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TOURISM ROUTES: MATERIAL HERITAGE OF PORTUGUESE ORIGIN IN MOROCCO AND GOA

1. Introduction

Routes are an integral part of our lives. Presently, created or adapted as tourism routes of many sorts, these itineraries, which may vary from a simple urban trail to a vast intercontinental journey, are one of the key elements of tourism development throughout the world. This chapter attempts to make a preliminary discussion of the spatial configuration of tourism routes, based upon existing literature and on empirical observations, using various international and national examples. Furthermore, it applies two of these models to the cases of military heritage of Portuguese origin in Morocco and Goa, India. The analysis is supported by fieldwork conducted in Goa in 2008, and in Morocco, especially during 2010 and 2011.

2. Routes and Roots

The human body has not been made to travel at speeds that exceed much more than 30 kilometres per hour. This is roughly the maximum speed a human can run (in 2009 Usain Bolt set the world record of the 200 meters at a speed of 10.44 meters per second, or 37.5 km/hour), and the

limit velocity at which our skull can absorb impacts without fatal injuries¹. So, while our anatomy has evolved into a design that adapts comfortably to travel by walking and running, high speeds and the technologies that often accompany them are still foreign to our bodies. Two simple examples of these limitations are the dehydration our body suffers when we spend too many hours inside a plane at high altitudes, or the effects from jet lag, simply because we cross time zones too quickly. Humans' settlement history has started long ago, and the overwhelming majority of contemporary societies is now rooted in particular places, being physically bounded to relatively restricted spaces. Nevertheless, society as a whole moves towards routing and is becoming increasingly restless and mobile. Travel is gradually more an integral part of the postmodern 'new world order of mobility' (Clifford 1997:1). With the massification of pleasure travel (even if confined to a part of the world's population), an increasing number of people travels regularly, participating in these flows or scapes as Arjun Appadurai calls them (Appadurai 1996). The whole world seems to be on the move: from journalists to migrants and refugees, from tourists to movie and sport stars, from military to missionaries of all kinds. Apparently, for many people the world has no borders. At the same time, nomads are world minorities who often become the objects of the tourist gaze (Sarmiento and Etemadpour 2009). Tourists travel great lengths to see or to have brief and superficial contacts with nomad indigenous people.

Routes are journeys that imply movement, some form of spatial progress, passing through various elements, attracting millions of tourists. As Sarmiento and Henriques (2009: 285) put it, 'routeing is in fact something inherent to tourism since tourism is inescapably 'kinaesthetic''. Routes are spatial geometries, and may vary from relatively short walking or cycling trails in a city, to longer motorized route itineraries in rural settings or intercontinental journeys, such as the Silk Road. What all these tourist routes have in common is the cultural consumption along the

¹ Mortality rates resulting from run-over accidents increase dramatically when they exceed 30 km/hour: 5% at 32 km/h; 45% at 48 km/h; 85% at 64 km/h and 100% at speeds over 80 km/hour.

way associated with permanent re-workings of place and culture, which draw inspiration from nostalgia, memory and tradition, but also mystery and venture (Murray and Graham 1997; Tirasatayapitak and Laws 2003; Zoomers 2008). One of the most obvious and positive aspects of the establishment and development of tourist routes is that they connect several attractions that not have the potential to allure visitors to spend time and money when working independently. The synergy effect allows for a greater pulling power, while it disperses visitors' money among a larger number of recipients.

