for a *raison d'être* in the present (Henn, 2000; Ifeka, 1987; Newman, 1989).

Up to this day, Christians in South India separate themselves through dress, cuisine, song, festival, education and English literature from the rest of India. That is to say, Catholic cultural patriotism lies deep in Goa, to the expense of Hindu, Muslim, pan-Indian/Gandhian, multicultural and secular patriotisms (though see Axelrod & Fuerch, 1996). Skimming through Goan fiction, photography, architecture, gardens and living rooms, it is not difficult to find the common themes of Goan-Catholic patriotism: nostalgia, sentimentality, faith, community, folklore, kinship and morality. Evidently, a culture largely legitimised by the past should feel threatened by change.

Contemporary change in Goa is very much connected to tourism. The palm-ringed beaches, low prices, reliable climate and a certain easy-going way of life attract more than a million visitors yearly, culminating around Christmas. In 1999, Goa was visited by a total number of 1,244,412; over 280,000 were foreigners, a third of them British. Foreigners stay an average of just nine days. The cap of one- and-a-half million is expected to be reached in 2001. The tourist industry commenced in the mid-1970s, but really kicked off about a decade later with the charter flights. Charter tourism's growth has been staggering: from 24 flights with 3568 passengers during the 1985–86 season, to 405 flights with 94,289 passengers during the 1999–2000 season (Tourism Department, 2000). Some decades ago, the place was a prime station on the 'hippie-trail' in Asia. Quickly, drug trafficking, psychedelic music and partying formed a sound (if relatively informal) infrastructure for a hedonistic traveller culture still very much alive to this day, mostly in the northern village of Anjuna. Most villagers accepted the hippie culture as it brought in extra money, but since the end of the 1970s there has been growing moral panic, mainly amongst suburbanites, about the low-budget traveller scene. Especially resented are the 'Goa trance' raves which started in the 1990s and are popular amongst Indian tourists and some local boys too (Saldanha, 2000 & 2002; *Goa Today*, 1996a).

Elsewhere, in villages like Calangute, Baga and Colva, beach shacks and accommodation with local families gave way to large hotel development projects, package holidaying, five-star resorts and a culture of tourism inclusive of family snaps, karaoke, fish 'n chips and rows of beach chairs. The selling of land for tourism development in Goa is promoted by both the Goan and the federal government in Delhi. Under influence of a much broader international hegemony of neo-liberal discourse (Sinha, 1994), tourism in Goa is seen by official bodies as *the* road to prosperity and global competitiveness. But again, as in other poor countries, tourism in India is primarily beneficial for the upper middle classes, big hotel owners, tax collectors and all sorts of shady figures exploiting India's deeply corrupt state mechanisms. Village economies, the environment and small vendors suffer from the short-term opportunism that perme-

ates political leadership and the tourism sector. In the meantime, the hedonistic practices associated with tourism seduces some Goan boys to 'imitation' behaviour (see Ecoforum 1993; Menezes & Lobo, 1991; Rosenfield, 1998).

These problems have been consistently identified by a number of Goan agencies from different backgrounds. First there is the press, which in India, compared to other poor countries, functions quite well as a political watchdog. Debates on the policy and effects of tourism regularly appear in Goa's public sphere (e.g. *Goa Today*). Secondly, there are various citizens' and village activist groups. The most important pan-Goan action group is the Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz (JGF; Konkani for *Goa's Vigilant Army*) which works within a broadly Marxist-Leninist framework (see Martins, 1994). Other action groups are based on trade unionism or local counselling (see Noronha, 1998; Sreekumar *et al.*, 1995). Thirdly, there are scholarly-inspired clergy people criticising tourism from a Christian human rights perspective (e.g. De Sousa, 1989). Fourthly, there are environmentalist NGOs doing research, raising awareness and filing cases against violations of environmental laws, by far the most influential being the Goa Foundation (Ecoforum, 1993). Fifthly, there are popular authors and artists who comment on the realities of tourism (fiction: Botelho, 1994; cooking: Vieirra-Coutinho, 1994; history: Albuquerque, 1988). Sixthly, there are academics from a range of disciplines (from economics to maritime ecology) whose work necessarily touches upon the tourism industry. And last, there are some individual politicians who from time to time take a public (most often moral) stance against tourism development.

The criticisms of tourism that all these agencies put forward do not univocally connect to Goan patriotism. The issue is exactly that the imagination of 'Goa' which informs, and is implicated by, these criticisms is not univocal. On the one hand, it is true that patriotism is manifest in many domains other than the critique of tourism, domains which will not be directly discussed here. Also, it might not always be accurate to speak of 'patriotism' in cases (like some NGO activism) where agencies merely take up a local civic cause (cf. Routledge, 2001). On the other hand, what cannot be denied is that what all these criticisms of tourism do lead to is a struggle over the meaning of Goa – Goa's community, Goa's boundaries in time and space, Goa's culture, Goa's future. These characterise any place struggling to define itself, especially perhaps those places formerly colonised by European powers. In fact, the disagreements and frictions between the agencies voicing the tourism critique might be as important as the consistencies in the construction of Goa. It is precisely the common effect of bringing Goa into existence that allows us to speak of the tourism critique as a discursive formation.

