



Tourism Anthropology

School of Social Sciences
Indira Gandhi National Open University

EXPERT COMMITTEE

Prof. Anup Kapoor (Retired)
Former Professor and Head, Department of
Anthropology, University of Delhi, Delhi

Prof. Rashmi Sinha
Discipline of Anthropology
School of Social Sciences
IGNOU, New Delhi

Dr. Rukshana Zaman
Discipline of Anthropology
School of Social Sciences
IGNOU, New Delhi

Dr. Mitoo Das
Discipline of Anthropology
School of Social Sciences
IGNOU, New Delhi

Dr. Palla Venkatramana
Discipline of Anthropology
School of Social Sciences
IGNOU, New Delhi

Dr. K. Anil Kumar
Discipline of Anthropology
School of Social Sciences
IGNOU, New Delhi

COURSE PREPARATION TEAM

Block	Unit Writers
Block 1 UNDERSTANDING TOURISM	Unit Writer
Unit 1 Introduction to Tourism	Dr. Gunjan Arora, Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi and Dr. Rukshana Zaman, Faculty of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, IGNOU
Unit 2 Tourist and Tourism	Dr. Kumkum Srivastava, Former Associate Professor, Department of History, Janki Devi Memorial College. University of Delhi, New Delhi
Unit 3 Tourism Through Anthropological Lens	Dr. Mitoo Das, Faculty of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, IGNOU, New Delhi
Unit 4 Tourism and Culture	Dr. Gunjan Arora, Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi
Unit 5 Commodification of Culture	Dr. Rukshana Zaman, Faculty of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, IGNOU and Dr. Gunjan Arora, Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi
Block 2 EMERGING TRENDS IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM	
Unit 6 Political Economy of Tourism	Dr. Gunjan Arora, Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi
Unit 7 Tourism versus Heritage Sites	Dr. Kumkum Srivastava, Former Associate Professor, Department of History, Janki Devi Memorial College. University of Delhi, New Delhi
Unit 8 Tangible and Intangible Heritage	Dr. Kumkum Srivastava, Former Associate Professor, Department of History, Janki Devi Memorial College. University of Delhi, New Delhi
Unit 9 Ecotourism	Dr. Avitoli Zhimo, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi. New Delhi
Unit 10 New Directions in the Anthropology of Tourism	Dr. Gunjan Arora, Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi

Course Coordinator : Dr. Rukshana Zaman, Discipline of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, IGNOU

General Editor : Dr. Rukshana Zaman, Discipline of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, IGNOU

Content Editor: Prof. Subhadra Mitra Channa, Former Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi, Delhi

Academic Consultants

Dr. Pankaj Upadhayay
Dr. Monika Saini

Cover Design

Mr. Chetan Malvi

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PRINT PRODUCTION

Staff

Mr. Tilak Raj
Assistant Registrar (Pub.), SOSS, IGNOU, New Delhi

Mr. Rampal
Mr. Naresh Kumar

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BANS 183 COURSE INTRODUCTION

Human beings with their innate curiosity and the urge to know what lies beyond their immediate horizons have ventured to far off places since time immemorial. Tourism is intrinsic to human desire to travel and explore thus, every human being at one point of time or the other has explored as a tourist, be it going on a short vacation, pilgrimage etc. Tourism affects not only the lives of the people who visit places as a tourist but also has a huge impact on the spaces visited that is the host communities their social and economic lives, the natural environment, artistic productions and so on. Thus, anthropology is intricately associated with tourism. The focus of tourism anthropology is to understand the social and cultural aspect of tourism and the behaviours of the tourist (guest) that effects the host culture.

In this four-credit course we will try to understand the anthropology of tourism and tourists. It's development through an anthropological lens to understand the commodification of culture owing to tourism. The course will also take into account the tangible and intangible heritages and the new emerging avenues in the field of tourism anthropology.

Course Outcome:

After completing the course, a learner is expected to:

- define tourist and tourism;
- comprehend the relationship between anthropology and tourism;
- explain how the tourist affects the lives of the host community; and
- discuss the conservation, preservation and the way forward for environment friendly tourism.

Course Presentation

The course is divided into two blocks. Each block has thematically arranged units. In total there are ten units. Now let us see what we have discussed in each block.

Block 1: In the first unit, **Introduction to Tourism**, with the understanding that for many, this is your first brush with anthropology, we are introducing anthropology to the learners in brief in this section along with tourism. This would provide the learner a background for the upcoming units. Further we move on to discuss the meanings, history, tourism-aspects and prospects of tourism; in the second unit, **Tourist and Tourism**, here we have tried to acquaint the learners with the basic terminologies that are used in the tourism industry, defining types of tourist and tourism, classifications, interconnections between tourism history and the rise of the socio-cultural study of tourism including temporary migration, colonial exploration, pilgrimage, visiting relatives, imagined and remembered journeys. The third unit **Tourism through anthropological lens** is dedicated to the study of tourism through anthropological perspectives. The aim of this unit is to understand how concepts and theories in anthropology has been blended to understand tourism and make it a part of anthropological

studies. The tourist as ethnographer; ethnographer as a tourist, pilgrimage, anthropological issues and theoretical concerns, and authenticity issues are being looked at from an anthropological perspective. In the fourth unit **Tourism and Culture**, the attempt is to understand the implications of tourism as a major mechanism of cross-cultural interaction. The role of symbolism, semiotics, and the imagination in tourism and the impact of tourism on culture are the focus area. The fifth unit in this block is Commodification of Culture. This unit with examples, presents the impact of tourism on culture and how the commodification of culture or cultural degradation takes place.

Block 2: The section begins with the unit on **Political Economy of Tourism**. The aim here is to understand the global and local political economy of contemporary tourism, particularly in relation to international development, the international flow of capital etc., with examples from the Indian context. Unit seven, **Tourism versus Heritage Sites** explores the dynamic relationship between heritage-making enterprises, revival and preservation of projects followed by case studies of heritage sites. Unit eight, **Tangible and Intangible Heritage** focuses on the role of museums and other branches of the cultural industries” [including music, art, and food] in tourism economies; tourism and global mobility, for example- case study of the Kalbelia song and dance of Rajasthan which has been included in the intangible heritage list of UNESCO. **Ecotourism** unit nine deals with the definitions and its impact on human society with examples from India, example of Kerala, Assam, Nagaland has been cited here to show how sustainable development is being taken care of along with the promotion of tourism. In the last unit, **New Directions in the Anthropology of Tourism:** globalization, tourism and languages, applied aspects of anthropology in tourism development and planning has been taken into account.

Let us now take you through the units. If you understand how to approach the units and read the course material in a systematic manner you would benefit as a learner. As we have already stated the blocks are divided thematically, thus, a learner is advised to read the units in a sequence in terms of the themes so that they are able to connect and comprehend the link between two units. If you read randomly, you might find it difficult to comprehend concepts and definitions, and lose the thread of the unit. For an easy reading and better comprehension, the units have been divided into sections and sub-sections. Each section is indicated clearly by BOLD CAPITALS and each sub-section by bold and small letters. The significant divisions within a sub section are still in smaller bold letters so as to make it easier for you to see their place within the sub-sections. The items which needs to be highlighted are numbered as a., b., c., etc. For the sake of uniformity, we have employed the same scheme in every unit throughout the course. Each unit begins with the ‘Objectives’ which explains to a learner:

- a. what we will be presenting in the unit, and
- b. what we expect from the student once he/she completes working on the unit.

After every section we have given **Check Your Progress** that would help the learner to self check whether they have been able to comprehend the subject

matter in the section. The purpose of the Check Your Progress is to enable the learner to compare their answers with the answers given at the end of each unit. Please do not look at the answers before you write your own answers in the given space. The learner may write the answers with pencil, so that it can be rubbed and rewritten again as a practice component. For the long answers the hints have been provided, the answers have not been given so that the learner develops the skill of writing in their own words, without directly copying word by word from the course material.

In the last section of each unit, under the heading 'Summary' we summarise the entire unit for purpose of revision and ready reference.

After summary the next section of the unit comprises of either 'References or Suggested Reading'. If the author has quoted directly from a text or texts, we have provided the references. If there are no text cited, we have provided a list of readings that the learner may want to read in order to enhance the understanding of the subject.

At the end let's see how the learner may use the wide margin provided in the units. The learner may write down important points after reading each section in the margins. This will help you in your study and also when you attempt the Check Your Progress.

All the best, happy reading. Wish you success. Hope the course material act as a guide for you to achieve your goals.



BLOCK 1

UNDERSTANDING TOURISM

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UNIT 1 INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM

Contents

- 1.0 Introduction
- 1.1 Anthropology and Tourism: Concepts and Definitions
- 1.2 History of Tourism Anthropology
- 1.3 Anthropological Perspectives on Tourism
- 1.4 Impact of Tourism
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References
- 1.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Objectives

The learners after reading this Unit should be able to comprehend:

- meaning and definition of anthropology and tourism;
- history of tourism anthropology;
- tourism from an anthropological perspective; and
- the impacts of tourism

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Let's start this section with memories of your last vacation. What do you remember most about the vacation? Probably the scenic beauty, the food, the sunrise/sunset or the monuments of historical importance, depending on the place you visited. Not to forget the pictures that had captured all your memories for eternity. These pictures again might have been posted on many social networking sites and have become a part of your lived memories. Well by now you must be wondering what has these memories got to do with a course on tourism anthropology. Going back to your vacation if you reflect you would realise that a host of activities were going on behind the scene, right from the time you started planning for a vacation, searching online on websites for a place to visit, booking your tickets, making arrangement for your stay, local travel etc. Tourism anthropology studies all these behind the scene activities relating tourism with economic, political and social life of a particular place. It also studies how tourism affects the culture of both the host and tourist, popularly known as guest in the tourism industry and tourism anthropology. We will start with the very basics in this unit by defining anthropology and tourism, followed by an anthropological perspective on tourism and the need to study tourism in anthropology. The unit would further look into the aspects, prospects and impacts of tourism.

* Contributor: Dr. Gunjan Arora, Post Doctoral Fellow, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi
Dr. Rukshana Zaman, Faculty of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, IGNOU

1.1 ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM: CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

1.1.1 Defining Anthropology

What is anthropology?

Anthropology seeks to understand the lives of human beings in time and space. Time basically reflects the geological time scale that involves the study of human evolution, growth and variation. Space deals with the ecological and environmental relationship of human populations that inhabits the various places on earth. Anthropology also involves the study of the past cultures and how the present cultures are flourishing. It is the study of human beings in totality unlike other subjects where only a particular aspect of human being is taken into account like history deals with what happened in the past while psychology studies the human mind etc.

The term anthropology is derived from two Greek words “Anthropos” meaning (Hu)man and ‘Logos’ for ‘study or science’.

What we study in anthropology?

Anthropology as an academic discipline emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. With four main branches a. Physical or Biological anthropology, b. Social and Cultural anthropology, c. Archaeological anthropology and d. Linguistic anthropology, the subject matter looks at both the scientific and humanistic perspectives, it takes into account a holistic approach to study humankind. The anthropologists aim at understanding three basic questions:

- Who we are? (study of the past and the present)
- How we came to be? (origin and evolution)? and
- Why we are, the way we are? (variations)

These three major questions form the basis for the study of human beings in anthropology. Be it the social, the biological, the archaeological or the linguistic anthropologists the aim is to understand the origin, evolution, variation, diversity and change that has marked human lives, society and culture living in different environmental conditions.

The *physical/ biological* anthropologists are interested in understanding the origin, evolution, variation and development of human species. The curiosity to know why there is variations in skin, eye, hair colour etc., leads them to enquire about the existence of human variation and to try and find scientific explanations behind such variations. Why some people are short while others are tall? The genetic makeup of human beings is studied along with the role that environment plays in such variations. To know more about the past, the primates are taken into consideration in anthropological studies under primatology.

The study of society and culture falls within the rubric of *social and cultural anthropology*. The foremost contribution of the subject has been in the understanding of the various societies and cultures across the globe both objectively and subjectively, doing away with biases and prejudices, while presenting their relative importance. Social and cultural anthropology seeks to understand the social institutions and the cultural attributes that constructs human societies in a holistic manner.

Anthropologists interest in the past, how people lived during the different cultural periods is the subject matter of *archaeological anthropology*. The aim is to reconstruct the human past through the study of the different tool types used by prehistoric (hu)man of which there are no written records. The study of cave arts, the stone tools of the different cultural periods within the Paleolithic, Mesolithic and the Neolithic period, the arts and artifacts of the Chalcolithic periods and the past civilizations, dating the past through absolute and relative dating methods are some of the ways how the life of the prehistoric human beings is recreated.

Language is known as the vehicle for culture. Yet there is no single culture nor a single language. Communications however, has always been there between people speaking different languages. *Linguistic anthropology* involves the study of the languages that have been a medium of communication among people belonging to different linguistic groups. It includes, not only verbal languages but both body and sign language. A recent study has shown a village in Turkey where people communicate via whistling. Some of the dialects are fast disappearing in the face of modernisation and globalisation, preserving and documenting such dialects forms a major activity of the linguistic anthropologists.