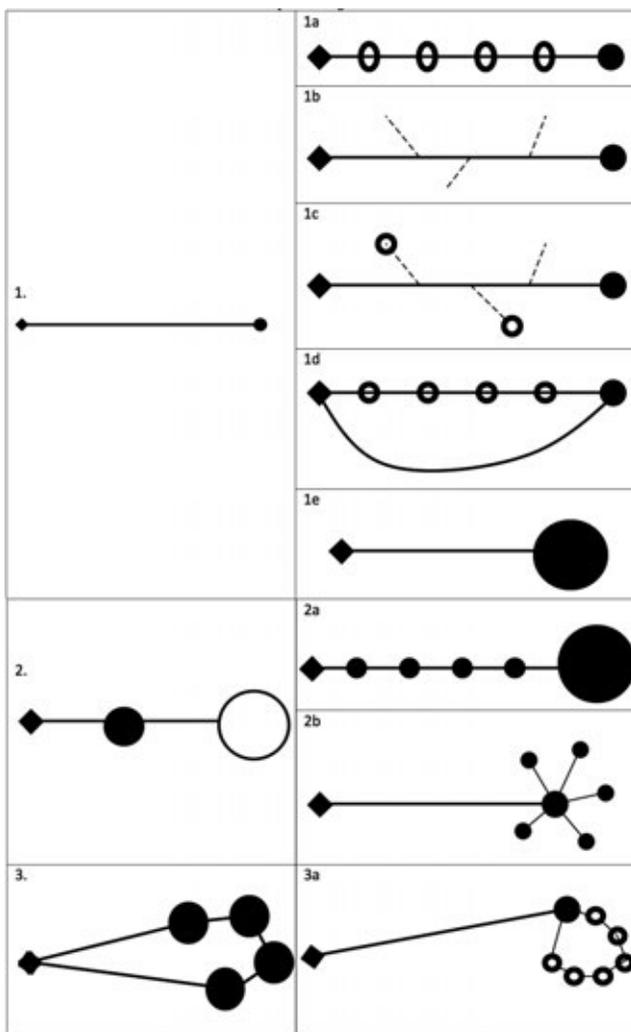
Almost fifty years ago a working group of the Council of Europe wrote in a report that there was a need 'to consider the possibilities of setting up networks for tourism connected with the cultural geography of Europe' (1964 in Capp, 2002: 2). About two decades later, the first European cultural route was established: the Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Way (1987) and roughly a decade later (1998), the European Council entrusted to the European Institute of the Cultural Routes the task of monitoring the Cultural Routes program as a whole. Presently, there are hundreds of cultural routes in Europe and throughout the world, with aims that range from tourism development, identity building and common heritage preservation.

3. Spatial configuration of Routes

Particularly as a result of transport development, the world is now covered by tourism routes in a broad sense, and it is possible to go from point A to point B almost anywhere in the globe. Regulation, government policy, legal issues, technology, impacts, and most importantly here itineraries, have naturally changed dramatically in the past decades (see Graham, Papatheodorou and Forsyth, 2008). To fly from Europe to North America we no longer need to stop in the Azores, as occurred with the first transatlantic flights in the early twentieth century. To a large degree, and in many cases, we can say that all that we are left with is the origin and the destination. Nevertheless, there are still many regions of the world

where land transportation is the only possible way of movement, and for various reasons, it can be quite slow.

TABLE I – Spatial configurations of tourism routes



While the study of tourist flows has been the subject of relatively little academic enquiry (McKercher and Lew 2004), several authors have discussed and proposed spatial models of itineraries (Lue, Crompton, and Fesenmaier 1993; Oppermann 1995; Flognfeldt 1999; McKercher and Lew

2003, 2004) and spatial movement patterns of tourists within a destination (Lew and McKercher 2006). Based on these models I have identified three main types of tourism routes – single destination, secondary destinations and multiple destinations – plus variations (Table I). Since this is an exploratory study, it is not my aim to present a crystallised version of tourism route spatial models, but to open up a discussion of these models and their application.

3.1. Single destination

Model 1 refers to a single origin and a single destination. It is the typical model of a charter trip from north Europe to a southern resort in Europe or in Africa. We could also think of tourists leaving an airport such as Oporto, in north Portugal, travelling directly to a resort in northeast Brazil or the Dominican Republic. When at destination, tourists spend most of their time within the resort (the hotel, the swimming pools, restaurants and bars), and venture very little outside this ‘safe space’. The five models from 1a to 1e are variations of this first one, and principally refer to tourists travelling by land. Stops can be for refreshments, overnight, but also for visiting attractions such as museums or particular landscapes. These attractions may be important enough for tourists to detour and exit their main route (1b, only the routes; 1c, some sites). In many cases, with the construction of infrastructures like bridges or motorways, many villages or places lose their function and role as providers of resting places. In Portugal, until quite recently towns like Oliveira de Azeméis and Alcácer do Sal were very important on the tourism route from Oporto to the Algarve. Local businesses along the national road were replaced by the more generic landscapes of motorway service stations. Yet, despite their non-place characteristics (Augé 1995), they still guard some cultural aspects of the region where they are implemented. Motorway service stations around Coimbra, for example, sell sandwiches of suckling pig, a regional favourite dish, which is not found elsewhere in Portuguese motorway service stations. Regional pastry follows the same spatial pattern.

