

Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives
Professor. R Santhosh
Department of Humanities and Social Science
Indian Institute of Technology, Madras
Lecture No. 58
Consuming Goa: Tourist site as Dispensable Space

So, welcome back to the class; we are in the twelfth week, which means the final week of this course. So we have minimal time to complete the remaining sections. As you have seen from the past couple of weeks, we have been looking at particular sessions, specific themes on globalisation in India and the previous sessions; you had a guest lecture by Doctor Shakti on her research area related to the middle class and then IT industry and other things related to doing that.

So, we will have two sessions today a one on consuming: Goa Tourist site as a defensible space and another session may be the last discussion on the substantive theme on Indian Society and Globalization is a discussion on development-related displacement due to an SEZ at particular economic zone policies and the kind of resistance that have been emerging across India. So, that would be our next session.

So, in this class, we are looking at the question of tourism, and we know that by the time you would have understood that tourism means movement of people from across the place and in we had an earlier session on the question of tourism in Goa. So, we will have this particular paper Consuming Goa: Tourist Site as Dispensable Space. So, this is an article that appeared in 2000 written by Paul Routledge, which talks about the kind of large-scale transformation happening in this very famous popular tourist space called Goa.

So, we know that the transportation of people, especially tourists, play a vital role in globalisation while travelling of people is nothing new. We have travelled across different continents and communities geographical areas from time immemorial. Still, our globalisation has enhanced people's travel due to the availability of cheap flights and other kinds of transportation facilities.

And we also know that in terms of tourism, it is not really that people in large numbers go to some other place; it also has economic implications, it also has cultural importance, it has a

political sense, it has a series of impacts affecting both the host as well as the other country. So, though this essay was published in 2000, it is essential because those interested in understanding the complications of tourism globalisation and it and tourism are critical essays.

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- There is a spectre of the increasingly intensive development of tourism currently organised under the sign of liberalization.
- 1990s as the decade of tourism in India
- The National Tourism Action Plan (NTAP) of 1992 placed increasing emphasis on the demand-centred model of international tourism, particularly luxury tourism
- Wholehearted government support to promote tourism in India



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So, there is a spectre of the increasingly intensive development of tourism currently organised under the sign of liberalisation. So, the liberalisation policies, as we have seen that which was announced in India in the 1990s, opened up the economy, allowed the flow of private capital, and also that of the foreign development the foreign direct investment into the Indian economy. There was a proliferation of such economic activities, and tourism was one such.

So, there was a concerted effort to utilise India's tourism potential. We know that India asset destination has a significant selling capital or capacity among many foreign countries because there were particular historical connections with India and Europe starting from say 15 century onwards and due to colonial ties. Also, India has a unique place in the world imagination as the land of spirituality, eastern spirituality and Hinduism, and many other things.

So, there were concerted attempts, and the 1990s was kind of declared as the decade of tourism in India, So there was a concerted effort from the government sites to open up the tourism industry, invite multinational companies, and undertake massive campaigns across many developed nations to attract tourists from there. So, the national tourism action plan NTAP of 1992 emphasised the demand centred model of international tourism, particularly luxury tourism.

So, there is a lot of literature on the kind of tourism, what type of tourist we are expecting, and the implications of different tourism segments, for example. In this luxury tourism, people come to have the best of the luxury that is available, so that is quite a resource-rich kind of tourism which require maybe 5 star kind of facilities hotels and airlines and then food and other things and that are also brought in quite a lot of substantial foreign currency into foreign money into our local economy.

On the other hand, there are also different kinds of much more people from lower-middle-class backgrounds coming in as backpackers. Then people who are looking for people are not willing to spend much money on that, so that has a very different implication on the cultural and economic aspects of every tourist destination. So, that itself is something exciting to look into that. This particular decade the 1990s and later, it so wholehearted government support to promote tourism in India.

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- Goa first came to the attention of the international tourist community during the 1960s and 1970s when the state's palm-fringed beaches became a haven for western hippy travellers.
- During the mid-1980s the Indian government began to consider seriously the possible economic benefits of promoting international tourism, and by 1986 had decided to exploit Goa and its beaches for the purposes of charter tourism.
- The expansion of charter and luxury tourism in Goa has increasingly involved investments from transnational corporations.
- For example, Lufthansa (Germany), Club Mediteranee (France), Intasun (UK), and Hyatt Regency and Ramada (US) are all involved in inter-national charter flights/package holiday tie-ups with Goan hotels.