In the remainder of this article, Goa's tourism critique will be mapped as a discursive formation entailing definitions of Goan identity. 'Mapped' can be taken rather literally here, as the intention is to expose the *spatiality of discourse* (cf. Soja, 1985). This spatiality, for purposes of method, consists of four aspects, and its mapping will then consist of four kinds of 'geographies'. The *geopolitics* of the tourism critique is about how it tries to claim 'Goa' within the historical interplay of Portugal, Britain, India and the world, within the political realities, that is, of imperialism, nationalism and capitalism. The *geohistories/ disembeddings* of the critique show some cultural and spatial trajectories which condensed into the critique, as well as how the critique has been 'lifted out' of its local context

(Giddens, 1990). The tourism critique's *socio-spatial biases* refer to the ways some groups and spaces are privileged over others. Any construction of identity supposed the construction of an 'us' and a 'them' (Sibley, 1995). And last, the *situatedness* of the critique means that it manifests itself in different ways in different times and places.

Geopolitics of the Tourism Critique

As has been remarked by Routledge (2001) and many in Goa itself, Goa's modern identity politics are intrinsically linked to Portugal's colonisation of the area. Its inclusion within the Indian nation has been ambiguous and contested from the start. During colonialism, Goan and Indian intellectuals were far from univocal about where Goa stood historically (Pannikar, 1995). Goa's Catholic elites traditionally imagined themselves more as part of a Portuguese empire than of the Indian subcontinent (Ifeka, 1985). As a consequence, Hindu Brahmins identified more with the neighbouring state Maharashtra (Newman, 1989). The failures of Portuguese colonial policy and the rapid decline of Goa's magnificence was a welcome source of ridicule for the British (e.g. Burton, 1851). Goan efforts in reclaiming its past grandeur are still considered pitiful by the rest of India (see Ribeiro (1965) writing just after Goa's independence). Indian anti-colonialist intellectuals have always scorned the 'denationalisation' of Goans, especially of the Christians, by which is meant the dis-identification with India in favour of Lisbon (see Tombat, 1994).

Up to this day, the conflict between the 'exclusivist' myth of *Goa Dourada* and the 'instrumentalist realism' of *Goa Indica* (meaning, Goa as part of India) is integral to the geopolitical debate as to what should inform Goan nationalism: Luso-Catholic nostalgia or Hindu-Christian ('Indian') syncretism (Ifeka, 1985; Newman, 1989). Tourism in some ways threatens *Goa Indica*. Not only does the tourism industry's imagery largely reproduce *Goa Dourada*'s sentimentality, but the domestic tourists, especially groups of men, are often perceived as rowdy and obtrusive by Goans. Many locals prefer foreign tourists. Furthermore, thousands of seasonal immigrants come to Goa every winter in the hope of benefitting from the foreign tourists. Local caterers complain about the influx of services and goods from Karnataka, Kashmir, Rajasthan, Nepal, Tibet, etc. In these daily complaints, as in newspaper reports about rape for instance, 'Indians' refers to non-Goans. The subtext is that 'Indians' are noisy and deceitful, cannot cope with alcohol, money, women and foreigners, whereas Goans can, because they are used to it.

There is a similar grudge against the 'Indianisation' of Goa through tourism on the level of capital. Because the Goan land-owning and business families were not quick enough in responding to Goa's burgeoning mass tourism potential, it was out-of-state capitalists who steadily bought up land and constructed hotels, bungalows, shopping malls, restaurants, holiday apartments and seaside resorts (ISS, 1989). Goans are quick to point out that this goes hand in hand with violation of the law, as well as of local sentiments about landscape and community: the case of India's largest five-star hotel group Taj harassing villagers was exemplary. But capital comes from even further afield. Charter tour operators, multinational developers such as Club Med and Lufthansa, and Indian-foreign hotel

deals have been legion since the mid-1980s. The 'selling out of Goa' is vehemently criticised. There is a widespread feeling, amongst civilians and intellectuals that, in commodifying Goa, the agency of the villages is fully denied in the spheres of tourism and land development (ISS, 1989; Routledge, 2001).