Model 1d refers to a situation where tourists travel directly on one leg of the route, and make stops on the other leg. An example that fits this model is the 9289 kilometres Trans-Siberian train journey, which is only normally travelled in one direction (usually from West to East), complemented with a flight journey. Another situation refers to the cruises in the Douro river, in the north of Portugal: tourists either take a bus or train inland from Oporto and then descend the river by boat, or travel up river by boat and descend to Oporto by train or bus. A final example of the application of this model is the routes followed by many pilgrims in the Santiago Way. Pilgrims generally only walk in one direction – a large proportion of the 15,000 to 20,000 pilgrims that walk the route start in the Franco-Spanish border in the Pyrenees (Slavin 2003), using another mode of transport (mostly bus, taxi or private car) in the other direction (see Murray and Graham 1997). Model 1e represents a situation where the destination is actually an ample space, but either not large enough to make tourists overnight in different places, or not having facilities to allow for such a thing. An example would be tourists that fly from Lisbon or Oporto to islands such as Flores or São Jorge in the Azores, moving around with a rented car, but always sleeping in the same place. The city of São Tomé, in São Tomé and Príncipe is also an example, since the lack of infrastructures in the country does not allow for tourists to overnight in many places other than the capital. This model somehow overlaps with model 3a (see below).

3.2. Secondary destinations

Model 2 represents a situation where there is more than one destination or at least there is one or more secondary destinations. It might refer to a journey with a stopover that allows for visiting and travelling a particular destination. It is quite common in long haul journeys, and nowadays places like Dubai, Abu Dhabi or Qatar attempt to take advantage of their location ‘in-between’ Europe and South and Southeast Asia to attract travellers. Air Emirates for example, has a specific package that includes accommodation, airport transfers and visa, for stopovers no longer than

98 hours in either Dubai or Abu Dhabi (see <http://fly.emirates.com>). For different reasons than before this model goes back to the time when air travel had compulsory stops for refuelling and other technical issues. Model 2a includes various stops along the way, before arriving at the principal destination. A good example here is the motor-home holidays by northern Europeans to the Algarve. They may stop various times and for several days along the way, before touring the region of the Algarve for several months, their main destination (according to Domingues and Ramos (2009), there are about 37,000 motor-home tourists in Portugal every year). Model 2b considers a destination that concentrates the majority of tourism facilities in the region, and which serves as a basis for daytrips or short trips in a region. This allows for tourists to visit various attractions, returning to the same point. It also allows for a dispersion of tourists and the possibility to direct them to the least sensitive areas. A basis in Oporto and daytrips or short trips to Guimarães, Braga, the Douro Valley, etc. is a good example.