Now, Goa first came to the attention of the international tourist community during the 1990s and 1960s and 70s when the state's palm-fringed beaches became a haven for western hippy travellers. And those who are familiar with this theme know that there was a significant rise of hippy culture during the 1960s and 70s, especially in Europe and in as well as in America where people who declared themselves as kind of anarchic who are who have rebelled against the

variety of societal institutions and regulations and who wanted to leave a very different type of life, entirely and institutionalised sort of life.

They kind of waged war against almost all major institutions of modern society, whether state or family or religion or marriage, so a variety of highly revolutionary anarchic types of lifestyle was what they sought. So, for many people, India became a natural destination because of this mystic aura that many people talk about that India is the land of mysticism. Also, many scholars have said that the availability of drugs starts with canopies to some of the other kinds of drugs, especially in the Himalayan region in areas close to Nepal or many other places.

So, it was the hippy tourist who was the one who understood the potential of Goan tourism for the first time, mainly precisely because of these palm-fringed beaches. Goa has a very long beach, as you know. During the mid-90s, the Indian government began to consider the possible economic benefits of promoting international tourism seriously and by 1986 had decided to exploit Goa and its beaches for charter tourism.

So, chartered tourism was identified as a significant way of getting foreign money, foreign investment, and foreign exchange to the country. So, the government started a host of programs and campaigns to target specifically this particular group; the expansion of charter and luxury tourism in Goa has increasingly involved investment from the transnational corporation.

So, for example, Lufthansa, the world-famous airline and then Club Mediterranean, Intasun in UK and Hyatt-Regency and Ramada in the U.S are all involved in the international charter flights package holiday tie-up with the Goan hotels. And you know that many of them are themselves hotels chains. Still, it is Hyatt-Regency or Ramada, so they have developed tie-ups with the other travel agencies and started establishing their hotels.

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- The DoT participates in most of the major international tourist events to liaise with hoteliers, travel trade companies, tour operators etc.
- Targeting high-value tourists and specified requirements for them like golf courses.
- The imaging and construction of Goa as a tourist site occurs through a variety of cultural frames that position the state, its people and environment in particular ways in an attempt to attract tourists.



The department of tourism DoT, the Department of Tourism participates in most of the major international tourist events at liaising with hoteliers travel trade companies, tour operators et cetera, something very familiar story that we all knows about it that the government both the state tourism department as well as very various private agencies they try to level their level best to attract tourists from the international market. There is significant competition among many countries, especially in recent times. The host of countries, including Malaysia, Thailand, and other countries, Vietnam, are competing to give the flavour of Asia to unknown Asian tourists.

So, they targeting high-value tourists and specified requirements for them like golf courses and other things; the other makes a critical observation that in this initial period of tourism, the main aim of the government was to attract high-value tourists, the high-value tourist comprising people who have quite a lot of disposable income, who are willing to spend money, which also require the kind of many very high-quality luxuries experience.


So, that means you require a 5-star facility, 5-star hotel, 5 star kind of food, another kind of ambience, and then another kind of high-quality thing. And the rationale is evident that they are willing to spend more and that money will be translated into the Indian economy. The image of the imaging and construction of Goa as a tourist site occurs through various cultural frames that position the state, its people and environment in particular ways to attract tourists.

This is a critical point; why is it an essential point? Every tourist destination needs to be sold, so how do you present a particular state, country, or tourist destination to an international audience? You require specific catchy phrases; you require certain slogans; you require detailed images; you also need to have you need to invoke particular imaginations in the people's minds about the kind of a destination.

And that is a very very fascinating process how this specificity, how this whole city is kind of created, what are the resources that they depend upon, whether it is legends, history, nature, people, culture, language, religion, there is the host of factors which act as resources from where this specific imagery is being built. For example, you know states like Kerala have made its slogan that 'Gods own country' and trendy saying among the international tourists.

And it became trendy because it presents Kerala as the 'Gods own country, a land a piece of land which has abundance in terms of natural beauty in our rivers and then Greenery all kind of stuff. So, this is something significant. It is essential to see how Goa presented itself or how Goa was presented by the tourist agency and the state and central government in front of the international tourist circuits.