Long-term economic plans are prepared in New Delhi to exploit Goa for the national Indian treasure. Significantly, the Indian government has been opening up the economy for foreign investment since 1992 (Sinha, 1994), much heralded by the business elites. This neo-liberal pressure from New Delhi to develop tourism strengthened the already proactive plans of the Goan Tourism Department of the 1980s. Nevertheless, most of the actual implementation of tourism policy happens in the Goan capital Panaji (see especially Tourism Department, 1987). The Goan government promotes Goa quite independently from the Indian nation to the corporate actors, for example at international tourism fairs (*Navhind Times*, 1995).

Much of popular discourse represents the Goan government as either corrupt and selfish, or as a puppet in the hands of multinational capital. Telling was the case of Japanese plans for building an entire township for rich retired Japanese on the beaches of Pernem (*Goa Today*, 1995). A luxurious casino pier in Arambol, a 90 km highway and a jumbo jet-carrying airport are still future fantasies of the Tourism Department. The governments of Goa and India are also condemned for commodifying Goa itself by presenting a brochure version of Goa, concentrating on 'fun and frolic', beaches, historical clichés and food. The in-flight magazine of Air India states: 'Goa is a mood, an ambience, rather than a destination chock-full of things to do and places to see. It's also an addiction. Instant and life-long. And heavenly' (D'Souza, 1999: 31). Official representations of Goa have been strongly gendered and racialised, revolving around images of white women in bikinis. This official representation finds its parallel in the actual 'tourist gazes' (Urry, 1990) of thousands of men from neighbouring states who think Goa is still nudists' paradise. By likening Goa to other places such as Hawaii, Spain, Mexico or Bali, which are deemed beyond repair by some tourism activists, the Goan government is criticised for destroying the uniqueness of its own state (ISS, 1989; Menezes & Lobo, 1991). Indeed, the 'Indianness' of Goa in official representations is stripped off in favour of either heavily romanticised references to its Portuguese past or, more commonly, to the contrived holiday atmosphere. It is this atmosphere that is resented for being thoroughly un-Goan by tourism activists:

Goa does not want luxury tourism, which is now being advertised as 5 star or 4 star or 3 star havens of nudism where 'Minimum clothes are required' and epitomised by lying topless on the sands 'like in the Bahamas' or 'to relax jaded and tired nerves'; no doubt with prostitutes and homosexuals, which is what the Chief Secretary has gone to see in Thailand and Malaysia. Goans object to luxury tourism because it has brought in drugs, narcotics and AIDS. (JGF, 1987: 11)

Compare in this respect a report of the Indian Institute of Social Science (published in New Delhi but prepared by Goans):

The degree of economic and social dependence of the local residents on hippies in particular is so high that its adverse consequences go easily

unnoticed or are even accepted and rationalised as some inevitable price to be paid for the economic prosperity brought by tourism [...]

Even lesbians do not shock

Going by this report in a local daily newspaper: even publicly displayed lesbianism in a village, as conservative as Majorda, in South Goa, does not appear to merit much attention and follow-up action. 'A rather unusual incident occurred on the sea shore at Pongreaband, Majorda, on Thursday (11 June, 1987). Two Goan girls made love to each other in the open. According to eye witness, word spread like wildfire when the girls were noticed and many inquisitive villagers, most among them youngsters, made quickly for Pongreaband to watch the act.' It is said that the girls appeared to be under the influence of drugs and were speaking Konkani. But, there was nothing done or heard about it beyond merely linking this advent of lesbianism in the village to the development of tourism under the auspices of a big luxury resort. (ISS, 1989: 94)

In the quotes above we can see how a critique levelled against the international pressure to invest in tourism swiftly, but unnecessarily, turns into warnings about homosexuality, drugs and AIDS – or, how a geopolitical us/them turns into a moral us/them (cf. Sibley, 1995). This will be further developed below.

To summarise, the tourism critique in Goa requires a series of positionings of 'Goa' within a complicated historical geography of imperialism, colonialism, migration, Third World nationalisms, state policy and global consumer capitalism. This historical geography can and often does feed into exclusionary politics of religious patriotism, sub-national regionalism, heterosexism, classism and moralism. To map all the different actors, interests, technologies and ideologies in this geopolitics is impossible; let it suffice to say that Goa's politics of the past and politics of inclusion into larger wholes (Indian culture, Indian nation, Western civilisation, world capitalism) makes it difficult to talk of simply one geopolitical position.

Geohistories/Disembeddings of the Tourism Critique

The second 'geography' of Goa's tourism critique traces two sets of movements in what Giddens (1990) terms the 'local–global dialectic'. The first movement is about how the discourse is formed historically through the connections Goa has had with other places, notably Portugal; this we could call its 'geohistory'. The second movement is its 'disembedding', a term Giddens uses to describe how social processes are 'lifted out' of the locality where they emerged, so that social life is disconnected from the here and now and becomes increasingly mediated by modern institutions and communication technologies. A geographical analysis of a local discourse like the tourism critique in Goa entails that we take a look at both 'where it comes from' and 'where it goes to'.