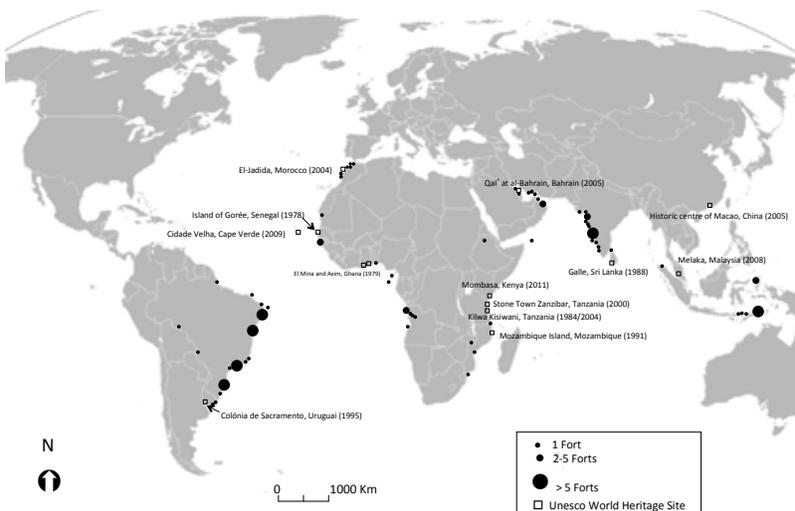
3.3. Multiple destinations

Model 3 represents tourism routes in spaces with sound quality tourist infrastructures, which allows tourists to tour a region and overnight in different places – trip changing. The model accounts for ‘open jaw’ journeys, that is, starting in one point and finishing in another, before returning to the initial departure. Good examples of this configuration in island hopping in Croatia (starting in Split and finishing in Dubrovnik, passing through the islands of Brač, Hvar, Korčula and Mjet) or in the Azores, despite in the latter case being more difficult to make open jaw journeys due to the limited flight routes to the mainland. Model 3a represents almost the same situation, but at a smaller scale. Destinations therefore are not overnight sites. The difference between this model and model 1e is on whether we consider one extensive destination or a group of destinations. Examples of the application of this model are shown below, with the heritage of Portuguese origin in Morocco and Goa.

4. Drafting tourism routes based on the Portuguese Heritage throughout the world

For over five centuries (1415-1974), the Portuguese built or adapted fortifications, churches, houses, palaces, etc. along the coasts of Africa, Asia and South America (Mattoso 2010). Presently, these countless material legacies are located in the political boundaries of at least 25 independent states all in the Global South. As I have argued elsewhere in relation to Forts and fortifications (Sarmiento 2011), these audacious architectural forms can be understood as active material legacies of empire that represent promises, dangers and possibilities, which are deeply understudied by academics, including geographers. Map 1 partly illustrates the geographical scattering of these attractions, but also serves as a first step to think about possibilities of organising some of these resources into more coherent groups that allow for the creation of tourism routes. In this text I focus on the cluster of Forts located in Morocco and in the Indian state of Goa. Many other clusters could be identified, such as in coastal Brazil; Angola; North Mozambique, Tanzania and Kenya; the Arabic peninsula region, including Oman or Qatar, Iran; and India.

FIGURE 1 – Forts throughout the world



Source: modified from Sarmiento 2011

But before embarking on a discussion of some of the possibilities of using these sites in a coherent tourism route, I must highlight the fact that such an endeavour should not be regarded as a neo-colonial action or a project built upon a nostalgic view of the past, but should be framed in the possibilities that such developments might produce in local development, job creation, and enhancement of and articulation with local, regional and national identities.

4.1. Forts in Morocco

Morocco is a North African country with a population of 33 million people and an area of 710,850 square kilometres. It borders Algeria in the East and Southeast and the disputed territory of Western Sahara in the Southwest. Tourism has been significant since the early twentieth century (Hunter 2010), and in the 1930s it was already one of the most important earners of the country. Since then, tourist numbers never ceased to increase. Following on the Plan Azur Vision 2010, implemented by the Moroccan government in 2001, and the signature of the open-skies EU agreement in 2005, the tourism industry became one of most important in the country, expected to directly account for 9,1% of total GDP and for a total contribution of employment of 17,3% in 2011 (World Travel and Tourism Council 2011). In 2009 it was one of the few countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region that registered positive tourism figures. In 2010 the country registered over 9 million tourists. The country's tourist attractions are vast. They range from a long Atlantic coastline, some newly built Mediterranean resorts, ancient cities with remarkable architectural features, a large range of mountains (High Atlas, Mid Atlas, Anti Atlas and the Rift mountains) and desert environments. Despite a long conflict in the Western Sahara and some terrorist attacks (2003 in Casablanca and 2011 in Marrakesh), the country is viewed as one of the safer and tourist friendly in the Maghreb.