How we study anthropology?

The emergence of anthropology is rooted in the European journey of exploration and colonisation of the East. During the early years the anthropologists known as 'arm chair anthropologists' did not venture out for data collection into the field. The earliest written accounts like the *Golden Bough* published in 1890 by Sir James Frazer, was based on the narrations of the travellers, the administrators, the missionaries etc., who travelled to far off places and brought back 'exotic' stories of the lands, peoples and their cultures.

With time, anthropology was established as a field science and fieldwork became the hallmark of anthropological study. Malinowski's work among the Trobriand Islanders is reckoned with as the way forward for conducting scientific fieldwork among the 'natives' using participant observation, interview and case study methods. Living with the people under study for a long period of time ideally one year and using the local language are some of the take away from Malinowski's work that even today forms the backbone of anthropological studies. The significance of fieldwork lies in understanding three basic questions:

- What people think they ought to do? (Ideal behaviour)
- What people say they do?
- What people actually do? (actual behaviour)

The data collected is based on the lives of the people with whom the anthropologist's comes in close contact during his/her stay in the field. The idea is to gather the insider's view (emic) and not just study the people objectively. Subjectivity plays a major role in anthropological studies where the anthropologist aim is to understand the relativeness of the society and its cultures with the catch words being 'here' and 'now'. This applies for the rituals, customs, norms, values and other practices which might seem irrational, crude and not humanistic to an outsider, for a person from the Western world who visits an Eastern place.

Definitions of Anthropology

American Anthropological Association defines anthropology as “the study of humans, past and present. To understand the full sweep and complexity of cultures across all of human history, anthropology draws and builds upon knowledge from the social and biological sciences as well as the humanities and physical sciences. A central concern of anthropologists is the application of knowledge to the solution of human problems”

Wolf (1964) states “anthropology is less a subject matter than a bond between subject matters. It is in part history, part literature; in part natural science, part social science; it strives to study men both from within and without; it represents both a manner of looking at man and a vision of man-the most scientific of the humanities, the most humanist of sciences.” Wolf E.R. 1964. Anthropology. Trustees of Princeton University. USA.

Herskovits “Physical anthropology is, in essence, human biology.”

M.N. Srinivas described social anthropology as, “it is a comparative study of human societies. Ideally, it includes all societies, primitive, civilized and historic.”

Anthropology as a subject seeks to disseminate apply their knowledge gathered through the understanding of the biological, social/cultural and archaeological aspects of human life for the solving practical problems in the present. Applied or Practicing anthropology thus, emerged as a new subfield with the four main branches of anthropology. Anthropology strives to understand correlation between environment and culture, and how this has an impact over the growth and development of humankind.

1.1.2 Defining Tourism

Tourism has a long history and is widespread in the cultures of humankind. It is an important social fact in the life of contemporary people. It is one of the major industries of the world and a developmental tool for many third world countries (Nash and Smith 1991:12). Smith in her book, *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1989) in the introduction defines tourist ‘as a temporary leisured person who voluntarily visits a place for the purpose of experiencing a change.’ She explains that the motivations for individuals to travel are many and varied, but the foundation of tourism rests on three key elements, i.e.

Tourism= Leisure time+ discretionary income+ positive local sanctions.

As per Smith the amount of time a person has and the discretionary income (income that is not needed for personal essentials like food, clothing, housing, health-care, transportation etc.) and the positive cultural sanctions favouring tourism allow an individual to take a break from the regular/ monotonous life. Tourism as an activity allows an individual to alternate his/her work life with small periods of relaxation. J. Jafari (1977) defined tourism ‘as a study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and the impact that both he/she and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic and physical environments.’ Mathieson and Wall (1982) in their book *Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts* defined tourism ‘as a multi-faceted phenomenon which involves movement to, and stay in destinations outside the normal place of residence and comprises dynamic, static and consequential elements.’ While Jafari’s definition gives a holistic view, Mathieson and Wall’s describe tourism as a phenomenon. Other scholars like Greenwood (1989: 171) while discussing about anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditisation defined tourism as ‘the large-scale movement of goods, services and people that humanity has perhaps ever seen’. Lett (1989: 275) credited tourism with bringing about ‘the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world. Anthropologists have a hard time in defining tourism for the simple reason that it involves various dimensions, but as Van Hassrel in his book *Tourism: An Exploration* (1994) opined that there are four primary elements of tourism. These are:

- Travel demand
- Tourism intermediaries
- Destination influences and
- Range of impacts.

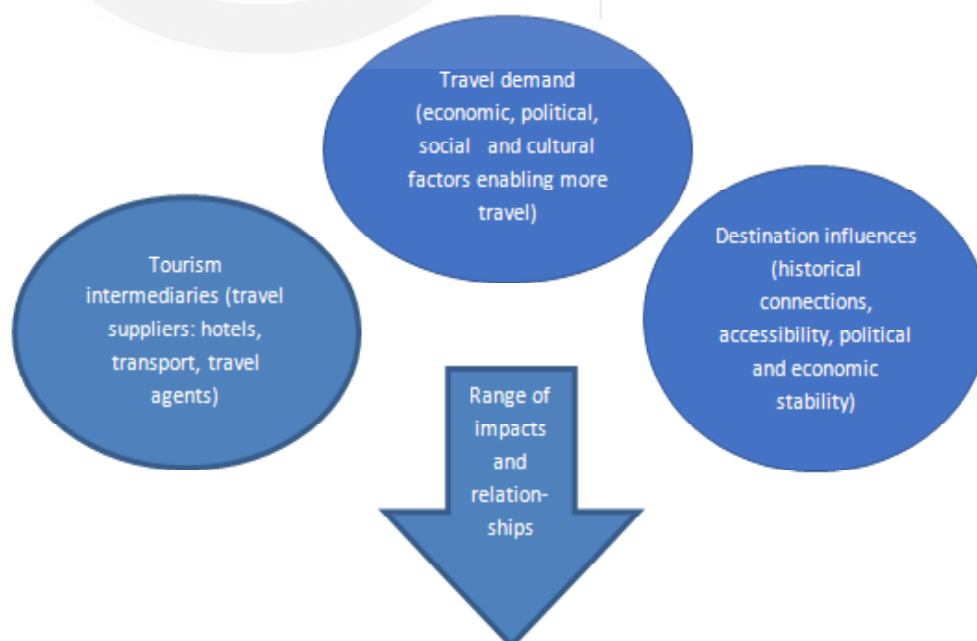


Fig. 1.1: Primary Elements of Tourism (Source: *Tourism: An Exploration*, 1994 by Van Hassrel)

Understanding Tourism

Later during 1990's a postmodern and humanistic perspective outlined the description of tourism. Ryan (1991) defined tourism 'as an experience of place'. It was argued that tourism is not about the tourist destination but it is about the experience of that place and what happens there which includes a series of internal and external interactions. The humanistic and experiential paradigm allows to cover the experiences of both the 'host' and the 'guest' population. Another altogether different view was provided by Middleton (1998) with a focus on tourism as business and the tourist as a 'customer'. He opines that although travel and tourism is invariably identified as an 'industry', it is best understood as a total market which reflects the cumulative demand and consumption patterns of visitors for a wide range of travel-related products'. There are many other ways in which tourism can be studied, however, it must never be isolated from its political, natural, economic or social environments.

While discussing tourism and post-modernism, Urry (1990: 2) explained tourism 'as a leisure activity which is opposite to the regulated and organised work; tourism relationships arise from a movement of people to, and their stay in various destinations (sites which are outside the normal places of residence and work) and a substantial proportion of the population of modern societies engages in such touristic activity'. The site / destination is chosen with an anticipation of pleasure seeking and site gazing. In his book *The Tourist Gaze*, Urry also outlined how globalisation that has transformed countless aspects of our social lives and has resulted in the time-space compression, people have been brought closer and there is a rapid flow of travelers and tourists moving across national borders.

Because of the magnitude of the tourism industry, the great complexity of tourist motivations and expectations and the diversity of cultural responses to tourist travels, it has been difficult to provide a comprehensive view / definition of tourism. But social scientists and particularly anthropologists have covered various aspects on tourism. In the coming section we would discuss about the development of Anthropology of Tourism and understand various anthropological perspectives on tourism.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define anthropology.

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.....
.....

2. Define tourism.

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.....

1.2 HISTORY OF TOURISM ANTHROPOLOGY

The anthropology of tourism that started in the 1960s and 1970s as a distinct field of study which is relatively a new branch both within the academic and applied anthropology. The anthropological study of tourism has grown impressively since 1970s and early 1980s when Valene Smith (1977), Malcolm Crick (1995, 1989), Dennison Nash (1977, 1981), Nelson Graburn (1977, 1983a.) and Erik Cohen

(1974, 1979b, 1984) among others brought attention to the field by their contributions. Earlier anthropologists may have been reluctant to investigate these phenomena because tourism was considered too close to what anthropologists do themselves when they are in the field (Crick, 1995). Tourism was not on the charts of anthropological inquiry until Valene Smith's work *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* was first published in 1977. Decade later with the second edition of the book in 1989, the anthropology of tourism had become more popular and was being regarded as a valid, applied area of study.

Having acquired enough anthropological legitimacy and with the publication of journals like *The Annals of Tourism Research*, the anthropology of tourism now covers a wide range of aspects and themes. Scholars like Philip Pearce 1982, contributed towards the social psychology of tourism; Graburn 1977, looked at tourism as a form of escapism or pleasure seeking mechanism; Nash's work discussed the consequential aspects of the relationship between tourists and the host population; Selwyn 1994, studied tourism from the economic, political, social and cultural contexts; Urry 1990, did a systematic study of tourist motivation from a social science perspective; Boissevain 1996, did a longitudinal study of tourism and commoditisation of the host culture; Cohen in 1988 studied the typology of tourists; Dann 1997, in his work had proposed that research must contribute towards sustainable tourism. These studies have contributed immensely towards anthropological perspective on tourism.

Let's summarise from the above anthropological works about the relevance of anthropology for tourism studies:

- a. anthropologists argue that people rather than business should be the heart of analysis of tourism.
- b. anthropology as a discipline offers critical analysis of tourism by recognising the economic, environmental and social domains within the bigger framework of today's globalised world.
- c. with its in depth, qualitative approach, anthropology stands in a unique position to study human dynamics and tourism.
- d. as a discipline with a field based and ethnographic approach, anthropology seeks to gain primary information on the impacts of tourism; helps in studying the variety of phenomena in different locations in order to gain an insight on the common trends in tourism; and
- e. with its holistic approach, anthropology allows the study of cross-cultural encounters and social transactions that happen in a touristic activity.

The current anthropological thinking is that, tourism is too complex and there is a need to thread together a number of issues. There is a need to see the cultural impact of tourism and also have deeper understanding of local-global relationships shaped by tourism. Various anthropological perspectives have been employed to have a greater understanding of the nature of tourism and its effect on the structure of the society.

Check Your Progress 2

- 3. List the different avenues from which anthropologists have studied tourism.

.....

.....

.....

4. Describe how anthropology can be useful for the study of tourism?

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.3 ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM

Anthropological interest in tourism began in the 1970's and today it is a well-established area of inquiry with hopeful signs of future development in both basic and applied research. As a subject, tourism fits easily into anthropological concerns as both the disciplines involve humans and their culture. The study of tourism in anthropology has arisen from an anthropological concern with **culture contact** and **culture change**.

Anthropologists began to see the tourist, 'as an agent of contact between cultures and directly or indirectly the cause of change particularly in the less developed regions of the world (Nash 1989: 37). In their studies on tourism, anthropologists have tried to define tourism as a form of 'leisure activity' and tourist to be 'leisured travelers'. With this preliminary understanding it is now known that tourism is to be seen as a practice and tourists are seen as people who travel to other places where they encounter hosts and such a give-and-take affects the tourists, their hosts and their home cultures. And also, this touristic activity can become a touristic system as it is embedded in the larger social context (Nash 1981: 462).

The anthropologists initially limited their concerns with the transactions between the tourists and the hosts, studied the culture contact and its influences particularly on the host society and this touristic influence had practical implications for host governments and international agencies who were involved in development. But further research revealed that it was this one-sided conclusion seen from a host country's point of view, tourism was seen to have both good and bad sides. As Cohen (1979a: 32) in his report on the impact of tourism on a Thai upland village, initially had opined that the influence of tourism on the region was bad for the Thai host, but after the conclusion of his study he was of the opinion that tourism would not have a destructive impact on the host society in the near future.

Using the lens of tourism, anthropologists have asked many questions. For example, Nash (1981) has talked of cross-cultural meanings of work and leisure and according to him tourists might be thought of as people at leisure and tourism as the activities they engage in while in this state. Nunez (1989) has studied the dynamics and impacts of intercultural contact between tourists and locals and Mansperger (1995) showed how indigenous societies change as they become integrated in the tourism market. During 1990's the shift was towards the issues of conserving natural areas and cultural traditions for the benefit of local host communities (Eadington and Smith 1992; Honey 1999; Lindberg 1991).