As already mentioned several times, it is plain that a lot of the patriotic thrust of the tourism critique goes back to the intensive Christianisation and Europeanisation that the Portuguese brought to Goa. As is spelled out in novels like Remigio Botelho's (1994) *On a Goan Beach* or Carmo D'Souza's (1994) *Angela's*

Goan Identity, Goan Catholics' repulsion against the hippie/traveller culture generally derives from a suburban, middle-class chastity. Goans were brought up under colonialism to believe Portugal was the cradle of world civilisation. But the Europeans they saw in the 1960s were pot-smoking, long-haired nudists dancing on the beach. 'Hippies' was appropriated by Goans as a derogatory term for every young white person and is still very much in use. In Goa, one body of stereotypes of whites (Europe as province of sophistication and good conduct) was threatened by another (Europe as province of degenerated youth).

Representations of the contemporary psychedelic rave scene in the press, on e-mail discussion groups and in everyday conversations reflect a similar hostile and conservative attitude towards the foreigner's hedonism, fuelled by wild stories about what happens at the raves (Saldanha, 2000; cf. Rosenfield, 1998). Since the beginnings of the drugs and rave tourism in Goa, it has been largely Catholics who have been most worried about the nefarious 'impact' this has on local Goan youth. Local villagers, on the other hand, defend the raves when the government periodically imposes its 'party bans'. The Government is keen to get rid of both Goa's hippie connotations and actual hippies in favour of luxury and family-oriented tourism (Tourism Department, 1987). In the face of these developments, local village activists have been far more concerned with the possible disappearance of their income rather than their values (Sreekumar *et al.*, 1995).

For many an urban activist it is inconceivable that Goans would actually *want* hippies in their village. One Catholic group, the Citizens Concerned About Tourism (CCAT), in a letter to then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi (on behalf of the 'people of Goa'), called the hippies

parasites who thrive by sucking the life-blood of our nation – OUR YOUTH. Sir, it is our youth and the future generation that we are specially worried about. It is our youth who have become DRUG ADDICTS. It is our youth who are now indulging in FREE-LOVE and FREE-SEX quite openly. It is our youth who have now begun to contract AIDS through these tourists. Coastal youth are abandoning their traditional OCCUPATIONS like fishing, boat-making, toddy-tapping, jaggery-making, rope-making, etc. Coastal youth are discarding traditional VALUES like honesty, hard-work, discipline, good moral behaviour and patriotism. They have replaced these age-old and wholesome values with an easy life, promiscuity, making a quick and dishonest buck, and a yearning for the materialism and hedonism of the West. (CCAT, 1990)

Even though this letter may seem a particularly pathetic cry for attention, civilians and activists tirelessly demand that the police and Government take draconian measures against 'hippie' culture. Sometimes the anti-hippie, anti-rave discourse resembles that of the extreme right in Europe demanding the deportation of 'criminal foreigners', for the sake of cultural purity of future generations. A central element in this article's argument is the geohistorical irony of the Catholic panic about the hippies influencing Goan youngsters, because the 'traditional values', 'patriotism' and 'good moral behaviour' that are so vehemently defended and to which youngsters are required to cling, were forced upon Goan society by the Portuguese in far more brutal ways (including Inquisition; Boxer, 1969) than those of the hippies and ravers now. That is to say, the strong reactions

against the 'neocolonialism' of tourism are historically themselves derivative of bourgeois colonial ideologies, a point Chatterjee (1986) has made about Indian nationalism in general.

But the puritan stance against the 'invasion' of Western youth culture in India is not confined to Catholics. As with Western authors like Schiller (1976), the presence of MTV, Kentucky Fried Chicken and Nike have prompted many Indian Marxist-Leninists, too, to speak of 'cultural imperialism'. In Goa, of course, this process is identified with tourism and not with media as in Schiller. The activist group JGF states:

Just like a war, MMT [Modern Mass Tourism] is an invasion by 'armies' of live human beings wielding their superior 'weapons' of a stronger currency and a materialist culture. These armies conquer local people and enslave them to their attitudes, values, lifestyles and culture. It is a culture of economic subjugation; a culture of exploitation; a culture of vandalising the earth and environment; a culture of racist arrogance; a culture of leisure, pleasure, hedonism and escape. For JGF it is this aspect of MMT – bringing with it real armies of live human beings, that makes it the most sophisticated and insidious form of neo-colonialism and imperialism known to mankind. (write-up by JGF for a directory of NGOs in Ecoforum, 1993: 244)

There is no space here to delve into the rhetorical complications in the discourse on cultural imperialism and the anti-colonial left in India (see e.g. Chatterjee, 1986).⁵ What is relevant for the discussion here is that the discursive frameworks for the critique of the 'onslaught' of the tourist industry and hippie culture in Goa are basically modern imports from the West, either Catholic-traditionalist, anti-imperialist, environmentalist, nationalist, or a peculiar mix of these. It goes without saying that while the geohistory of the Indian critique of tourism might be partly derivative of colonial cultural hegemony, this does not make the critique less 'authentic' or less effective in Goa's local reality.