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- Among the frames constructed to present Goa as a tourist destination, the single most powerful referent is that of the 'beach'. Of Goa's 105 km-coastline, 65 kms are designated as beach areas.
 - Both official and unofficial framings; as a tropical paradise; a place for relaxation and leisure; sex tourism and drugs etc.
 - Golden Goa: Goa's Catholicism, colonial past, and 'Indian' characteristics provide an image of remoteness and exoticism for the western tourist to enjoy.
 - Gendered Goa: In a majority of tourist literatures, Goa is characterised as female, and is sold to an imaginary male consumer. Both the government of India's tourist brochure on Goa, Goa's tourism departments, and the large hotel chains have used bikini-clad women in their advertising in order to sell Goan culture. Male gaze.



So, frame frames were constructed to present Goa as a tourist destination. You know the frame is a vital term; how do you frame it? How do you frame a particular, capture a specific essence of a

destination? How do you and frame is something similar to how you phrase it, the way you picturise a specific area, the way you define it, the way you accentuate it, so that is the term.

Goa is a tourist destination, the single most potent referent is that of the beach of Goa's 105 kilo-meter coastline; 60 kilo-meters are designated as beach areas. And this is something significant, and we know that tourists, especially from Europe and the USA, are so fond of beaches and sunbathing and other stuff. So, both official and unofficial framings are critical as a tropical paradise for relaxation and leisure, sex tourism, drugs, et cetera.

So, we know that no single place has a special kind of framing, there are multiple framing there are competitions competitive of frames are use competitive imaginations are used, so Goa is always presented as a tropical paradise with pristine beaches and the shallow sea waters and then food and other stuff, and a place for relaxation and leisure, you know even otherwise there is a cultural construction about Goa's is a place of peace and people are very very, people who take a very relaxed lifestyle in themselves.

And also, there was competing another kind of imaginations or framing which focused around sex tourism and drugs et cetera, because drugs were freely available to a large extent and along with this tourist attraction, sex tourism also became an important one because you know that the client deals are different. Still, even now, there is an impression or imagination about Goa being a place where sex and drugs are freely available.

The author identifies two-three interesting framings; one of the framings is the presentation of Goa as a golden Goa, which invokes a kind of a golden era of the past, Goa's Catholicism colonial past and the Indian characteristics provide an image of remoteness and exoticism for the western tourist to enjoy.

So, this hurts the colonial era in which the Portuguese invaded Goa, the Portuguese influence was powerful, and the catholic church was mighty. Those who know the history of Goa know that there was large scale conversion from upper-caste Hindus into that of Catholicism in Goa, so quite a lot, the caste system is almost intact even though it's a Christianity in Goa, there were high-caste Catholics and, and that particular period. Then the period of colonialism was presented as an era of Goa's golden age, which was kind of packaged and then sold.

Another image the author identifies is gendered Goa; in most tourist literature, Goa is female and sold to an imaginary male consumer. The government of India's tourist brochure on Goa, Goa's tourism departments and the large hotel chains have used bikini-clad women in their advertisement to sell Goan culture, which catches to something called this male gaze.

So, this is again not something impossible; you can present land through the medium of the female gender. You can give this land or Goa sold by private and government agencies as a female, available for the male gaze. So, whether it is through voyeurism, whether it is through by advertising, the sight of women foreign women what taking sunbath in Goan beaches or even remotely or indirectly promoting sex tourism, this element was something very very important, it was seen as a representing the kind of a female beauty which is available for the male desire and male gaze.

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- Goa as 'other': Drawing upon the state's colonial past, and the gendered nature of tourist advertising, Goa is viewed from within and without India as a cultural 'other', one that is, at varying times - according to the targeted audience - exotic, easy going, westernised, promiscuous, and alcoholic. A place of 'fun, frolic, festivals, and feni'.



And Goa as the 'other' is the third framing that the author identifies. Drawing upon the Colonial state past and the general nature of tourist advertising, Goa is viewed from within and without India as a cultural 'other', one that is at varying times according to the targeted audience as exotic easy-going westernised, promiscuous and alcoholic, a place of fun frolic festivals and feni.

This again you know how Goa has a very, very distinct imagination within India because Goans are considered to be very different from the other so-called traditional and orthodox Indian societies, I am presenting all these things inverted comma, not to say that these are the kind of

reality, but that is how it is presented. So, Goa is seen as saying exotic; it's easy-going because of the leisure and the relaxed nature of people's lives and westernised definitely and promiscuous and alcoholic. The liquor is freely available, prices much cheaper, and a place for fun frolic festivals and feni.