The studies done by anthropologists can be divided conceptually into two halves, one that focuses on understanding the origins of tourism and the other that aims to analyse the impacts of tourism. The studies done about the origins of tourism (Adler 1989; Towner and Wall 1991) or why people travel as tourist in the modern era (Mac Cannell 1976) or why some tourists seek particular kinds of destinations or experiences (Cohen 1988) tend to focus on tourists and thus, we

lack an understanding of the local host population. On the other side, when we examine the impacts of tourism the work tends to focus more on locals than on tourists leading to partial analysis. For instance, studies have revealed how communities tend to change in the aftermath of tourism or how local economies tend to become either strengthened from employment opportunities (Mansperger 1995) or made more dependent on tourist dollars (Erisman 1983). Also, how the local traditions and values become meaningless (Greenwood 1977) or more significant (Van den Berghe 1994) once they are commodified in tourism. While examining the impacts of tourism anthropologists have often written ethnographic accounts of how tourism has affected the host communities. The effects of tourism on the economic and socio-cultural landscapes of the host community have recorded signs like altered human behavior, changes in the infrastructure, employment and economic situation, environmental changes, changes in the built environment, etc. Based on the above studied aspects let's try to understand the socio-economic impacts of tourism in the next section.

Check Your Progress 3

5. Anthropologists see tourists as 'an agent of contact between cultures'. Explain.

.....

6. Do you think that anthropological studies on tourism help us better understand tourism and the tourist?

.....

1.4 IMPACT OF TOURISM

A great deal of research has been directed on the fuller understanding of the impacts of tourism. It has been recorded that although the impacts of tourism are both positive and negative, they may be evaluated differently by different people and there may be considerable disagreement as to what is actually desirable and undesirable.

1.4.1 Economic Consequences

The major stimulus for the development of tourism is economic and it was understood that tourism was a powerful beneficial agent for economic and social change. The tourism industry stimulated employment, entrepreneurial activity and modified land use and economic structure. Most studies have emphasised the economic benefits that accrue to the destination areas particularly the developing countries which usually have low level of income, uneven distribution of wealth and income, high levels of unemployment, heavy dependence on agriculture and subsistence activities. An evaluation of the economic impact provided valuable information that further helped in the formulation of tourism development policies. Many developing countries and remote destinations that have opened up as tourist destinations have seen economic changes especially in the employment pattern. Since tourism is a labour intensive service industry, it employs large number of

semi-skilled and unskilled labour who with little training join this hospitality industry either as tourist guides, tour operators, transporters etc. Many farmers and wage earners leave the agricultural jobs to pursue more lucrative jobs in tourism in urban areas.

The structural change from agriculture to tourism also creates changes in land use patterns. Anthropological studies have revealed that though it created wage labour opportunities, yet it destroyed agriculture and subsistence activities. Mansperger (1995) analysed how tourism among Pacific islanders led to the cessation of subsistence activities and made locals more dependent on the outside world. Rosenberg (1988) argued that tourism contributed to the demise of agriculture in a small mountain village in France, where grazing animals came to be used mainly for clearing ski slopes. Tourism also increases the competition for land, raising land prices and also contributing towards the fragmentation of landholdings. For instance, tourism may result in escalating real estate prices which may create difficulty for locals who intend to purchase property.

The research emphasis on the positive economic impacts of tourism has contributed to the widespread optimism among policy makers concerning the potential of tourism to stimulate economic development. But it is seen that various economic benefits come with a variety of costs which have been largely ignored by the policy makers. Anthropologists have researched on the changing economies, high inflation and land speculation, overdependence on outside economies, problems due to seasonal nature of the industry etc. to show that we need to have a more balanced perspective and measure both benefits and costs.

1.4.2 Social Consequences

The research on the social and cultural impacts of tourism fall into three different categories:

1. *The tourist – here the research is focussed on the demand of touristic activities, the motivations, attitudes and expectations of tourists and their corresponding purchasing decisions.*
2. *The host- looks at the inhabitants of the destination areas, the labour engaged in providing services and the local organisation of the tourist industry.*
3. *Tourist-host interrelationships- the research deals with the nature of the contacts between hosts and guests and the consequences of the contact.*

The social consequences of tourism basically enumerate the ways in which touristic activity has contributed towards the changes in value system, individual behaviour, family structure and relationships, collective lifestyles, moral conduct, traditional ceremonies and community organisations. The host-tourist encounter which is transitory in nature, is often superficial; lacks in-depth communication/interaction; is mainly confined to 'tourist ghettos' (hotels and resorts) is of unequal nature. The tourist-host interaction can be both positive and negative. Factors that affect the host-guest interaction are – length of stay, physical isolation of tourists (to hotels/resorts), language and communication etc.

Relationship between hosts and guests and how they are formed and change over time is of profound importance to the anthropological study of tourism. The cross-cultural interactions and the commercial transaction that occurs between the hosts and the guests illuminates how tourism affects the host's society. On one hand tourism brings business and thus generates more employment opportunities for the host population. There are a number of other factors that affect the complex nature of interactions occurring when strangers coming from different cultures or

subcultures interact. The length of the stay of the guest, attitudes and expectations (of both the host and guests), the length of the season and the role of the 'cultural brokers' or 'marginal men' are the focus of studies that are based on the host and guest relationship.

Cultural-brokers or marginal-men (Smith 1977) are defined as multilingual and innovative mediators who control or manipulate local culture for tourist's purposes. Their role is often crucial in setting an entrepreneurial contest for tourism development. These cultural brokers can bring in change within their society. They may develop certain levels of control over the amount and quality of communication between the hosts and guests. As Nunez (1989: 267) noted that the acquisition of a second language for purposes of catering to tourists often results in economic mobility for people in service positions: interpreters, tour guides, bilingual waiters, clerks and police are often more highly compensated than the monolinguals of their community. It is seen that tourists are less to borrow from their hosts than their hosts are from them thus precipitating a chain of change in the host community. One striking example has been language acquisition by certain members of the host community.

1.4.3 Language

Nunez (1989) noted that linguistic acculturation in which usually the less literate host population produces a number of bilingual individuals. The cadre of bilingual individuals in a tourist-oriented community or country are usually rewarded. According to Mathieson and Wall (1982: 163) 'the cultural-brokers/ bilinguals are in a position to manipulate local culture for tourist purposes without affecting the culture identity of the host society in a detrimental manner. Here a little discussion on language becomes essential as it is seen to have impact on tourism. It is appropriate to examine the socio-cultural role of language in society and its relationship with tourism. Language is a vehicle of communication and it is a part of the social and cultural attributes of any population. Wagner (1958:86) stresses 'language exercises a decisive influence on the composition and distribution of inter-communicating social units- on who talks to whom- and thus on the activities in which men are able to participate in groups'. Language is an important factor in an analysis of social and cultural change and could be a useful indicator of the social impact of international tourism. Only a few studies (Butler 1978; Cohen and Cooper 1986; Huisman and Moore 1999; White 1974) were done which identified the effects of tourism on the use of language.

White (1974) examined the relationships between the growth of tourism and social change, using language as an index of the latter. He presented a conceptual model which identifies three ways in which tourism can lead to language change:

1. *Through economic change*- The new jobs like that of tour guides, interpreters, transporters etc. associated with the expanding tourism lead to increased number of locals learning the language of the tourists and act as mediators between tourists and hosts population.
2. *Through the demonstration effect*-Tourist's portrayal of their material and financial background, their attitudes and behaviour may introduce new viewpoints within the indigenous community. Aspirations of achieving similar status on the part of hosts may prompt them to replace their own language with that of the tourists.
3. *Through direct social contact*-The direct communication between the tourists and the host (for instance workers in the retail or service sector may be required to converse in the language spoken by the tourist as the tourist may not be able to speak the local language) may result in the decline of usage of the host's language.

Another study by Butler (1978) of the rural Scotland indicated that tourism activities act to displace the indigenous language by that of the tourists. Butler and White had also found that tourists staying in private homes, farmhouses and locally based accommodation units had less impact on the linguistic loyalties of their hosts than those staying in hotels or motels. Both studies illustrated that the linguistic solidarity of host cultures is seriously threatened by the assimilating forces of tourist development. Cohen and Cooper (1986) suggested that changes in host language are also related to the nature of tourist-host relationship and the socio-economic characteristics of the interacting groups. It is known that tourists are temporary visitors whose contact with the host society is superficial and brief. Anthropologists have also believed that the linguistic interactions between tourists and locals is also a reflection of a 'power relationship', the level of education of both groups, and also on the degree of dispersal of the tourist beyond the normal tourist areas.

More detailed investigations are required for different cultural and linguistic groups, and different geographical locations before we can conclude about the changing nature of tourism in contemporary times where because of open market economy the tourism industry has profound impacts especially on the host population.

Check Your Progress 4

- 7. Briefly discuss the economic and social consequences of Tourism on the host community.

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- 8. Define cultural brokers. How does linguistic acculturation help the tourism potential of the host community?

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1.5 SUMMARY

In this unit the learner has been introduced to the concept of anthropology and tourism in brief. Since anthropology primarily focuses on humans in their cultural and social settings, an anthropological analysis of tourism likewise understands tourism primarily from a relational and cultural perspective. The anthropologists have understood tourism as a human activity and analysed the motivations and actions of both the tourists and their hosts. They have also tried to assess the impact of strangers entering into cultures and societies and the impact of such human contacts.

As is quite obvious, when outsiders come into a culture, as tourists, they enter it in a positive way, unlike other forms of contact, tourism is one where one expects both sides to have a benign and peaceful attitude. The tourist helps to gain pleasure and may be gather new knowledge; while the hosts are primarily interested in monetary benefit that they hope to gain from tourism, There, are places in the world, where tourism is the primary means of a livelihood. Yet, even benign presence may trigger unwanted impacts like prostitution or break down of family

relations or have negative economic impact on local people by rising prices and shortage of essential goods that may be diverted to the tourist.

The advantage of an anthropological approach lies in the anthropological methodology being suitable for identifying and analysing many factors that are not obvious on the surface but become visible only with in depth and qualitative analysis. There may be hidden aspects of tourism that become apparent with a field based study.

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1.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 1.1.1
2. See section 1.1.2
3. See section 1.2
4. See section 1.2
5. For details check section 1.3
6. Read section 1.3 and write what your perspectives are on the topic
7. See section 1.4.1 and 1.4.2
8. See section 1.4.3

UNIT 2 TOURIST AND TOURISM

Contents

- 2.0 Introduction
- 2.1 Types of Tourism and Tourist
 - 2.1.1 Types of Tourism
- 2.2 History of Tourism Study
 - 2.2.1 Tourism and Migration
 - 2.2.2 Tourism and Colonial Exploration
 - 2.2.3 Imagined and Remembered Journeys
- 2.3 Summary
- 2.4 References
- 2.5 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Objectives

After reading this unit, the learner should be able to:

- define tourism and tourist;
- identify the different types of tourists and tourism; and
- identify associations between tourism and pilgrimage, migration, colonial exploration, visiting relatives; imagined and remembered journeys.

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Tourism is about creating memories of a space, visited and experienced for a short span of time, away from one's daily routine life. In the earlier unit we had looked at the concepts of anthropology and tourism. We had traced the study of tourism to the point when it became an integral part of anthropological studies. In this unit we take a look at the various meanings and connotations of the term tourism and its relationship with anthropology. The focus of tourism anthropology is to understand the social and cultural aspects of tourism and to study the behaviour of the tourist (guest) and its impact on the host culture. There is a relation between anthropologists and tourists in that both visit and stay in places away from their home. While the anthropologist undertakes this visit on a long term basis and for academic purposes the tourist does it on a short term basis and mostly for leisure entertainment purposes. But there is an intersection between the two as both encounter different cultures and forms of social relationships, howsoever briefly, with an outside community. But before we go into a detailed understanding of this relationship, let us first consider a general overview of the concept of tourism.

Tourism

Tourism is a "modern ritual" (MacCannell 1976:13 cf. Graburn 1983:11) in which the populace "gets away from it all", here the all represents the everyday life

* Contributor: Dr Kumkum Srivastava, Former Associate Professor, Department of History, Janki Devi Memorial College. University of Delhi, New Delhi.

which we call normal day to day life, where we perform some specified activities as per our roles, be it at home or in office. Tourism involves the break from our normal everyday mundane life, where one goes off to another location and is not following the day to day routine. This short break is supposed to rejuvenate, revitalise and refresh oneself, so as to regain energy to go back and carry on with the day to day routine, once the break is over. Graburn (1983: 11) has stated that “tourism involves for the participants a separation from normal “instrumental” life and the business of making a living, and offers entry into another kind of moral state in which mental, expressive, and cultural needs come to the fore”.