The geohistory of action groups' ideologies and concrete demands in Goa also points towards their *disembedding*. While the action radius of local village activism is mostly confined to the territory of the villages in question (Sreekumar *et al.*, 1995), larger groups like JGF and Goa Foundation have regular contact with foreign development agencies (e.g. Tourism Concern in London; see Tourism Concern, 1997) and scholars through documentation and research (e.g. Equations in Bangalore), Internet and meetings. When foreign journalists, film-makers or scholars like Routledge or myself write on tourism in Goa, to a large extent they rely on information provided by JGF and Goa Foundation. Both organisations have appeared several times on the BBC. The *Lonely Planet* travel guides of Goa and India have, upon criticism from JGF and Goa Foundation, taken some trouble to raise awareness about problems of tourism. Through websites (e.g. Goacom Website, 2001) and e-mail discussion groups (e.g. Goanet), Goans communicate with Goan diaspora and thus expand the discussions about tourism from the local public sphere into intercontinental cyberspace. These expatriates, again predominantly Catholic, at times seem to be more patriotic and panicky about things going wrong in Goa than most in Goa itself.

Middle-class Goans sharply criticise the state mechanisms for paying lip service to the multinational charter and luxury tourist industries. Their imagination of Goa then explicitly opposes itself to the official and commercial international marketing of Goa. Still, the opposition is ambiguous, as many Goans themselves represent Goa as *sossegado* – easy-going, fun-loving, traditions-laden, subtropical, hospitable, ‘Mediterranean’. Mario Cabral e Sá, for instance, deplores the fact Goa attracts hedonists, and wrote of the hippies in the village of Anjuna indulging

in nude bathing (in the sea and under the sun) and their moonlight orgies – oral, anal, frontal, mono, homo, hetero, what have you – and tableaux à deux as often à trois no holds barred, no qualms, no guilt, no shame. (cited in Albuquerque, 1988: 84).

Paradoxically enough, he ends a patriotic picture book with: ‘There is never an end to fun in Goa; and no precise beginning of it either. For life, as they say in Goa, is such a fleeting moment’ (Cabral e Sá & Pasricha, 1996: 95).

The local struggles to define Goa within/against tourism show various organisational connectivities, and draw upon global resources far beyond the state territories of Goa and India. The connectivity of the local tourist critique is also evident on a deeper ideological–cultural level. ‘Western’ concepts such as identity, local culture, cultural imperialism, neo-colonialism, tradition, development, sustainability, commercialisation and materialism, through geohistories of missionary, colonialism, anti-colonialism, development cooperation, migration and nationalism, have slipped into local critiques of globalisation. The critique is ambiguous, however, as the sentiments and rhetorics it uses to fight globalisation are themselves non-local in origin.

Socio-spatial Biases of the Tourism Critique

A third aspect of the geography of Goa’s tourism critique is its socio-spatial biases. The discursive constructions of modern Goan society refract the cleavages present in that society: cleavages along region, locality, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, occupation, caste, language, migratory past, generation, etc. The representativity of the tourism critique poses a thorny problem especially to pan-Goan NGOs, intellectuals and some priests, who claim to adhere to a participatory–democratic objective of protecting ‘Goans’ from the negative effects of tourism. As is the case in all Third World economies, the socio-spatial divide between city and village is a crucial factor in Goa’s economic and cultural politics. Although mining is the prime industry, a large portion of Goans still make their living with agriculture (rice, coconut) and, on the coast, fishing. Of course, tourism has radically changed patterns of income (see ISS, 1989). Most domestic tourists stay in towns and take day trips to the beaches, while most foreign tourists spend their holidays in coastal areas, where consequently more capital is both invested and generated. The tourism critique is overwhelmingly focused on Goa’s coast.

The Catholic ideology of *Goa Dourada* builds upon Goa Velha’s (the ancient city of Goa) mythical urban past. The Indo-Portuguese culture of *Goa Dourada* is still tangible in Catholic urban and suburban spaces: churches, chapels, relics,

patios, gardens, squares, statues, mansions, verandas, living rooms, furniture, family photographs, pianos. Moreover, the non-urban spaces depicted in a sentimental picture book like *Goa: Pearl of the East* (Cabral e Sá & Pasricha, 1996) tend to show Goa's natural beauty, not its Hindu villagers (cf. Henn, 2000; Ifeka, 1987). However, post-1961 Goan patriotism is also involved in constructing an imagery of tranquil Goan village life (e.g. Albuquerque, 1988; Botelho, 1994; Pereira, 1995). In these constructions as well, there is a definite bias towards the Catholic middle classes living on the coastal belt (although there is always some mention of the different religious communities living peacefully together – again, *as opposed to* the religious violence in the rest of India).