So, it is seen as a symbol of a carefree life where all other worldly pleasures are available. So, Goa was presented as a place where otherwise, you know, strict traditionalist Indians can go and then enjoy for some time and then get back without affecting other cultures of their native places. So, it is seen as a place where anything is allowed, promiscuity is allowed, food, drugs, sex, all these things are freely available and tolerated.

So, that idea was widely circulated to the Indian population. At the same time, because you know that these things are not something so important or impressive for a foreign tourist, but foreign tourists Goa was presented as a tropical paradise it was presented as exotic, it was presented as an easy-going place for relaxation and other stuff. So, it is a combination of such frames used to attract domestic and international tourists.

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The consequences



- The needs of tourism development have transformed the coastal sites of Goa into a dispensable space. What has become dispensable is the integrity of the political process; the rights of local people to pursue traditional livelihoods and to have access to local resources; and the cleanliness of the environment.
- Those in control of the development process, are the tourism 'experts', pro-luxury hotel lobbyists, central and state government politicians, tourism operators (travel agencies, airlines, potential foreign investors, etc), and other elite interests.



So far, we have heard about how this particular place was framed, and then tourism was the attraction. Now, what are the consequences? We know that a considerable amount of money must have come, but what are the other products and these consequences? We will discuss that it is not confined only to the Indian context or the Goan situation. These issues are confronted by almost every tourist destination across the globe.

So, suppose you look into academic writings on tourism and its related issues. In that case, it is associated with the environment into a culture into the economy. There are many materials owned, and consider this as another example. The need for tourism development has transformed the coastal sites of Goa into dispensable spaces; what has become dispensable is the integrity of the political process, the rights of local people to pursue a traditional livelihood and to have access to local resources, the cleanliness of the environment.

So, one of the essential things that have happened in Goa is that most of these things were presented as a top-down approach, the government decided, the state selected it, and it was kind of imposed on that and the type of involvement of the people, that the two democratic processes were hardly taken. This tourist land, especially the beaches, becomes an indispensable kind of dispensable space.

So, the rights of the local people to pursue a traditional livelihood, say, for example, fishing, casting their net for drying the fish or having some coconut garden over on the beach, was seen

as less critical or less economical and were seen as less necessary or less economical very ruthlessly sidelined. And then, of course, the environment suffers. Those in control of the development process are the tourism experts, pro-luxury hotel lobbies, central and state government politician's, tourism operators, travel agencies, airlines, potential foreign investors, et cetera and other elite interests.

And this is the story of almost all tourist destinations if not done correctly because tourism is seen as a high-value kind of a sector and that will attract people with deep pockets that will attract people with considerable political clout and the voice of the local people of the ordinary people will not be heard.

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- Luxury tourism hotel concerns have used intimidation, violence, and harassment against attempts made by local communities to develop their own more equitably based tourism (eg, family-owned restaurants, restaurant shacks, guest houses, etc), or indeed other (non-tourist-based) productive activities.
- The public access to several beaches has been curtailed as hotels appropriate and privatise the waterfront and thereby exclude the locals. The beach areas have traditionally been used for the maintenance of fishing boats, drying of fishing nets, for casting fishing nets, and also for planting coconut, paddy, and cashew, and for toddy tapping.
- Overexploitation of water through digging bore wells
- Tourist sites witness both the increase in land values, and the increase in the prices of basic food commodities. Both become increasingly unaffordable to the majority of the local population.



So, luxury tourism hotels concerns have used intimidation, violence, and harassment against atoms made by local communities to develop their own more equitable-based tourism, such as family-owned restaurants, restaurant shacks, guest houses, et cetera or other non-tourist based productive activities. The essay has many details about such instances where hotels have robust hotels, very wealthy hotels of resorted to Islands. They have enclosed a complete section of the beach without allowing the local people to enter it.

For a tourist who goes to a private hotel 5-star hotel, the whole premise of a private beach is something promising. What does the private beach mean? A hotel that has a private beach means that it has an enclosed beach section where nobody else is allowed. So, who are these nobody

else? Nobody else is the people living nearby the non-resilience of this hotel, so it provides you with complete safety and privacy, most importantly.

And we know that any such kind of space creations occur through the explosion process. And this is this happens blatantly in almost every such type of place, and the lower middle class and the lower class. This native population cannot get into this high-value exegesis, systematically excluded.