Tourist

A tourist has been defined as “temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change” (Smith 1977:21. cf. Grabun 1983). While according to Link 2008:8, someone who travels at least 80 kilometers from his or her home for at least 24 hours, for business or pleasure for leisure or other reasons is known as a tourist. Arunmozhi and Panneerselvam (2013: 84) stated that tourism is the short-term association of people outside the domicile where they ordinarily live and work to a destination that expressly meets their requirements. United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), 1995 provides a simplified version of the above definition.

1. Domestic (residents of a given country travelling only within that country)
2. Inbound (non-residents travelling in a given country)
3. Outbound (residents of one country travelling to another country)

On this basis, tourists have been categorised into local, regional and international tourists.

Reflection

UNWTO: The United Nations World Tourism Organisation is an agency of the United Nations responsible for *the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism*. UNWTO generates market knowledge, promotes competitive and sustainable tourism policies and instruments, fosters tourism education and training, and works to make tourism an effective tool for development through technical assistance projects in over 100 countries around the world. The main aim is to promote tourism while it encourages ethical behaviour and planting of trees to bring harmony and peace among nations.

UNWTO’s membership includes **158 countries, 6 Associate Members and over 500 Affiliate Members** representing the private sector, educational institutions, tourism associations and local tourism authorities

<http://www2.unwto.org/content/who-we-are-0> accessed on 27th August, 2019

Hospitality is a term integral to tourism. It can be defined as the business of helping people to feel welcome and relaxed and to enjoy themselves (Discover Hospitality, 2015). The Hospitality Industry is the combination of accommodation, food and beverage, collective travel and involves entities such as: hotels, restaurants, tour agents and their logistics.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define tourism.

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2. Who is a tourist?

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2.1 TYPES OF TOURISM AND TOURIST

Types of Tourism

Tourism can be divided into different forms on the basis of region, duration, purpose, nationality, season and the number of tourists. Broadly speaking, one can group tourism into two types: **Domestic Tourism**, for people travelling within their home country, and **International Tourism** for people who travel abroad, to learn and experience new cultures tradition and meet new people at the same time.

However, some define tourism from the geographic criterion of North American Industry Classification System (NAICS), because it allows the delimitation of tourist areas, such as mountain tourism, sea-beach or archeological sites like caves. Tourist areas are characterised by a specific type of travel or by a combination of some types, for example if one is going to the beach then it can be combined with boating or spending some time on a yacht or mountain tourism can be combined with rafting and trekking. The typology of tourism also varies according to the motivations of the journey, like for pilgrimage, for visiting relatives or for medical purposes or attending a conference. Each type of tourism is distinguished by a specific purpose and is located in those regions where the desired goal can be achieved by the existence of some specific facilities, like hospital and specialised doctors for medical tourism and famous or holy shrines for pilgrimage. A tourist would, for example, come to a country where cheaper yet excellent medical facilities are available; like India is becoming a hub of medical tourism for these very reasons. While, Saudi Arabia is the attraction for Muslims from across the world because of the Holy Mecca and Medina.

Typologies of Tourism was first given by Poser in 1939 (Pearce 1979). Poser distinguishes several types of tourism: tourism by transit, summer relaxation, winter sports and short distance relaxation. Hunziker and Krapf, 1941, (c.f. <https://www.coursehero.com/file/52417303/TT-Mgmtpptx/>) distinguished several types and forms of tourism: Travel for rest and treatment, pilgrimage, scientific knowledge etc. Between 1965 and 1970 six types of tourism were identified (c.f. <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/tourism/#>):

- A. Recreational Tourism
- B. Therapy
- C. Visiting relatives
- D. Reduced distance relaxation
- E. Transit tourism and
- F. Professional tourism.

While the first five types of tourism are categorised as leisure activities, professional tourism is understood as productive activity. Some exclude professional tourism from main types of tourism, because being profitmaking, it is far from the meaning of a classic leisure activity. In terms of choosing the tourist destination Plog 2001, distinguished between dependable (who travel less) and ventures (who travel more) tourist while the discussing psychographic characteristics in terms of the typology of tourist.

- a) Voluntary tourism: Destination is chosen by the tourist – (relaxation, visiting relatives)
- b) Forced Tourism: Destination is chosen for various requirements- (health care, medical recommendation).

Let's take a quick look at some of the forms of tourism (Plog 2001, Kemperman & Timmermans. 2006. c.f. <http://tourismdomain.weebly.com/tourist-typologies.html>)

1. Initial area and destination
 - a) Domestic tourism
 - b) International Tourism
2. Number of Participants
 - a) Individual Tourism
 - b) Group Tourism
3. Organisational criterion
 - a) Organised Tourism
 - b) Unorganised tourism
 - c) Semi – organised tourism
4. Season
 - a) Continuous Tourism
 - b) Discontinuous Tourism
5. Temporary or long term
 - a) Long period of time
 - b) Long duration
 - c) Reduced duration
6. Transportation availability
 - a) Tourism by train
 - b) Ship, boat, cruise ship
 - c) Aeroplane
 - d) Local transport
 - e) Cycling / walking
7. Social criterion:
 - a) Private Tourism
 - b) Social Tourism
8. Age and occupation
 - a) Youth Tourism
 - b) Adult Tourism
 - c) Older generation

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9. Type of destination
 - a) Mountains
 - b) Beaches
 - c) Wildlife sanctuary
 - d) Jungle safari
 - e) Trekking- Rafting (River)

2.1.1 Types of Tourism

Pilgrimage or Religious Tourism

Religion, rituals, sacred spaces etc., since the early times have been explored by the anthropologists and sociologists. Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912) puts forward the Functional theory that even the simplest form of religion has ritual performances, that are a celebration of the society itself and which bring about social solidarity. Following the cue given by Durkheim, MacCannell (1976:13 cf. Graburn 1983: 12) claims that tourism "is a ritual performed to the differentiations of [modern complex] society". A tourist needs to visit other places because they are different and provide an experience not available to the tourist at his or her native place. One can also apply Van Gennep's theory of *rites de passage*, to the tourist experience. Gennep has described the three stage of transitional rituals, first of separation (from the ordinary day to day life), second, liminality (derived from the concept of crossing over the threshold in Latin (*limen*) where the person has been inscribed with a new role different from the everyday life and finally the third stage of reincorporation, whereby after the ritual period the person is re-established in the society and takes up normal day to day activities. In terms of tourism Turner, applied the concept of liminality, the segregation or the central period of a ritual, and suggested that it is most appropriate for truly religious, or societally comprehensive phenomena.

The concept of liminal is best illustrated when pilgrimage is undertaken to renowned religious destinations like Mecca for 'Hajj' undertaken by Muslims or the pilgrimage to Kumbh Mela by the Hindus. The preparations like fasting, abstention and self- purification that is done for such religious pilgrimages can be called as liminal period in the real sense. The tourist first separates from day to day life, first stage; then he or she goes into a stage of ascetic and contemplative mood and enters the liminal stage and finally after returning from pilgrimage, they go back to day to day life, so it is the third stage of reincorporation. Liminality in secular tourism and leisure activities may be called *liminoid* (Turner 1977: 43-46 cf. Graburn 1983: 14) to distinguish it from the rigorously imposed liminality for important pilgrimages.

For many millennia people have made pilgrimages to cities, shrines, rivers, mountains. Cities around the world have developed religious tourism, either because they are considered sacred or have sacred centers like famous temples or churches, or because they are places from where miracles have been reported (e.g. Fatima in Portugal, Lourdes in France).

Furthermore, while pilgrimages are usually associated with religious events or localities, tourism anthropology has also looked at the concept of sacred and cemetery tourism. Here the concept of sacred is broadened to include the sacredness assigned to important political or other secular events, that may be attached to emotions like patriotism or even family pride. Tourist at times visit

some sites where political events have occurred, or which mark burial sites of political leaders or is marked by a famous historical event, like Lenin's tomb, in atheistic U.S.S.R. (Graburn 1983:14) or War Cemeteries at various places in Europe or a place of grave political eventuality like the Berlin Wall.

Cemetery tourism deals with transformation of death into touristic events like the visits made to the ancient city of Pompei near Mount Vesuvius where an entire city was buried under volcanic ash. Cemetery tourism also involves visiting other culture's monuments dedicated to the dead, like the Taj Mahal in India or the Pyramids in Egypt. The guest tries to find solace in another culture's ritual ways to find an understanding to the concept of death, thus, bringing about an empathetic relation between the guest and the host as the tourist tries to emotionally connect to the pain and sorrow of the native people. Visit to the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC brings the visitor face to face with the trauma and pain of the Jewish people and it is visited by millions of tourists from across the world. Venbrux, 2010 in his work had explored the relationship of the guest and the host when coming to terms with death through cemetery tourism in his work, '*Cemetery tourism: coming to terms with death?*'

Some spaces are made sacred by particular narratives, in the form of myths and legends, like the myth of the appearance of Virgin Mary or the site of a legendary battle, like Kurukshetra. The visitor should be a believer in the narrative. A faith-based pilgrimage not based on a spiritual narrative may be classified as pilgrimage-based tourism. In the Indian context, the visits to holy places like Hardwar and Banaras for life cycle events like *mundan*, *shraddha*, *upanayana* etc., comes under this category. Travel for missionary work or humanitarian interest projects and for religious conventions and conclaves such as Nirankari Sabha, Radha Saomi Satsang, 750 years of Guru Nanak Sahib Ji and Sufi Sai Baba conference are examples of faith based tourism. It is big business as most people believe in some or the cause and also for most people, even if they are not very religious, pilgrimage for the rites of passage of dear ones is seen as an essential responsibility. Pilgrimage tourism can occur as an individual event or group activity. Since people consider it as an imperative like going for Haj; it is less threatened by economic crises. It encompasses all ages and nationalities. The Tourist agencies have to be sensitive to religious needs and the nature of faith, in order to be successful in the conduct of religious tourism.

Eco and Nature Tourism: It entails visits to places that are renowned for their natural beauty and cultural practices that sustains the environment. Eco-tourism is successful only when it takes care not to disturb the ecological balance. Anthropologists have studied the indigenous tribes and their relationship with nature and how sustainable tourism has provided a win-win situation for preserving the indigenous cultures and the nature. Sofield 2002, in his work, *Australian Aboriginal Ecotourism in the Wet Tropics Rainforest of Queensland, Australia* addresses the concept of 'perfect partnership' between the indigenous communities and the wet tropical forest of Australia. The indigenous communities have always shared a special relationship with the land and nature, and their long-established practices of sustainable and harmonious development are often consulted for the needs of sustainable development, especially in the context of tourism. Many anthropological works have also highlighted the negative impacts of tourism and how the nature- culture relationship has been jeopardised owing to the development of the tourism industry. But tourism is a vital source of funds and dying cultures or threatened environments are often rejuvenated

if they attract tourism. Therefore, to maintain balance and harmony between environment and economy, the local communities needs be provided with the authority to manage their own culture and present it in their own way, in order to develop ecotourism (Sofield 2002, 118-122)

Wildlife Tourism: This type of tourism deals basically with the resources in nature that helps in creating opportunities for tourist to spend some time with nature like visiting wild life sanctuaries, trekking, bird watching or being in the midst of nature that also forms part of eco-tourism. This kind of tourism is ideally environmentally responsible, has minimal environmental impact and at the same time is economically advantageous to the local community. For example, the Himalayan region has several eco-tourism projects like trekking and river rafting. India has a rich forest cover and exotic wild life. Sariska Wildlife Sanctuary, Keolodeo Ghana National Park, Corbett National Park, Gir and Kaziranga are well visited and popular.

Leisure Tourism: It is mostly for urban population. Urban life is full of stress and many people feel the lack of natural beauty and fresh air. Other reasons include need for recreation and change of scene. Sometimes persons may go for tourism because of certain incentives like leave travel concession (LTC), where a person may get money for travel from their work spaces. The offices or work organisations may also provide their employees with summer or winter vacations with a tourist destination thrown in. Usually, such tourists who take a vacation because of routine reasons are conventional in their approach. Holiday tourism involves a crowded or traditional tourist area, and routes to transport them. Other important considerations involve criteria such as, that the place should not be very far, climate should be salubrious, and there should be some specific activities there. An important consideration is that the place should be within the tourist's income level and also compatible with the age and gender of the tourist. Natural resorts and calm environment for the aged, for the young, amusement resorts and trekking and adventure activities while most women love a place with good shopping opportunities.

Adventure Tourism: This involves exploration of remote areas, exotic locales, trekking to difficult terrains, adventure sports like bungee jumping, hot air balloon rides and paragliding. Such tourism is undertaken by persons who have a spirit of adventure and who are not satisfied with routine lifestyles. In the Indian context, the growth of the adventure tourism is still at its niche stage as Indians are rarely interested in such tourism as involves too much risk. Safety is the main concern as per Adventure Tour Operators Association of India (ATOAI) an organisation that is presently responsible for such tourism in India. In India, areas like Jammu and Kashmir, Sikkim, Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal are some of the places where the possibility of adventure tourism seems promising. However, Meghalaya has opened up for adventure tourism with its many forest attractions like the root bridges, the sacred grooves in the forest etc. Rishikesh is also coming up as a space for adventure tourism with facilities for river rafting.