The discourse on Goa's rural landscape, coastal peasant communities and the effects thereupon of industrialisation and mass tourism therefore chiefly comes from educated middle-class Catholics living in towns. Put in simple terms, village activism is not based so much on cultural nostalgia as on the pan-Goan tourism critiques of 'cultural imperialism' by Catholic and some Marxist intellectuals (Sreekumar *et al.*, 1995). While a rope-maker might join a demonstration against the acquisition of coconut fields by a big hotel group for local, pragmatic reasons, a group like CCAT might join the demonstration to keep alive a romantic image of traditional craftsmanship. CCAT would then be far less concerned about criticising the enduring structures of exploitation by Goan landlords, industrialists and Government officials.

Moreover, the social groups arguably most exploited by tourism capitalists are the thousands of seasonal construction workers from other Indian states. There are also the thousands of gypsies, merchants and handicrafters who are resented by Goans for adding on to the already fierce competition of the small-scale tourism economy. The representation of the interests of these guest workers in the Goan tourism critique seems to be nil. While village activists and environmentalists joined forces in the 1990s, distancing themselves more and more from the patriotic moralism of the Goan Church and organisations like CCAT (Sreekumar *et al.*, 1995), the difficulty of articulating the cause of these immigrants with Goan patriotic sentiment stands in the way of securing their socio-economic position within capitalism.

We could add here that *tourists themselves* can be 'victims' too, as the daily accounts of them being cheated by vendors and harassed by the corrupt police testify. The heroin addicts, the foreign girls who have been raped, the backpackers without passports or whose money has been stolen, the domestic tourists who have been beaten up by locals or who have drowned, the discrimination of gays and lesbians (often easily slipping into panic about paedophilia and prostitution), the backpackers who are sentenced to years of rigorous imprisonment just to boost up the public image of the Goan police: the plights of these are unlikely to be defended in the tourism critique.

Through the tourist critique, constructions of a 'we' against a 'them' arises: villagers/big business (Sreekumar *et al.*, 1995, talk about the 'big other'), Goans/non-Goans, Goans/whites. The process of 'othering' happens in line with moral disapproval and covert classism. This is evident in representations of charter-touristic culture. Classism is even more evident in Goan representations of the 'hippies', the 'drop-outs from Western society', who have been consistently stereotyped in the press, in meetings and in everyday conversations as

poor, crazy, lazy, criminal and dirty, not belonging anywhere (Sibley, 1995). The moral panic about Western music and drugs (Saldanha, 2000) sometimes leads to all sorts of conspiracy theories of, for instance, the Mafia having invented Goa trance music in order to sell more LSD. Goa trance is represented as fundamentally non-Goan, as totally alien. The question then arises: how can genuinely Goan boys like dancing to it? Again, it is ironic that traditional Goan music itself is basically foreign (Portuguese) and rather earthy music, frequently with Konkani lyrics.

The hedonism of young foreigners is considered illegitimate as opposed to the much 'milder' hedonism of Goans. The eroticisation and commercialisation of Carnival for tourists is hotly debated every spring. While traditional escapism is accepted, adding semi-nude girls is considered 'decadent'. Interesting was the Freddy Peat paedophilia case, in which the moral panic completely ignored the possibility of the existence of such a sexuality *amongst Goans* (Goa Today, 1996b). The hedonism of sex, drugs and rave is also constructed as more dangerous than the hedonism of the casinos, golf courses and expensive water sports, while the latter pose far greater threats to the fabric of village communities. Classism is obvious in the Utopian schemes of the Goan Government, who since the late 1980s has openly and steadily been following a policy of discouraging backpackers (and recently, even charter tourists) in favour of upper-class tourism.

When we analyse the classism of the discourse on tourism more thoroughly, more paradoxes become apparent. Take for instance the proud reports in the Goan and Indian press of the bungee jump in Anjuna in the 1999–2000 season, 'the first in South-Asia' (India Today, 1999). Even some of the Government's prestigious tourism infrastructure projects are likely to be *welcomed* instead of despised by Goan patriots. In fact, the extensive media attention to Anjuna's festivities during the 1999–2000 season balanced between moral panic about 'narco-tourism' and the decadence of raves on one side, and secret patriotic pride on the other: a tiny state such as Goa manages to attract many thousands of the foreign and Bombay jetset for the 'third biggest millennium party on the planet' (India Today, 1999). The sheer success of tourism and international attention on some occasions makes the tourism critique very ambivalent. Ordinary Goans often boast about the number of nationalities found in Goa, a proof that theirs is the most beautiful land in the world (cf. Goacom, 2001). More generally, any 'progress' putting India on the world map elicits a kind of patriotism amongst literate Indians, even radical intellectuals; anything from posh casinos, cricket, the Miss World contest and software industry, to nuclear tests.