Material heritage of Portuguese origin in Morocco is abundant, especially on the Atlantic coast, and it can be divided into military, religious

TABLE II – Principal Forts of Portuguese Origin in Morocco

	Built or occupied	Lost	Conservation	Nearest fort (km)	Tourism infra-structures
1. Ksar es Seghir	1458	1550	Ruins	36	No
2. Tanger	1471	1661	Poor	40	Yes
3. Asilah (Arzila)	1471	1550	Good	40	
4. Azamor	1513	1541	Poor	12	Poor
5. El Jadida (Mazagan)	1514	1769	Good-Unesco	12	Yes
6. Safi (Safim)	1508	1541	Good	40	Poor
7. Sueira Kedima (Aguz)	1508	1541	Ruins	40	No
8. Ceuta (Spain)	1515	1640	Good	36	Yes

* The classification as ‘poor’ implies that the fort or fortification has been substantially modified and it is hard for the average tourist to distinguish ‘original’ parts of Portuguese origin and other (re)constructions and modifications.

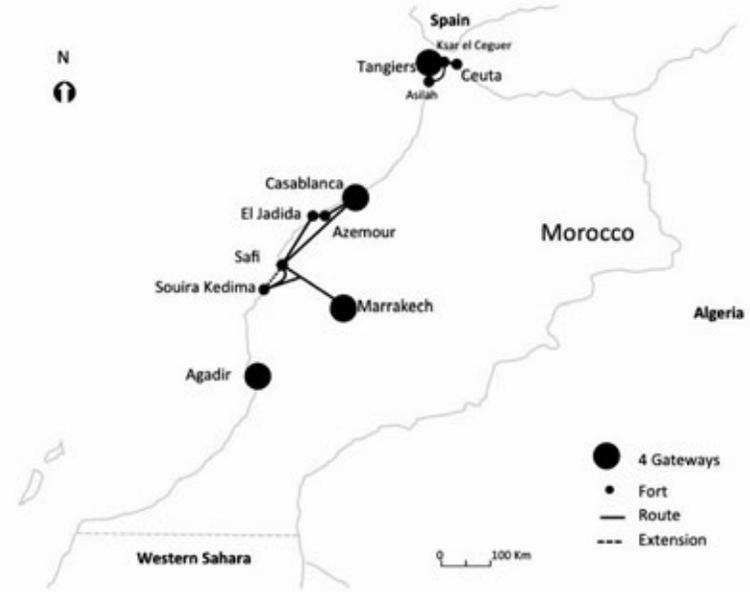
and civil architecture. With one or two exceptions, this material heritage does not fit prominently in the tourist brochures of the country. Based on fieldwork conducted mainly in 2010 and 2011, here I focus on the military architecture of Portuguese origin (see Table II), and examine the most suitable spatial model for a possible tourism route. On the official tourism web site of Morocco (www.visitmorocco.com, accessed in May 2011), there is no specific entry for Forts, Fortifications or Castles. Through the category ‘Arts and Culture’ we can obtain some information by following the link concerning the Unesco World Heritage in Morocco, which directs visitors to Mazagan (El Jadida). Another ‘route’ is to go directly to the cities of Tangiers (although there is no reference to the Portuguese and the emphasis is on the nineteenth century social and cultural life) or Mazagan (instead of having information on the city of El Jadida, the option is to inform tourists of the newly built Mazagan resort, some 10 km away). Information on Safi and Asilah is found under ‘Other cities’. In fact, the sea view from Asilah is one of the most iconic views of Moroccan tourism. The site proposes a full tour of Morocco in two weeks, starting in Casablanca, going north to Rabat, Larache, Lixus, Tetouan, Chefchaouen,

Fes, Moulay Idrissi, Meknes, Volubilis, Midelt, Erfud, Errachidia, Ouarzazate, Marrakech, Taroudant, Tafrouat and Tiznit, Agadir, Essaouira, Safi and El Jadida, and back to Casablanca.