Medical or Healthcare Tourism: Healthcare Tourism is known since antiquity, being one of the oldest types. Pollution in large urban centers and towns, sedentary life of people, stress factors lead to this type of health tourism. The tourists value these resources with prophylactic and therapeutic properties. In addition, they can also avail of the arrangement of facilities for providing medical treatment. Tourists may come to improve health, physical appearance or fitness for instance, certain countries promote their medical facilities by facilitating the coming of tourists with amenities like providing them with visa and other

incentives. Some regions may promote specialized treatments like in the area of cosmetic surgery or specific treatments like for cancer (Ryan et.al. 2018 *Journal of Travel Medicine*).

Tourists come to India to avail cost effective and superior quality healthcare. It is expected that medical tourism in India will hold a value around US \$3 billion by 2020. Chennai attracts around 45% of medical tourists from abroad (<https://dakshinmedicaltourism.com/>).

Business Tourism: This involves the marketing of the enjoyable and other features of a travel destination and provision of facilities and services for the carrying out of business activities. Such destinations include facilities for conducting business transactions, attending a conference, exhibition or event associated with business; and at the same time providing opportunities for enjoyment and sight- seeing. For example, the International Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES) is hosted by one University or the other among the member countries, held every five years at different locations. This allows not only exchange of ideas and knowledge among the anthropologists but also helps in providing a glimpse of the cultures and other attractions of the places where these conferences are held.

Political Tourism: This refers to visits made for political ends to places of strategic importance. Israel can be taken up as an apt case. It is fast coming up as a space for political as well as war tourism because of the ongoing conflict that centers around Palestine. Koensler and Papa (2011) through their work *Political tourism in the Israeli-Palestinian space* explore the lives of the volunteers from different parts of the world engaged in the peacemaking process. These volunteers from different parts of the world take part in peace marches and political activities. Some of them have also created graffiti presenting the new age Israel as an added tourist attraction. Similar graffiti are seen in the city of Belfast which has been marred by the ‘troubles’ since the early 1960s that continued up to late 1990s. It finally came to an end with the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 that left this part of Northern Ireland with a bitter legacy of communal violence between the Protestants and the Catholics. The horrors of the period find reflection in graffiti on the walls that till date divides the city into two halves. Peace march every year by the two communities depicting their part of the story continues to be a living legend and reminder to the division in the city. This has attracted tourism and today Belfast is one of the well-known spaces for political tourism with the ‘peace wall’ as a great attraction that has been signed by many political leaders from all over the world.

Cultural and Heritage Tourism: Tourists visit landmarks of a particular country that are known for their historical and aesthetic importance like the Taj Mahal in India. They may also come to attend festivals and ceremonies to understand the beliefs and practices of different countries, like the carnival in Brazil, Tomatina festival of Spain etc. Tourists may come for famous cultural activities like theater and music festivals, performances of famous performers and for visiting museums, archaeological and historical sites and land mark events.

Cultural tourism may involve visiting folk and rural areas, to savour the food and life styles that are different and away from what one is used to. In India rural areas are of interest for tourists. The ethnographic traditions and folklore play a very significant role in cultural tourism. Current mass media promotions such as internet and television also lead tourists to certain areas which were not visited often in the past.

Visiting Tourism: Visiting relatives or acquaintances is a very common practice in India. Spending vacations with grandparents and various relatives was a common practice. For women, visiting their natal homes with their children has been part of folklore and various kinds of folk sayings and songs. It is also a part of Indian mythology like the visit of goddess Durga to her maternal home with her children is celebrated as Durga Puja in Bengal. This type is characterised by a lower mobility but longer periods of stay. This type of tourism does not also take into account tourist services in the areas visited, as people stay in homes of relatives. But offices sanction special leave and at times even money for such visits to one’s hometown. It may or may not be seasonal. It does often coincide with long school vacations or other holiday seasons. Visiting the local historical monument or pilgrimage site does not bring large benefits to travel agents in these localities.

Check Your Progress 2

3. Name the two groups into which tourism can be divided into broadly.

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4. Discuss the different types of tourism.

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5. What is pilgrimage and political tourism?

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2.2 HISTORY OF TOURISM STUDY

The word hospitality predates the use of the word tourism and first appeared in the 14th century. It is derived from the Latin word *hospes*, which includes the words, guest, host and foreigner. The word tourist appeared in print in 1772 (Griffiths and Griffiths 1772 c.f. *Introduction to Tourism and Hospitality in BC open access text book*).

Travel for leisure purposes has evolved from an experience reserved for very few people into something enjoyed by many. Historically, the ability to travel was reserved for royalty and the upper classes. From ancient Roman times to the 17th century, young men of elite classes were encouraged to travel through European “Grand Tour” (*Chaney, 2000*). Through the middle ages, many societies encouraged the practice of religious pilgrimage. Willian Theobald (1998) suggests that the word tour comes from Greek and Latin words for circle and turn and tourism and tourist represent the activities of circling away from home and then returning.

The decade of the 60’s seems to have been a significant period in tourism development as more and more travel companies were set up. They increased competition for customers and “moving towards” mass tourism introducing new destinations and modes of holidaying (*GYR, 2010 p.32*).

The tourism industry's growth was interrupted by World War I (1914-1918), the Great Depression (Economic) (1930's) and World War II (1939-1945). Recently, the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York (9/11), the war in Iraq, Terrorist attacks around the world, health scares (e-bola etc.) SARS, BSE (bovine spongi form encephalopathy), west Nile virus and very recent Easter Sunday church attacks in Sri Lanka (21st April 2019). In 2020, there is almost complete stoppage of tourism globally because of the Corona virus, COVID 19 Pandemic.

The industry began a massive technological shift with the increased use of the internet. Through the 2000's, online travel books grew exponentially (*H.T. 29th April 2019*) and by 2014 global leader Expedia had expanded to include brands like Hotels.com the Hotwire group, Trivago and Expedia Cruise Ship centers. Other trends in global tourism can be seen too. The UNWTO (2012) declared that tourism could help rebuild still struggling economies, because it is a key export and labour intensive.

2.2.1 Tourism and Migration

Growth in migration and tourism are two of the most significant manifestations of globalisation. Migration makes important social and economic contributions to destination countries, enriching their societies culturally, enhancing the tourism product and providing labour for the travel, tourism hospitality and catering sectors. UNWTO has conducted many case studies to establish links between tourism and migration (C. M. Hall A. M. Williams 2013). It reflects the growing interests of tourism geographers. Migration in itself is also a clear generator of tourism demand with the increasingly two-way flow of expatriates visiting their country of origin. The unskilled labour which is relatively common, gives low entry threshold to most tourist jobs. National origins of the migrants and tourism related labour migration streams are also differentiated by gender. Tourism enterprises are increasingly considered as providing an alternative to migration and a vehicle to alleviate poverty in struggling economics by creating job opportunities. Tourists are staying longer in places-blurring the distinction between tourism and migration. Tourist is someone who spends less than a year in a place while migrants may stay longer and not leave. Migrant's remittances and income from tourism- can be powerful instruments for enhancing tourism-related projects and investments in basic infrastructures as the community level, there by impacting poverty reduction.

- In addition to job creation, improved income sources improve access to better education and health for local people.
- Through increase in employment, younger people are encouraged to stay in rural communities rather than migrate towards cities.
- Rural communities are more closely linked to the environment and recognise the value of conservation for sustainable communities since migration refers to people moving from one place to another, it is a key component of population change alongside natural increase. Tourism is helping to stop forced migration by creating jobs. The economic migrant thus is reducing in numbers, though East European migrants are increasing as they are ready to do DAD jobs- Dirty, Antisocial and Dangerous.
 - Contribution of MLT to the development and poverty alleviation through remittances, development of SMEs, knowledge transfers etc.

Understanding Tourism

- Need for institutional changes to harness economic benefits and improve social rights and inclusion of migrant workers.
- Migrants create new cultural products in developed countries.
- Restrictions on immigration, restricts tourist development.
- Brain drain and “skill drain” @unwto.org

2.2.2 Tourism and Colonial Exploration

The beginning of colonisation by the European countries during the early nineteenth century was a turning point in the history of tourism. The Westerners on their exploration of the East found cultures that were different from their own and this sparked an interest in exploring these cultures. Tourism in the newly colonised countries, worked to master the territory in spatial terms. The colonial state divided the space to make it accessible and to facilitate not only possible intervention, but also to inhabit it and to exploit it later. It is a symbol of territorial location, the appropriation of place and the control of environmental constraints.

2.2.3 Imagined and Remembered Journeys

Memories are mental constructions. They represent short time slices derived from experience; they contain inferences and details derived from memory of an experience. These journeys may take place in the physical world or in the imagination. A journey can change how we see ourselves and the world whether it is a physical journey or an imagined one, the questions that one needs to ask are:

1. Where are we going?
2. What will we encounter on the way?
3. What boundaries will we have to cross?
4. How will we travel on foot? By public transportation? By boat or by plane?
5. How long will the journey take?

Check Your Progress 3

6. How are tourism and migration related?

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7. Write about a journey you remember the most and explain why?

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2.3 SUMMARY

In this unit, we have learnt that there are many types of tourism and the tourist has a wide variety of choices, depending on time, distance, cost, interest, need and necessity. Tourism comprehensively describes the new aspects of social, cultural, economic changes and diversification that have come up in the host community owing to tourist activities. To reiterate, travelling is one effective way to see the world, experience new cultures and meet new people. For others the purpose might be different, therefore there are so many types of tourism and tourist activities. In this unit we have provided the general definitions, types and typologies related to tourist and tourism. The next unit would look at the definitions and concepts from an anthropological lens, how the anthropologists have looked at tourist and tourism.

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2.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer to section 2.0
2. See section 2.0 for details
3. Domestic and International
4. See section 2.1
5. See section 2.1
6. Refer to section 2.2
7. Write about you own experience as a tourist.

UNIT 3 TOURISM THROUGH AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL LENS

Contents

- 3.0 Introduction
- 3.1 Explaining Tourism in the Context of Anthropology
- 3.2 History of the Study of Tourism in Anthropology
- 3.3 Ethnography in Tourism
 - 3.3.1 The Field Site/The Tourist Spot
 - 3.3.2 The Tourist/The Guest
 - 3.3.3 The Native/The Host
- 3.4 Pilgrimage
- 3.5 Issues of Authenticity and Theoretical Concerns
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References
- 3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Objectives

After going through this unit, the learner should be able to:

- describe how tourism is studied in anthropology;
- outline the historical development of tourism study in anthropology;
- demonstrate the essentiality of the tourist spot, the tourist and the host;
- interpret the relationship between tourism and pilgrimage; and
- explain the importance of the issues of authenticity in tourism

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Anthropology as a study involving human beings has always spread its areas of learning to various aspects of society. In this unit we will take you through a discussion of how anthropology studies tourism and why it is important to do so. Understanding tourism in the context of anthropology had begun as early as in the 1970s, where major concepts of anthropology were interrogated for addressing tourism.

3.1 EXPLAINING TOURISM IN THE CONTEXT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology of tourism initially concentrated more on the way of life and behaviour of the natives of a tourist spot, more popularly called the “hosts”. The inclusion

Understanding Tourism

of tourism as a topic of anthropological inquiry did provide a new base for expansion of anthropological knowledge (Holden 2005). However, with the passage of time, the interests of anthropologists studying tourism broadened. The focus extended to other pivotal concerns of contemporary times, like (1) How individuals and society change due to tourism; (2) How tourists and hosts interact and what they share; (3) The mobility that takes place due to tourist and host contact; (4) Creation of new identity and self-characterisation; and (5) Finally new meaning emerging as a combination of all these aspects (Di Giovine 2017).

It is important to note that the main branches of anthropology are all involved in the study of tourism from one perspective or the other. Though the major work in tourism is done by socio-cultural anthropologists from its myriad concerns, like social organisations, history, cultural transformations, migration, environment, gender, stratification, rituals, and identities, the other branches are not far behind. Heritage sites and museums are places which tourists prefer to go to while visiting historical places. The archaeological anthropologists work in collaboration with archaeologists to keep heritage buildings, monuments and museums of importance in good condition for the public. Gathering museum artifacts and displaying them to the public is also their job. This has led to the development of a collaboration of sorts with tourism and archaeology, known as “archaeo-tourism” collaboration or partnership.

The communication that ensues between tourists and hosts, through language and symbols is an important area of study for contemporary linguistic anthropologists. These exchanges of language and gestures are a way by which, the outsider and the insider build trust for each other for the days that they are in each other’s contact. These give the linguistic anthropologist’s conceptual space to analyse such ongoing verbal and figurative transmissions.

Physical Anthropology is equally involved in studying different arenas which are linked to tourism. For example, Design Anthropometry is a popular branch of physical anthropology which uses anthropometric measurements to devise plans for better services to tourists. Body measurements of different human types can assist in the creation of seats of vehicles used on land, air or sea which can provide better comfort to tourists travelling long distances. Also, in places like Thailand where sex tourism is promoted, physical anthropologists can play a big role in the analysis of sexual borne diseases like AIDs affecting tourists.