Public access to several beaches has been curtailed as hotels appropriate and privatise the waterfront and thereby exclude the locals; the beach areas have traditionally been used for the maintenance of fishing boats, drying of fishing nets for casting fishing nets and also for planting coconut paddy and cashew and for toddy tapping all these things become as I mentioned less attractive and the price.

Then another obvious thing is this over-exploitation waterproof digging bore wells. You know how huge the water requirement for a 5-star hotel with 100's of rooms and then sprawling lawns and a host of other things would be. Where all highly water-intensive enterprises, even though when you have the might be recycling water, but still the requirement of water is very high, and they have the money to dig deeper and deeper bore wells which will have severe implications on the water level of the water table in those areas.

Tourist sites witnessed both the increase in land value and the increase in the price of essential food commodities; both became increasingly unaffordable to the majority of the local population. Another specific product that the land prices will shoot up ordinary people will not be able to take. The cost of everyday commodities, food items, and other things also short go up.

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- Serious ecological damage: the destruction of sand dunes; the destruction of tree cover; the tapping of groundwater within 500 metres of the HTL, the decline in the water table; the planting of exotic species of flora that are ecologically inappropriate for the local coastal ecosystems; increased levels of coastal pollution, and the discharge of hotel sewage directly into the sea.
- Increasing instances of resistance from local communities.
- For many of the village communities engaged in resistance, the principal concerns have been those of (community-centered) resource appropriation (e.g., of land, water, and beach access) engendered by particular forms of (luxury) tourism linked to the increased impact of multi-national capital in Goa.



Serious ecological damage. The destruction of dunes, the destruction of tree cover, the tapping of groundwater within 500 meters of the high tide line, the decline in the water table, the planting of exotic species in flora that are ecologically inappropriate for the local ecosystems, increased levels of cost of pollution and the discharge of hotels sewage directly into the sea. These cases have been repeatedly reported in significant numbers that hotels and cruise boats, and cruise ships are discharging the sewage directly into the sea or into the major water bodies by creating a massive amount of environmental pollution.

And this is a story in most prominent tourist destinations; whether it is in Vietnam or China or Malaysia, or any other place, this is a critical issue. Now, increasing instances of resistance from the local communities. So, this who are familiar with Goan society know that Goa has a very long history of civic activism, civil society is powerful, there are very active citizen groups who christened this kind of growth and control growth of tourism, there are citizenship groups and civil society organisations who question the mining business in Goa.

The mining business in Goa was yet another significant and lucrative economic activity that has systemically or significantly damaged the ecological balance of the state. So, many of the village communities engaged in resistance. The principal concerns have been those of the community centre, resource appropriation that island water and beach access, engendered by particular forms of luxury tourism link to the increased impact of multinational capital in Goa.

So, this is the story of Goa that we are seeing the kind of people who resist against such policy, they are fighting against a potent adversary who comes in the form of foreign capital you know and foreign tourist and then huge money people with high disposable income and those concerns are expressed in different ways in communities centred, thing through their language, through their identity. They are all trying to stake claims on their natural resources.

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- Although such resistance is place-specific in character, it nevertheless articulates concerns that are to be found throughout societies that are undergoing liberalisation - those of economic, political, cultural, and environmental justice. Goan resistance represents a local and particular response to the juggernaut of tourism that bears the 'universalising impulse' of the western way of wealth creation and consumption.



So, although such resistance is placed specific, it nevertheless articulates concerns that are to be found throughout societies that are undergoing liberalisation, those of economic, political, cultural and environmental justice; goan resistance represents local and particular response are to the juggernaut of tourism that bears the universalising impulse of the western ways of wealth creation and consumption.

So, how do local populations resist? You know that no country is free from reports about many European countries. The city dwellers form alliances to fight their town's overselling as a tourist destination. So, this is not something confined to third world countries. It is a phenomenon in many of the European societies as well.

So, tourism is a very very, while it is an exciting thing it provides you with the possibilities to go on witness and experience other culture, its implication if not carefully done if not done with the sensitivity it can be pretty disruptive to the local economy, local people, local culture and that is

why we are witnessing quite a lot of resistance against such kind of initiatives from across the group.

So, if anybody is interested in understanding the connection between globalisation and tourism, this paper would be helpful because this is the story enacted in different places of the block. So, let us stop here and then meet for the next class. Thank you.