4.2. Spatial Routes in Morocco

Considering the three main airports in Morocco – Casablanca, Marrakesh and Agadir, (7,2; 3,3; 1,6 million passengers in 2010, respectively – Office National des Aéroports, 2010), and the main passenger entry maritime port – Tangiers, and the location of and distances between the 8 Forts of Portuguese origin in Morocco (see Table II), I suggest one model of ‘multiple destination – trip changing’ (model 3) and two models of ‘Circuit destination with stops – partial orbit’ (model 3a) (Figure 2). Border crossing

FIGURE 2 – Morocco Map



Source: Author

at Ceuta is also another important tourist entry in the country and could also be considered by slightly modifying the first model. From Agadir, the nearest significant fort is Safi, at a distance of 253 km. Since there are two important tourists attractions nearer (Marrakech and Essaouira are 241 km and 172 km away, respectively), it is not expected that tourists travel to Safi, unless they are niche tourists with a particular interest in heritage of Portuguese origin.

1. Total of 167 km (or 245 km including Ceuta): start in Tangiers and travel to Asilah (49 km), then via inland to Alcacer Ceguer (85 km), with a possible extension to Ceuta (crossing the border to Spain and return 78 km), returning to Tangiers by the coast (33 km);
2. Total of 359 km: start in Casablanca and travel to Azamour (89km), overnight in El-Jadida (16 km), continue to Safi (154 km), with a possible extension to Souira Kedima (41 km), and return;
3. Total of 380 km: start in Marrakech and travel to Safi (154 km), continue to Souira Kedima (41 km) and return following almost the same route.

FIGURE 3 – Azamour



Source: Author, 2010

4.3. Forts in Goa

Goa is an independent state of India, located on the East Coast of the country, with a population of 1,34 million people. It is one of the smallest states of India, with an area of 3,702 square kilometres, bordering two large states: Maharashtra to the north and Karnataka to the West and South. Goa's capital, Panaji, is located about 600 kilometres south of Mumbai. While in the early 1960s ore, iron and manganese were the only relevant exports of Goa, nowadays, tourism is the most important sector of the state's economy. Tourism boomed in the 1960s, after the Portuguese withdrawal in December 1961, and the small territory became a haven for hippies and low budget travellers. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s and much of the 1980s this was the dominant and most visible type of tourism, characterised by budget, small scale and low quality accommodation, seasonal beach shacks, linear development along the main coastal roads including seasonal shops, and a very pronounced spatially concentrated on the coast. As Saldanha (2002, 96) puts it, '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.'

Throughout the last two decades, pressure on water supplies and increasing water salination of coastal aquifers intensified, at the same time as another type of tourism emerged. This was characterised by large scale developments, aiming at attracting high spending tourists. Presently, according to the Goa Department of Tourism (2010) there are 15 five star hotels in Goa, which makes a total of 4601 beds (38 per cent of the total number of beds in star category hotels). In 2009 the state registered more than 2.5 million visitors (Goa Department of Tourism 2010). Importantly here is the fact that 'free itinerary travellers accounted for almost half of foreign tourists arriving in Goa' (Navhind Times 2011), which means that these tourists have a great flexibility in the activities they do during the day.

In 2008, the Official Goa Tourism Web Site (www.goa-tourism.com) had an entry for 'Forts in Goa' where it stated: 'Compared to Indian standards, Goan forts are very small in size'. This would immediately raise the issue