This section thus clearly gives us an overview of how different branches of anthropology are seriously involved in the study of tourism.

Check Your Progress 1

1. What are the areas of study in tourism that anthropologists focus in contemporary times?

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2. What do social anthropologists study in tourism?

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3. Do archaeological anthropologists play any role in the study of tourism? Give an example.

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4. How can physical anthropologists assist in the study of tourism? Give an example.

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3.2 HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF TOURISM IN ANTHROPOLOGY:

In this section, let us try to learn about the growth and development of the study of tourism in anthropology.

Anthropology's entry into tourism studies was by accident if one may call it so. Valene Smith, the creator of the seminal work, *Hosts and Guests* published first in 1977, was teaching geography and anthropology at the Los Angeles City College in 1946, when she was asked to develop a course on Tourism. This was to teach the students about a completely new world which had arisen after the Second World War. Her expertise about the world of tourism made her a popular and much sought-after academic who conducted and assisted visits to different parts of the world including Europe and Asia during the 1950s and 1960s (Smith 2015).

The events leading to Smith's *Hosts and Guests*, happened during the early 1970s. She invited anthropologists interested in the study of tourism to respond in one of the newsletters of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and received a good number of respondents eager to participate in research and take this new field forward. This developed into a session on tourism in AAA's 1974 meeting in Mexico City where as many as 35 delegates, presented their thoughts and findings. Theron Nunez was posthumously honoured in the session for his contribution to anthropology and tourism in his article "Tourism, Tradition and Acculturation: Weekendismo in a Mexican Village" published as early as in 1963. Finally, the main contribution in this session was the decision to bring together all the presentations into the form of a book, which finally developed into Smith's edited classic, *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism (1977)*. This was the landmark created by anthropologists making their foray officially into studying tourism.

Smith also conducted a similar session in 1975 with the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) in Mérida, Mexico. The proceedings of this session too were published. Such sessions on tourism grew with new anthropological work added every year. By 1987, Smith realised that the book, *Hosts and Guests* needed a makeover with new and diverse changes being added to the earlier works. Many authors from the first version wanted their papers to be removed as new content related to their topics were no more available. The third edition, with its name tweaked a little, *Hosts and Guests Revisited* (2001) had a number of new chapters. With concerns and interests changing in the field of anthropology and tourism, it was pertinent to bring in these new investigations to the public domain.

Other notable anthropologists who dedicated their lives to studying tourism during the 1970s and 1980s are Nelson Graburn, Dennison Nash, Oriol Pi-Sunyer, Erik Cohen etc. They of course contributed to areas which were of significance then, more so in aspects of theory building, cultural encounters, cultural reconstruction, etc.

As compared to Valene Smith, whose *Hosts and Guests* and its later editions began as a work on tourism with a group of people involved, anthropologists like Dean Mac Cannell, propagated their theories and published them as single authors. Mac Cannell's work on tourism in 1976 is significant for concentrating on its semiotic aspects. He said that signs and symbols are the first pointers connecting a tourist to a site. Dennison Nash and Nelson Graburn contributed to tourism studies (1977) focussing on it as a symbol of modern day imperialism and as a transformative sacred journey, respectively. Both Nash and Graburn critically looked at Victor Turner's *The Ritual Process* (1969) and placed tourism as a journey allowing transition from one stage to another. More on this will be taken up on the section 3.4 on Pilgrimage.

As the popularity of studying tourism in anthropology grew, the *Annals of Tourism Research* devoted a complete issue to anthropological work on tourism in their 1983 issue. So, the mid 20th century was a point of development where the main areas of concentration as nicely put forward by Nash, were: Development, Tourist transformation and Superstructure. In the present century, tourism has placed itself safely within the gamut of anthropological studies and has moved beyond and further from the above mentioned areas of interest.

The turn of the century saw Amanda Stronza, an anthropologist, who brought into the discussion of tourism a new area- ecotourism with a review of literature that social scientists had published in past on the topic. She called this branch fundamentally interdisciplinary whose main focus was on "political economy, social change and development" (Stronza 2001: 261). Ecotourism as an interest is connected to the growth of environmental anthropology, which is now a key branch of anthropology. After Stronza, many anthropologists followed suit in studying ecotourism of which the names of Paige West, James Carrier, Jim Igoe, Stocker, Robert Fletcher etc., are worth mentioning (Wallace and Scott, 2018).

Check Your Progress 2

5. Who is Valene Smith? What circumstances led her to work on tourism and publish her first work, *Hosts and Guests* (1977)?

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6. What did Mac Cannell's work on tourism concentrate on?

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7. What aspect of tourism is Amanda Stronza known to study?

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3.3 ETHNOGRAPHY AND TOURISM

In this section and the sections thereafter, we grapple with concerns which are specific to tourism studies in anthropology. Ethnography, which is a much sought after and important method of research employed by social scientists including anthropologists to study tourism, is faced with difficulties while investigating tourism. This is because the tourist space, the tourist (guests) and the natives (hosts), all have interesting yet complicated positioning, making tourism investigation rather complex.

Ethnography is an intrinsic part of anthropological investigation. It is a methodology which has the credibility of establishing itself first as a method and then as a product. It involves direct engagement with people for a long period of time and preferably with the use of local language to gather "authentic" information about cultures. This methodology put to use in the case of tourism studies raises concerns that need attention.

3.3.1 The Field Site/The Tourist Spot

Let us first consider the place. Majority of the tourist spots have been historically significant and people visit them to recreate the romantic or ideal imagery they have in their mind's eye about the space. The image of such a spot gives the tourists the opportunity to see the space as it has been etched in their imagination from the accounts they have read and the pictures they have seen of the same from elsewhere. This creates an exotic imprint in them which when they actually encounter, they would like it to be exactly as they had visualised. It is the past of that particular place that they would like to see rather than its present. The people commercially responsible for the promotion of such spots equally are responsible in keeping such ideals alive as they too offer the tourist the assurance that the spot will possess the fantasy, glamour and sentimentality that it owned once upon a time. So, for example, in the case of India, the Westerners would

love to see an exotic land with snake charmers, naked hermits and elephants or the famous Taj Mahal as a symbol of true love.

The locals in such tourist spots, to keep this imagined reality intact, behave in a way which is pleasing to the tourists, allowing them to take with them a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment. The very actions undertaken to achieve these ends provide interesting anthropological fields of study.

3.3.2 The Tourist/The Guest

Secondly a tourist spot is identified not only by the attractions it possesses but also equally by the people who visit the space and make it economically and culturally viable. They comprise of the visitor, the guest who go to experience what a place has to offer and most importantly for leisure and pleasure. The presence of the tourist allows for an interesting take for an ethnographer to study the perspective the tourists hold for the place, the gaze the tourists emanate, how the tourists view the locals etc. As mentioned above the tourists would like to be positioned in a way which caters to their imagined reality, it is therefore more interesting to understand and see how an ethnographer tackles such scenarios where the past, the present, the imagined and the real are all entangled.

Comparing an ethnographer and a tourist is a highly controversial area, debated by many scholars as to what role each has to play, how similar or different they are and how they can co-exist the validity of a travelogue penned by a tourist as compared to an ethnographic monograph created by an ethnographer. Their similarities in the ways of representing society and its culture, overlap so much that they have also been addressed as "distant relatives" (Crick 1995). As in the past anthropology was dependent on the accounts of missionaries, voyagers, migrants to develop the subject, similarly who is to say that work created by tourists cannot be helpful in a world where the discourse produced by the ethnographer on a society debates with the question of what the "other" sees that the "self" might want to do away with. Urry (1990) exclaims that it is now hard to identify any difference between processes of tourism and processes of society and culture. This is as in this postmodern world meaning of perception and representation may vary for different observers. As early as in 1955 Lévi Strauss brought out *Tristes Tropiques* (1955) which is a classic example of an anthropologist's travels and can be safely placed as a work of anthropological importance where ironically Strauss talks about his hatred for travel and people who travel.

3.3.3 The Native/The Host

One important aspect that anthropologists look into is to what extent and in what way the host communities are affected by the entry and presence of guests, the tourists. The impact of the culture of the tourist on that of the hosts can be interesting to note. The hosts copy the mannerisms of the guests which after a period of time can considerably affect the cultural and social structure of the host community. This can result in either a simple cultural drift or a more complex acculturation. This however can only happen if the tourist is seen as coming from a superior culture. Mathieson and Wall (1992) has pointed out that when hosts change their behaviour akin to the guests when they are present but become their normal selves again, once the tourists leave can be seen as cultural drift. It is more

phenotypic. However, if changes in behaviour become a more permanent happening where the cultural change which occurs due to coming in contact with tourists and is handed down from one generation to the next, then this can be a part of acculturation. This may be seen as genotypic behaviour. For example, the hill-stations of India that were the favourite tourist spots of the British, imbibed much of British culture which still persists.

Nash has discussed about the “adaptations host communities make when they become tourist destinations” (1996: 121). With the building of hotels, resorts and recreation centres. hosts have to cater to all the needs that the tourists look for to make the guests feel ‘at home’. For this it is obvious that the hosts have to make significant changes in their own lives to create another environment which is not part of their everyday life.

The tourist-host contact is often “mis-interpreted”. Each has unreal expectations of each other’s reality and allows anthropologists to notice the kind of adaptations they make to their behaviour to meet these expectations. Salazar and Graburn in their book, *Tourism Imaginaries: Anthropological Approaches* (2014) deal with these very concerns.

Reflection

Cultural Drift: It is a slow change which results from either a cultural loss or a gain in any cultural element or any practice in culture. For example: Fashion and style change.

Acculturation: This is a process which occurs when a culture assimilates itself into another culture, characteristically into the dominant one.

Phenotype: It is a physical trait that can be observed.

Genotype: It is the genetic composition of any living being.

Check Your Progress 3

8. What does an ethnographic investigation entail?

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9. What does the tourist generally expect from a tourist spot?

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10. What is the name of Lévi Strauss’ famous work based on his travels?

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11. When do hosts encounter a cultural drift?

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3.4 PILGRIMAGE

Anthropologists have shown interest in studies of pilgrimage, which started with Van Gennep’s (1908 (1960)) *Rites de Passage* and was taken forward by Victor Turner (1969) who dealt with rituals and pilgrimage as a path of transition. As postulated by Turner, an individual in society undergoes three stages of social transition. First is the stage of *Separation* where the individual is removed from their everyday activities with her/his community, second is *Liminality* where the individual is placed in a ritualistic and sacred environment and third, *Reintegration* where the individual is placed back to their routine life. The second stage of *Liminality* also holds a position of *Communitas* which is shared with others going through the same process at that point of time. Turner used this same outline to discuss pilgrimage. In pilgrimage too, he deduced that people move from a systematised, normal regime and enters into a liminal and sanctified environment of a pilgrimage centre. Anthropologists studying tourism, have been able to find likeness in the description of Turner’s pilgrimage with many tourism experiences. Anthropologists have linked it to Turner’s idea of *Communitas* where people in such situations experience, “spontaneity, personal wholeness, and social togetherness” (Nash and Smith 1991). An example of this is the involvement people feel during the popular festival, Fiesta de San Fermín, which is held in Pampola, Spain or while visiting the Walt Disney World.

Graburn (1983) explains that such stages in people’s lives, through the use of tourism, give them the much needed change and refreshment from their daily structured lives. He opines that tourism is “one of those necessary breaks from ordinary life that characterises all human societies, which are, moreover, necessary for the maintenance of physical and bodily health.” (1983: 11). He states that modern day tourism bears similarity with pilgrimage of earlier times and hence Turner’s views on pilgrimage can be used to draw a parallel with tourism. It is the travel of both to a ‘much looked forward’ destination. However other anthropologists, who see much difference between the two and point out that pilgrimage is a journey with a religious purpose leading one to a holy point whereas tourism is seen as ‘absurd’ in the sense that it has not structured purpose and leads one to the fringes (Leite and Graburn 2009). Newer ethnographic work has led anthropologists to advice that pilgrimage and tourism should not be theoretically distinguished from the context of anthropology but can only be evaluated from the perspective of their background or their heuristic conditions (Badone and Rosemon 2004).

Sometimes (as noted by Basu 2004, Ebron 2000 and Graburn 2004), tourism in the context of pilgrimage is also seen from the standpoint of the structure of pilgrimage which is evoked as corresponding to tourism and how it effects it. Anthropologists point out that pilgrimage is also used in context of identity tourism, for example, “roots pilgrimage” referring to a journey to the home

of one's ancestors (Basu 2007) or "queer pilgrimage", referring to a journey to San Francisco which is known as a homeland of gays (Howe 2001). Such sites have immense emotional value equivalent to a pilgrimage site. For the tourist the sacredness lies in the gravity of the intent of the journey and the lasting impression that the visit would bring in its end.