So the question rises: what *kind of tourism*, what kind of influx of tourists, labourers and capital is criticised in Goa's tourism critique? This is a complicated question, and it is intensely geographical. If a five-star holiday resort, like Cidade de Goa outside Panaji, is built without displacement of villages, is that acceptable? If the Taj Village were to be in Goan hands, or a Goan Catholic country club were to acquire village land, would that be acceptable? If the carrying capacity of coastal villages is superseded, should the government start promoting forest, mountain or grassland tourism (it has already started promoting monsoon tourism, see Routledge, 2001)? Should the Goan Department of Tourism cooperate with that of Maharashtra, Karnataka and India? *Where* has the protest to be concentrated: on the beaches, or inland where there are infrastructural problems

of water, dereliction of buildings and deterioration of roads? Should the critique concentrate on Anjuna with the 'travellers', on Baga and Calangute with the 'charter tourists', or on the more scattered and concealed luxury tourism projects? The focuses of tourism activism reflect different ideologies: Catholics and the Church have concentrated on the first kind of tourism (e.g. De Sousa, 1989), while Marxists have chiefly concentrated on the second and third (e.g. Menezes & Lobo, 1991).

If hippies and ravers, drug addicts and AIDS carriers, lower-class tourists and the ultra-rich, rowdy Indians and rapists, prostitutes and sex tourists, hedonists and materialists are not welcome, then who is? If the tourism critique is mainly produced in towns, how will the local villagers be educated in the complex ecological and sociological theories of tourism development? What happens when the agendas of local activists and pan-Goan NGOs or intellectuals do not match? While many middle-class urbanites hailed the 'party ban' after the 1999–2000 moral panic about the rave scene in Anjuna, local vendors protested, as during the season raves are their bread and butter (Saldanha, 2000, 2002). If the raves were to be held with legal permits, in designated places outside villages, without noise pollution, would that be acceptable? What happens when the rave scene effectively dies out in Anjuna and goes to other places outside Goa? Will the middle classes there be happy with the Goan policy of 'zero-tolerance'?

What all these pertinent questions (and there are many more) point to is the fact that the tourism critique in Goa is socio-spatially biased. Multiple imaginations of Goa and Goa's tourism are put forward by multiple agencies – even within the agencies. The imaginations favour some issues over others, some social groups over others, some places and spaces over others. There is disagreement on what is at stake: environment or law, traditional identity or social economy, 'progress' or 'sustainability'. Goa is then multiply constructed, for instance as victim of pollution and wild capitalism, or as invaded by cheap labour power, aggressive music, AIDS or lesbianism. Even if Goa is multiply constructed, together these constructions assume that Goa *without tourism* is a clean, honest, egalitarian, friendly, decent, heterosexual place. Even if many Goans would at least implicitly agree, the questions remain: which of these attributes needs to be saved first from the ill effects of tourism, and how?

Situatedness of the Tourism Critique

A fourth and final critical operation showing Goan tourism critique's geography consists in finding out how it manifests itself in different forms in different contexts. More detailed ethnographic evidence would show many more ambiguities, contradictions, antagonisms, variations and doubts than this article allows for. Still, the discussion so far has suggested that tourism in Goa is criticised in different ways, by different groups and individuals, in different times and spaces, for different reasons and with different technologies. This is what is meant by stating that the tourism critique is *situated*, and its socio-spatial biases flow directly from this situatedness. Goan e-mail discussion groups differ from Goan newsrooms; Western travel literature has changed since Burton (1851); Marxists differ from Catholics; North Goa differs from South Goa; villages from towns; Indian tourists from Western tourists; beaches from rivers; gypsies from

toddy-tappers; German NGO partners from Roman NGO partners; the Indian past from the Portuguese past; environmentalism from feminism; *Goa Dourada* from contemporary Goan patriotism; the Court from the street; raves from Carnival.

Often, the constructions of Goa that all these situated critiques entailed, would fit, interlock, mutually reinforce each other. There are Goans who are against consumer capitalism and against lesbians and against sexist advertising. To the extent that issues and biases connect, we have been talking of *the* tourism critique, about one discursive formation, supposing one Goan identity, applicable to all situations. But it is as important to take into account the instances where they do not connect, where there is a conflict about what Goan tourism and Goan identity stand for.