of Indian heritage versus Goan heritage (see Saldanha 2002). This ‘dispute’ is further complicated when it is stated that ‘Some are awesome in sheer size like the Ruins of the St. Augustine’s Tower’ – built by Augustinian missionaries in 1602 but not a Fort – ‘while others are marvellous pieces of architecture, such as the Gate of the Adil Shah’s Palace at Old Goa’ – the last evidence of a Palace built by the Sultan of Bijapur, but also not a Fort. This text can no longer be found on the site, and presently (May 2011), only six Forts are presented in the official web site: Aguada, Cabo da Rama, Cabo Raj Niwas (presently the official residence of the Governor of Goa and a non visitable site), Chapora, Mormurgao (only ruins exist) and Terekhol. Significantly, they do not match the ten forts (Aguada, Reis Magos, Chapora, Khorjuvem, St. Estevao, Alorna, Mormugao, Cabo de Rama, Colvale and Terekhol) that have been designated as ‘Tourist Places’ and are presently included in the list of the Goa Tourist Places, according to the Protection and Maintenance Act of 2001 (Goa Government 2001). This vague and imprecise text (where on the one hand it is written that ‘most of them [Portuguese Forts] are in reasonable state of preservation’, and on the other hand ‘most of them lie in ruins’) reveals the little care and emphasis that is put upon built heritage in Goa and the lack of a strategy that aims, among other things, to promote and develop a type of tourism that departs from the dominant ‘sun, sea, sand and rave’ type. Despite some recent restoration in some forts², throughout the state, very little information can be obtained about these forts, either in the form of leaflets, brochures or road signs. In 2008, I visited ten forts in Goa over a period of five weeks. My personal experience revealed that the location of some of the inland forts is also unknown to many locals, even at a short distance from the actual sites. I could not find evidence of Sanquelim Fort, near Bicholim, and for lack of time it was not possible to visit Tivim, Pondá, Nanuz, Mormurgão and Anjediva. The diversity of the visited Forts is considerable (see Table III).

² In Reis Magos Fort restoration began in 2007 and it was expected to be completed in 2010. St. Estevao was the second fort to have restoration work. Built in the late 15th century by Adil Shah, it is one of the oldest forts in Goa. There are signs that Corjuem and Alorna could be the next targets of restoration.

TABLE III – Forts in Goa

Name	Built	Conservation	Nearest fort (km)	Tourism infra-structures
1. Rachol	1520	Ruins	40	No
2. Old Goa	Early 1500s	Poor	8	Yes
3. Corjuem	1705	Good	10	No
4. St. Estevao	1498-1510	Ruins	8	No
5. Alorna	1746	Good	35	No
6. Tiracol	1746	Good (Hotel)	15	Yes
7. Chapora	1617	Ruins	15	Yes
8. Aguada	1612	Good (Hotel)	5	Yes
9. Reis Magos	1551	Good	5	Yes
10. Cabo de Rama	1763	Good	40	No

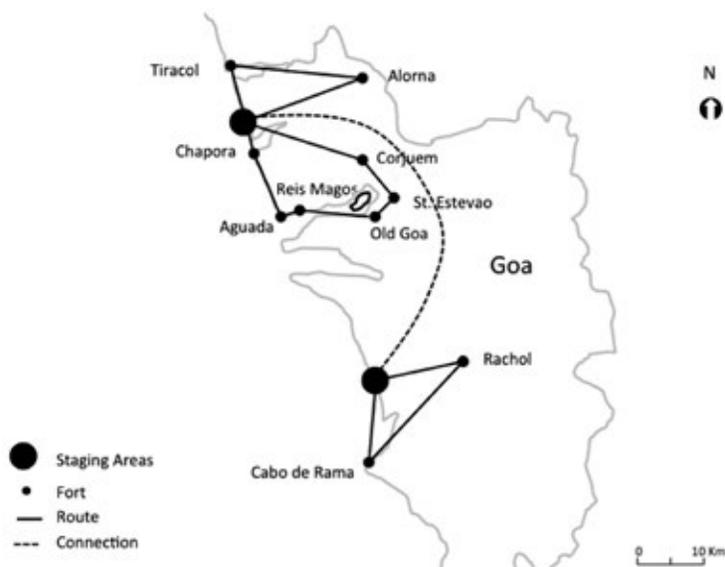
4.4. Spatial Routes in Goa

In Goa, unlike Morocco, not all forts are located on the coastal zone, which is where tourists and tourism infrastructure are concentrated. This can be an advantage in an attempt to disperse tourists in the state and to allow for less visited regions to engage in tourism. Still, most Forts are located in the north region of Pernem and Bardez (Fig. 4). At the same time, also contrasting with Morocco, there is only one main entry in Goa, which is the airport at Dabolim, one of the top 10 airports in India. In this regard it is important to mention that a large number of tourists arrive by charter flights (see Wilson 1997), a number that has been increasing: between 1985 and 2011, the number of charter flights rose from 24 to 889, and the number of passengers boosted from 3,568 to 171,000 thousand (see Saldanha 2002 and Digital Goa 2011). Presently, over half of these charter flights originate in Eastern Europe, with Russia topping the list traditionally dominated by the UK, which also signals a change in the tourists' profile visiting the state. Still, British still account for almost half of all foreign tourists in Goa. Tourists arriving by rail or bus are a small fraction of the total number of tourists.