Check Your Progress 4

12. Which anthropologist's seminal work on rites of passage has influenced scholars to study the concept of pilgrimage in tourism?

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13. What is Graburn's take on pilgrimage and tourism?

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3.5 ISSUES OF AUTHENTICITY AND THEORETICAL CONCERNS

The notion of authenticity in tourism has been a matter of interest and concern for anthropologists. It has been studied from three theoretical approaches: Objectivism, Constructivism and Post-modernism. Authenticity, is usually used in the sense of genuine, real, true etc. But, in tourism, authenticity implies not the real truth but a truth that the tourist wants to see. To the tourist, authentic may be something that the tourist has dreamt of. As Gisolf (2010: n.d), describes a scenario in his article, "Authenticity", about how the people in the west bear images of certain places to have honest people, working the earth honestly to produce honest products where there is no room for nuclear reactors, trade unions or traffic jams. The tourist imagines the past to be seen in the present. It is full of images of "primitivism, exotic tribes and historical stagnation" (ibid). Reality of such sites may have starkly transformed but authenticity, here remains something that is visualised and then seen by tourists and for the tourism business to thrive, such "authentic realities" are built. Let us now try to see how anthropologists have tried to understand authenticity in tourism

The Objectivist Theory: This theory suggests that authenticity is free from the mind's eye. It is present as intrinsically in the object which is visited and is not connected to the notions of the visitor or tourist, hence authenticity exists as a factual trait. Boorstin and MacCanell, two American scholars, assessed this objectivist theory in the 1970s. Boorstin (1964) opined that the tourist always looks for the inauthentic object and is conscious of the fact that the host spot offers a 'pseudo-event'. The 'authentic' is manufactured and hence is actually inauthentic. Boorstin concludes that the tourists in reality look for inauthenticity. However, MacCanell (1976) disagreed and made his point that, "the alienated modern tourist in quest of authenticity hence looks for the pristine, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity"

(1976: 384). He calls such tourists the “religious pilgrim”. They do agree on one point, that what tourists actually finally get to view is inauthentic.

The Constructivism Theory: In the Objectivist theory, one issue which was observed was that it viewed tourists’ spots and their cultures as constant and unchanging. This issue was tackled by another approach called the Constructivism theory. The main advocate of this theory in the context of tourism was sociologist, Erik Cohen. This theory argues that authenticity is not physically observed and “is a socially constructed, negotiated concept and is not a permanent property of the toured object.” (Terziyska 2012: 90). Thus, different people can view an object with a different authenticity, based on her or his philosophy or way of thinking. Cohen presented a new term, emergent authenticity to describe how with change in culture an artificial or fake experience, eventually is recognised as authentic. Urry (2002) explains this as the tourist belief of authenticity is created by ‘modern mass media’ by means of ‘time-space compression’.

The Post-modern theory: This was postulated by Wang and he called it existential authenticity, also known as activity based authenticity (1999). This theory differs from the above two, as it is not concerned with the object of visit but by the experience the tourist entails at the tourist spot. Wand writes, “Existential authenticity refers to a potential existential state of Being that is to be activated by tourist activities. Correspondingly, authentic experiences in tourism are to achieve this activated existential state of Being within the liminal process of tourism. Existential authenticity can have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects” (ibid: 352). Postmodernism has been debated by others, like Engler who asserts that, objectivism may have been mostly discarded as a theory but it is still seen in praxis (n.d). For example, hotels and resorts, or group tours which promise to give an authentic feel of the culture of the tourist site.

Authenticity became a topic of discussion in the 1950s and became an important concept to discuss upon, as acting as an inspiration to travel and for its ability to exhibit itself in tourism happenings. It is however found that while academics talks more of the constructivist approach of authenticity in real life, objective authenticity prevails more.

Check Your Progress 5

14. Name the three theories on the basis of which authenticity is studied in tourism by social scientists.

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15. What does the objectivist theory talk about?

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16. How is the objectivist theory different from the constructivism theory?

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17. What does Wang’s existential authenticity deals with?

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3.6 SUMMARY

This unit gave you a basic idea of why anthropologists study tourism, how it is studied in the major branches of anthropology and what are the areas in which anthropologists are interested in. A detailed historical discussion was provided along with the important pioneers associated with it. Ethnography was shown as an important method of studying tourism. Finally, two very significant concepts, pilgrimage and authenticity were comprehensibly discussed in this unit.

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3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer to the first paragraph in Section 3.1
2. Refer to the second paragraph in Section 3.1
3. Refer to the second paragraph in Section 3.1
4. Refer to the fourth paragraph in Section 3.1
5. Refer to the first two paragraphs in Section 3.2
6. Refer to the sixth paragraph in Section 3.2
7. Amanda Stronza known to study eco-tourism
8. Refer to the second paragraph in Section 3.3
9. Refer to section 3.3.1
10. *Tristes Tropiques* (1955)
11. Refer to section 3.3.3
12. Victor Turner
13. Refer to the second paragraph in section 3.4
14. They are: Objectivism, Constructivism and Post-modernism
15. Refer to the second paragraph in section 3.5
16. Refer to the third paragraph in section 3.5
17. Refer to the fourth paragraph in section 3.5

UNIT 4 TOURISM AND CULTURE

Contents

- 4.0 Introduction
- 4.1 Tourism and Culture
 - 4.1.1 Cross Cultural Interaction: The Acculturation Debate
 - 4.1.2 The Tourist Experience and the Debate on Authenticity
 - 4.1.3 Destination Image Formation
 - 4.1.3.1 Image and Image Formation
 - 4.1.3.2 Semiotics and Tourism
- 4.2 Summary
- 4.3 References
- 4.4 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Objectives

After reading this unit, the learners should be able to discuss the:

- conceptualisation of culture in anthropology;
- relation between tourism and culture;
- interaction between tourist and culture and its implication on the host community; and
- the experience of the tourist based on image, image formation and semiotics.

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a cultural phenomenon and touristic activities are strongly connected with host/ destination cultures. Anthropological studies of people in tourist destinations and culture change have had two inter-related foci: (a) the political economy of tourism and development; and (b) cultural commodification, homogenisation/ heterogeneity encompassing the associated processes of globalisation. This unit would look at tourism and its inter-relationship with culture. We shall begin this unit with the meaning of culture from anthropological perspective and move on to understand the relationship between tourism and culture.

4.1 TOURISM AND CULTURE

“He/She belongs to a cultured family”, “So uncultured” are some of the common phrases we use in day to day life. How relevant are these phrases in the study of culture from anthropological perspective? Let us begin this section with an anthropological understanding of culture, the aspects anthropological studies deal with while studying culture. Anthropology deals with culture as a way of life, as

to how a group of people behave, think, how they interact, what and why they eat certain kinds of food etc. in their daily lives. Most importantly anthropologists look at culture as trait that every human being possess, an essential part of everyone's lived experience of everyday life. From an anthropological perspective, culture has been broadly defined as behaviour as observed through social interactions and production of material artefacts. Singer (1968: 528) defines culture as 'consisting of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour, acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values'. Culture is seen broadly as either a system of meanings and have symbolic expression or as an assemblage of material and substantive goods and artefacts and rules and norms pertaining to their production and circulation. In other words, it is either understood ideationally or materially. However, both these aspects of culture are interrelated.

Culture consists of behaviour learnt as members of a social group. And the knowledge, values and traditions so acquired are passed down through generations. Richards (1996) argued that culture is a complex whole and is both a process and a product. Culture as a process includes the behaviour of the individuals of a specific group through which people make sense of themselves and their lives. Culture as product includes the individual group activities to which certain meanings are attached. Richards further argues that in tourism both these overlap and are integrated. The tourist who engage in cultural experiences in search of authenticity are provided with culture developed specifically for their consumption. Thus, tourism as such transforms 'culture as a process' to 'culture as a product'. Or it may be said that tourism itself is a culture industry in that cultural products and experiences are promoted as tourist attractions (Prentice 1997).

Reflection

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor is regarded as the father of Social Anthropology, in his book, *Primitive Cultures* published in 1871 had stated "*Culture or Civilisation, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society*" (Tylor, 1871 reprint 1958).

From this definition of culture, it can be deduced that Culture comprises of elements that make up the everyday life of human beings. Culture is not an abstract that can be generated in isolation but one acquires or learns the way of life by living with other group members- exchanging and sharing knowledge as a part of a society. It is not an individual activity nor hereditary but passed on from one generation to the other via the medium of learning through language and symbols.

There is a strong inter relationship between tourism and culture. Tourism impacts both culture and society and is shaped by cultures and society. There are a few basic elements when we study the inter-relationship between tourism and culture. Let's outline the elements below for a better understanding:

Understanding Tourism

1. acculturation i.e. the culture contact between the tourist and the host population
2. the 'manufactured' tourist experience versus authenticity
3. commodification of culture i.e. culture is seen as a commercial resource (culture is perceived to be unique or unusual by the tourists and marketing specialists).
4. image formation of a place to convert it into a potential tourist destination.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define Culture

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4.1.1 Cross Cultural Interaction: The Acculturation Debate

Tourism and touristic activities facilitate interaction between people from different cultures. The lifestyle of the people, history of the host community, their traditional arts, architecture, religion and other cultural elements are motivating factors that prompt a tourist to visit a particular area. However, continuous touristic activities in the host region gradually affects its values and traditions and begins to damage the very attractions that bring tourists to that place.

A key anthropological concept to explain how tourism affects cultures is 'acculturation'. Burns (1999: 99) defines acculturation as 'the process by which borrowing of one or some elements of cultures takes place as a result of a contact at any destination between two different societies.' To explain this further we can cite language as an example. In most of the places in India like Agra, Jodhpur and Jaipur which are frequented by tourists one would notice that the locals engaged in the tourism industry like the hawkers, folk artistes, and guides, speak English, French and other foreign languages, even though many of them are not able to read or write.

Within the framework of acculturation theory, it has been argued that when contact takes place between a strong culture and a weaker one, it is usually the former which influences the latter (Petit-Skinner 1977: 85). The underlying assumption of the studies has been that culture changes occur mainly in the indigenous host society's tradition, customs and values rather than the tourist group. This might lead to gradual homogenisation of cultures and local identity gets assimilated into the stronger visiting (tourist) group. As Nunez (1989: 266) states, when two cultures come into contact, each becomes like the other through the process of borrowing. It is also assumed that tourists who are often western and wealthier are less likely to borrow from their hosts than their hosts would from them. The host societies are seen to adapt to tourism and make attempts to satisfy the needs of tourists and in this process may acquire attitudes and values of the visiting group and may become more like their visitors.

But the assertions made by acculturation framework are ambiguous in the sense that it is difficult to examine that the culture changes that have occurred in a society are by tourism or as a result of other processes of modernisation (Mathieson and Wall 2006: 265). **Cultural drift** is an alternative conceptualisation to explain the relationship between the tourists and their hosts. It represents a new approach to study the cultural effects of tourism. We know that the process of acculturation occurs as a result of continuous first hand contact between host and guests, but in tourism the relationship between host and guests are seasonal, intermittent and marked by cultural 'distance', so the term cultural drift is more appropriate to explain the changes. According to Collins (1978: 278):

'cultural drift states that the role of guest differs from that of the host and that the temporary contact situation results in change of phenotypic behaviour on both the hosts and the guests. The phenotypic change may be permanent in the host society/culture but temporary in the guest society/culture.'

The above suggests that normative behaviour of both the groups is still produced but with additional actions. Sometimes, contact of both parties who are interacting and exploiting each other and the host environment results in personal satisfaction. This leads to a phenotypic change that might occur in both the parties and are normally temporary changes. The host who adjusts to the needs of the tourists may return to previous behaviour when the tourists leave. As per cultural drift it is assumed that the host behaviour is temporarily transformed and this perspective is different from that of acculturation.

But when contacts between the hosts and guests is more continuous or permanent, changes in the norms, values and standards of the host may occur which may be passed on to successive generations, and such changes are genotypic in nature. When the changes in which both the genotypic and phenotypic behaviours occur, it is called acculturation. Cultural changes that occur depend on the duration, permanence and intensity of interaction between the host and the guest population. For instance, in some countries where tourism is seasonal, many local people may involve themselves in the tourism and hospitality sector like work part time in a hotel or resort, or rent out their houses for guest as service apartments during the peak season. During the off-peak season they may engage themselves in other form of economic activities like agriculture.

Studies on tourism by scholars like Nunez (1989), Smith (2001), Graburn (1976) and Burns (1999) anticipate that host culture and its identity may be assimilated into the more dominant culture of the tourist when the contact between the host and the guest is more frequent. The homogenisation of culture is often seen to be intensified when the behaviour patterns of the tourists are sometimes copied by the local residents. This has been called **demonstration effect**. In this we see for example the host community adapting to wearing non-traditional clothes, consumption of food and drinks not produced locally, or their desire to engage in the same form of entertainment as tourists, that leads to moving away from indigenous way of life. This may disrupt the social fabric of the host society or lead to intra-generational conflicts. For instance, the younger generation may aspire to live western style of life whereas the older generation are keen to protect traditional style of life.