The fact that 'Goan identity' does not presuppose any one resistant strategy against tourism means that the connections between issues and biases are *contingent*. They are non-necessary, not only in a logical sense, but very concretely in a situational, geographical sense. Implicit in this formulation of political contingency is a criticism of Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) influential theory of discourse. Laclau and Mouffe have been correct in proposing a radical-democratic deconstruction of 'society' in which 'articulations' between political discourses and identities are not accepted as pre-given truths but have to be actively constituted in practice. The analysis so far is intended to add a geographical twist to Laclau and Mouffe's 'social topography', that is, to take their spatial metaphors ('floating signifiers', 'nodal points', 'subject positions') a lot more literally than has been done hitherto. The signifier 'cultural imperialism', for example, has actually *floated* from Latin-American universities to Goan NGOs. A street protest in which local activists and CCAT articulate their concerns about drug addiction, is indeed a nodal *point*, situated in time and space. And the subjectivity of those two lesbians in Pongreaband was, in a very real sense, *positioned* on the beach.

Conclusion

Tourism is a crucial commodifying and politicising force in global capitalism today. This paper chose to look at some sociocultural processes at work in the state of Goa, where the critique of tourism is intimately tied to a post-colonial politics of identity (Keith & Pile, 1993). Analysing Goa's tourism critique 'geographically' meant being sensitive to four aspects of its spatiality: its geopolitics, its socio-spatial biases, its geohistories and disembeddings, and its situatedness. Though the analysis was short and is in need of further ethnographic evidence, it nevertheless showed that Goa's tourism critique is ambivalent and variable. It was argued that it concomitantly invokes ambivalent and variable versions of Goan identity. The critique not only reflects many interacting power relations in and outside Goa, but is not straightforwardly connected to the imagination of the state or community of Goa. In other words, *because* the tourist critique necessarily takes a continuously shifting geographic form and *because* it necessarily 'takes place' within certain localities, trajectories, networks and situations, it is not one but multiple. Nevertheless, the multiple constructions, when taken together, do constitute the object of which they speak: Goa.

When the spatialities of resistance and domination were taken into account, it became clear that they are profoundly *entangled* (Sharp *et al.*, 2000). Agencies voicing the critique articulated classism, sexism, racial stereotypes, puritanism, heterosexism, moralism and elitism in varying degrees and manners. These discourses then reproduce, instead of challenge, some structures of subordination, making the tourism critique's status as 'resistance' ambivalent. It becomes problematic to draw a clear line between the spaces of domination (the centre/the north, multinationals, the State, Panaji, Lisbon, Delhi, London, New York) and the spaces of resistance (Hindu resistance against the Portuguese, NGOs against the tourism industry, village protests, Third World governments, post-colonial literature). In the case of Goa, resistance and domination are completely interconnected historically through the mechanisms of colonisation, Christianisation, modernisation and globalisation (cf. Axelrod & Fuerch, 1996; Henn, 2000). If there is to be a critique of the detrimental effects tourism has on places (specifically ex-colonies) such as Goa, it seems crucial to acknowledge the intertwinings this critique might have with less favourable exclusivist discourses like classism, moral panic, anti-immigration, etc., largely appropriated from the West. That is, constituting 'Goa' as a place to be rescued from globalisation has to be done in conjunction with understanding that the constitution of Goa is itself always already a product of globalisation.

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Notes

1. Foucault (1969) introduces the concept discursive formation for a philosophical history or 'archeology' of the human and natural sciences. Still, the main thrust of his argument is such that it can be used for a sociology of discourses in general. There are a number of problems with Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse. To start with, the primacy that is accorded to spatiality and variability in the present article cannot be readily found in Foucault's archaeological method (cf. Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Moreover, a sociology of discourse would avoid according the same anonymous and abstract status to discourse as Foucault does. Indeed, it is precisely by appreciating the different voices and concrete nature of discourse that the present article argues for studying discourse geographically. These theoretical issues will not be addressed further here.
2. The evidence provided here derives from a larger PhD project on music tourism in Goa (Saldanha, forthcoming). The documents and literature presented here were collected during three field trips of a month each in 1998, 1999 and 2000, to serve chiefly as background material for the contextualisation of the participant observations more central to the PhD project.

3. Routledge's (2001) article was published after the author received the present article for revision. Although Routledge's approach and findings share a lot with the analysis presented here, the theoretical argumentation will be different.
4. The continuing nostalgia for *Goa Dourada* can be seen in picture books like those of Pereira (1995), Cabral e Sá and Pasricha (1996) and Issar (1997).
5. To be fair, it has to be said that JGF has gradually tempered its hard-line moralist position against tourism, formulating more pragmatic concerns in the wake of an international movement towards 'sustainable tourism'.

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