Considering two main staging areas – that is the areas where most hotels and tourism facilities are concentrated – in coastal Bardez and coastal Salcete, it is possible to establish three models 3a ‘Circuit destination with stops – partial orbit’, two of which depart from the same point. Reflecting the small size of the state, especially when compared with the case of Morocco, all of these routes have much shorter lengths, approximately 80-95 kilometres.

1. Total 95 km: start from Salcete coast to Rachol (25-30 km) and then journey directly to Cabo da Rama (40km) and return (20-25 km).
2. Total 85 km: start from Bardez coast to Tiracol (15 km), crossing by ferry in Querim to this Goese enclave, journey to Alorna (35 km) and return (35 km).
3. Total 80 km: start from Bardez coast to Corjuem (20 km), continue to St. Estevao (10km), to Old Goa (8 km), to Reis Magos (15 km), to Aguada (5 km), to Chapora (15 km) and return to departure point (5-10 km).

FIGURE 4 – Goa Map



Source: Author

FIGURE 5 – Fort Aguada Ramparts



Source: Author, 2008

5. Conclusion

Despite the importance of tourism routes throughout the world, and their imminent spatial dimension, geographers have largely neglected their spatial architecture. In this article I intended to discuss the principal spatial configurations of tourism routes, providing international as well as Portuguese examples, as well as drafting two applications of the models using the Material Heritage of Portuguese origin in Morocco and in Goa. There are a few points that should be stressed before closing this preliminary analysis of spatial routes and material heritage of Portuguese origin in Morocco and Goa. The first one relates to the fact that if a tourism route is designed solely thinking about one particular type of heritage, it will function only for a specific niche tourism (see Simões and Ferreira 2009), that is, for people who are only interested in fortifications of Portuguese origin, for example. It is unlikely that many tourists want to make a tour of a region or country looking only for a particular and specific type of heritage.

The second point is that a proposal as the one I have just presented, which overlooks other important cultural aspects of these countries, can be perceived and understood as being of a colonial nature, especially in the case of Goa (see Saldanha 2002), since in the Moroccan case heritage of Portuguese origin goes back to a much earlier period and has different resonances (see Sarmiento 2011). In this Indian state it would be important to connect or at least to point not only to other heritage buildings of Portuguese origin, such as the abundant churches and civil architecture, but especially to the various existing temples (notable Ponda and Pernem), to museums, to festivals and to the many sites of resistance and domination, which are historically interconnected (Axelrod and Fuerch 1996).

Finally, this 'neo-colonial view' would only be the case if the interpretation of these sites is one dimensional. At Fort Tirakol, now a seven-room up-market heritage hotel where ancient quarters and cells were transformed into rooms and lavish bathrooms with views towards the Arabian Sea, there is a rich story that worked as a prelude to Goa's liberation (or occupation) in the mid 1950s. Freedom fighters occupied the Fort for some days on several occasions and raised the Indian flag. One other example is the case of Chapora Fort. After being the setting of the Bollywood movie *Dil Chahata Hai* [Do your thing] (2001), hundreds of Indians, for whom Portuguese built heritage is quite distant, visit Fort Chapora every weekend to pose, capture and sit on the same landscapes and stones where movie stars once were. These experiences are not about the resonances of the colonial past, but about modern contemporary India, and about the ways locals have been appropriating these material sites. Understanding the opportunities and drawbacks that tourism and heritage pose in the Global South, and the complex role they play within the national and socio-cultural reconstruction of post-conflict and postcolonial societies needs to be urgently addressed. Most of these sites are associated with battlefields, slavery warehouses, and other events that should play an important role in the construction of postcolonial states.

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