2. Define Acculturation.

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3. What do you understand by Cultural Drift?

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4. Define demonstration effect.

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4.1.2 The Tourist Experience and the Debate on Authenticity

Subsequent studies on tourism and its cultural impacts have led to another debate in anthropology of tourism i.e. the notion of **authenticity**. Although the concept was in discussion in the social sciences, Boorstin (1961) and Mac Cannell (1973) brought it to prominence in the discussions of tourist motivations and expectations. Dean Mac Cannell in his book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976) argued that the primary motive for the tourists to travel is to search for authenticity. They travel with the hope to find genuine experiences i.e. experience an existing lifestyle, or they are looking for authentic/pure culture and cultural artefacts such as rituals. Mac Cannell says, ‘for moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere, in other historical periods and other cultures, in pure, simpler life styles’ (2013: 3). The modernist period refers to the urban, industrial age, from the 17th century onwards and many scholars have described the urban lifestyle as artificial and lacking in emotional quality. There is therefore a romanticisation of the verdant rural areas and relatively less industrialised cultures as retaining humane values and unspoilt lifestyles, even though these are difficult to define and locate constructs.

However, research has shown that not all tourists seek authenticity and often tourists are not able to actually observe the local cultures or their everyday life. The tourists come in formally as tourists and are not actually allowed into the privacy of real life. So, in order to solve this ambiguity Mac Cannell argues that the tourism industry presents tourists with constructed tourist spaces and a ‘**staged authenticity**’

John P Taylor in his essay on ‘*Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism* (2001) explains the concept of staged authenticity by giving an example of the indigenous population Maori of New Zealand. The Maori dance and serve traditional food to tourists in order to provide an experience of their “culture” to the tourists. But since this does not reflect the Maori life in the original settings, this is an example of ‘staged authenticity’. Further while arguing

the types of tourists Cohen (1988) has pointed that not all tourists are seeking authentic experiences and may just live in *tourist ghettos*. Another scholar Daniel Boorstin (1961) argues that the modern tourist is satisfied with the commercial sights like shopping malls and amusement parks created for mass tourism. He argues that the modern tourist often intentionally seeks inauthentic experiences called *pseudo-events* in order to escape superficial lifestyle at home.

Furthermore, it is understood that cultures are constantly changing and are not static so the issue of authenticity then becomes ambiguous. But Mac Cannell explains that the issue of authenticity still continues to play a significant role in language of tourism. The language of tourism uses phrases like ‘authentic holiday experience’, ‘a typical old house’, ‘the old village’ to attract tourists. The more authentic the experience, higher is its value and thus authenticity perspective becomes an important element in tourist’s choice of destination. And even the destination marketers try to incorporate certain elements of authenticity in destination image to increase its value.

The concept of authenticity is relevant to certain types of tourism like ethnic, historical or cultural tourism which involves some kind of presentation or representation of the ‘Other’ (here the host community). Since then it has received widespread attention in the works of scholars like Brown (1996), Cohen (1988), McIntosh and Prentice (1999), Salamone (1997) and Pearce and Moscardo (1986). Cohen in his paper ‘*Towards a Sociology of International Tourism*’ (1972) argues that the modern man is interested on sights, customs and cultures because they are different and he experiences strangeness and novelty in the host cultures. The tourist thus seeks both familiarity and strangeness in the tourism experience.

Check Your Progress 3

- 5. Differentiate between the concepts of authenticity and staged authenticity in tourism studies.

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4.1.3 Destination Image Formation

We understand that today with ever improving technology, means of transportation and communication, we live in a shrinking world where people have been brought closer. The increased disposable incomes and time have enhanced the chances of people to engage in touristic activities. We also understand that the tourists expect a pleasurable experience and want maximum entertainment for the money and time they spend. Thus, tourism can be called an ‘experiential product’ and the tourist purchase this product based on its qualities. This takes us to another part of the study on tourism and culture, i.e., ‘where to go?’

Here in this section we focus on the tourist destinations. The increase in tourist activities and growing number of tourist destinations has resulted in a highly competitive global marketplace where destinations compete for potential tourists. The images and representations of a particular destination are so created so that it gets positioned clearly in the mind of the potential tourist and persuades him/her to visit or revisit a particular place. Each destination today claims to have luxury accommodations and unique attractions and it becomes all the more difficult for the marketers to promote their destinations. Here then two important elements are employed by advertising agents and marketers:

- Use of images to increase the symbolic value of the destination (image formation)
- Ways to effectively communicate these images (focussing on semiotics)

Now, let's discuss each of this element in detail below.

4.1.3.1 Image and Image Formation

Images are an artificial imitation or representation of the external form of any object or a person (Boorstin 1961; 197). Image is a visual representation of something that is absent and something that has been recreated and reproduced. The major meaning of image is the visibility or visual imaginability of objects which can be represented in the media through pictures, photos and screens. An image has several characteristics, i.e., it is vivid, concrete; has visual components; it is social and has an audience; it is simplified and partial representation of the object; images are manipulated and often biased and are ambiguous and finally they are communicated via social media. All these characteristics of the image can be applicable to tourist destinations. The images of the destinations reflect the selective features of a place in order to lure the potential tourists. Crompton (1978) defines a destination image as 'the aggregate sum of beliefs, ideas, impressions and expectations that a tourist has about a destination area' Gartner and Hunt (1987) define tourist images as impressions held about a destination.

The study of the destination image came to forefront in 1970's when J.D. Hunt in his article '*Image as a factor in Tourism Development*' (1975) highlighted that destination image plays a central role in the tourist's selection process. It is now agreed by the scholars that a positive destination image results in increased visitation and also has an impact on the selection of the destination by the tourist. Several researchers have studied destination image as an independent variable influencing other variables such as consumer's choice of destination, decision making and satisfaction. Scholars have shown that several factors play a role in destination image formation.

Image formation is defined as a construction of a mental representation of a destination on the basis of information cues delivered by the image formation agents (Gunn 1972; Gartner 1993, and Bramwell and Rawding 1996). Information essential to the destination is a composite of individual inputs as well as market inputs. The marketers or advertising agents indulge in promotional efforts to establish/ create a positive image through advertising and publicity. The image that is thus formed is an imitation or representation of the destination, is a visual presentation and is a simplified version of the actual place.

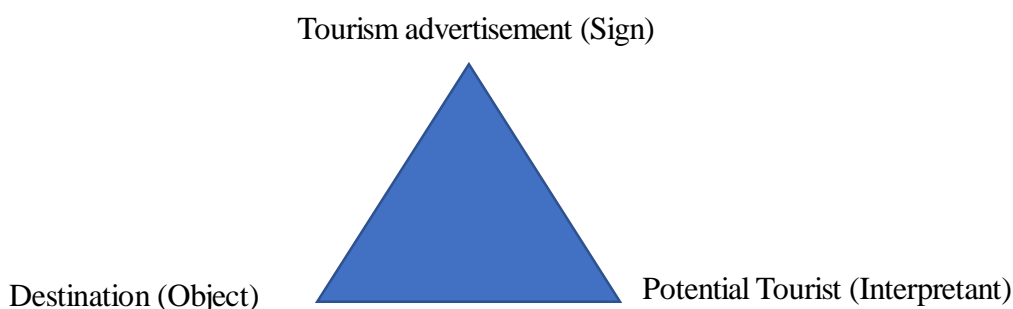
The advertisements in the tourism industry that tend to build a positive image of a place are communicated via brochures, bill boards, newspapers, magazines and television. All these mediums work through the principle of ‘visual inclusion and exclusion’ which means that certain visual components are highlighted while others are excluded. Underlying this principle of inclusion and exclusion is the idea of profit making and even the destinations that are visually ordinary and may lack any unique attractions like landscapes or scenery can be symbolically transformed into extraordinary destinations via advertising. This symbolic transformation of reality turns an ordinary place into a potential destination. The potential destination then becomes a commodity and penetrates the market to lure the tourists.

4.1.3.2 Semiotics and Tourism

Semiotics is the study of signs and how meanings are generated from signs. A sign is anything which refers to something other than itself and the meaning of a sign depends on the interpretation of the reader (Echtner 1999: 47). Semiotics is the branch of study that deals with the meanings and interpretations of signs. This work was developed with the work of scholars like linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914). Later Roland Barthes (1915-1980) advanced the understanding of semiotics.

According to the scholarship on semiotics, a sign consists of a *signifier* and a *signified*. The signifier is the physical appearance of the sign and the signified is the mental concept to which it refers. Saussure was interested in the relationship between the signifier and the signified, Peirce went further in examining the structure of the meaning and did not see signs merely as words but also as non-verbal signs. The theories of Saussure and Peirce form the basis of modern semiotics. It was with the work of Roland Barthes that semiotics entered into a marketing context in analysing the advertisement images. In his article ‘*Rhetoric of the Image*’ he stressed that language and images used in the promotional material is not merely used in denotative sense (common sense that people of same culture understand) but is also used in a symbolic connotative sense (additional meanings when emotions of the reader are also added). Thus it can be said that the connotations are the highly subjective meanings and are also dependent on the reader’s cultural conventions (Barthes in Innis 1986: 193)

The study of semiotics has been applied to tourism marketing and it is acknowledged as potent tool when communicating between the potential tourist and the destination (Echtner 1999: 52). Charles M. Echtner in his article ‘*The Semiotic Paradigm: Implications for Tourism Research*’ (1999) presented a relationship between destination, tourist and tourism advertisement.



As per the above diagram we understand three main points:

- a. The way how the tourism advertiser represents the destination;
- b. The way in which the potential tourist interpret the representation; and
- c. The symbolic experience offered to the tourist by the destination.

A powerful Indian advertisement with the tagline '*kuch din toh guzaro Gujarat mein*' (spend some days in Gujarat) is an appropriate example of how the marketing agents invite the potential tourists to Gujarat. The advertisement lures the tourist to visit the Somnath Temple and other unique attractions of Gujarat. The verbal text (outlined by a famous Indian actor) and the visual text (highlighting the rich cultural heritage) together provide the imaginative benefits of a destination to the potential tourist. The psychological and symbolic values and benefits of a destination are enhanced by representing the destination as a must visit place. The potential tourist who reads the advertisement reconstructs an image in his/her mind about the place, taking cues from the symbolic as well as physical aspects of the images. Therefore, the abstraction takes place at two levels, one, at the level of preparation of the advertised images and secondly, in the mind of the tourist, who also absorbs the representations selectively and creates another image from his or her own subjectivity.

Here another important aspect we need to understand is that the verbal and visual elements in the promotional material constitute a particular type of language. Graham Dann in his famous book '*The Language of Tourism*' (1996) says that the promotional acts in tourism, have their own language. For instance, use of words like 'authentic', 'raw', 'indigenous' in the travel brochures promise a real or unique/original lifestyle experience to the potential tourists. In a later work Morgan and Pritchard (1998) have argued that the images shown in the tourist brochures and billboards mainly draw upon stereotyped images. For instance, brochures usually select pleasant scenes showing healthy, young, good looking people and comfortable luxurious accommodations and omit ugly ones in order to build a beautiful image of the destination. Such idealised images represent a dream image (that matches the tourist's expectations), turn the destination into a 'tourist paradise'.

The image that is communicated not only informs but also persuades the potential tourist to visit the place and have an experience of the 'other world' which is distinct from his own mundane daily world. These images are thus symbolic worlds that are superimposed upon the daily world.

Check Your Progress 4

- 6. How does Image formation of a potential destination help in tourism development?

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7. Describe how the use of appropriate language and appealing scenery of a destination persuade the tourist to visit a place and also acts as incentive to both the tourist and the host community?

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4.2 SUMMARY

The unit has examined the inter relationship between tourism and culture and has delineated various arguments. Tourism has multiple dimensions and involves many factors of culture, representations, motives and incentives for both the tourist and the hosts. It has both positive and negative consequences for the host community, who gain in material terms but may lose out in terms of loss of culture, values and norms. The relation between the tourist and the destination and its culture; the experience and expectation of the tourist; the consequences of tourism for the host community; the role of mediating persons and institutions from the tourism industry all add to the complexity of the subject.

The touristic activity is more than just an economic transaction but is more of cultural consumption where the culture is commodified by the local and consumed by the visitor. In today’s world where people have come closer, there are more chances of people of different cultures interacting. Tourism as an industry brings people closer and this opens new frontiers for anthropology to understand the nuances of tourism.

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4.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 4.1
2. Refer to section 4.1.1
3. See section 4.1.1
4. See section 4.1.1
5. Refer to section 4.1.2
6. See section 4.1.3.1
7. See section 4.1.3.2



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UNIT 5 COMMODIFICATION OF CULTURE

Contents

- 5.0 Introduction
- 5.1 Concept of Commodification
- 5.2 Commodification and Art Forms
- 5.3 Case Studies
 - 5.3.1 Case Study 1
 - 5.3.2 Case Study 2
- 5.4 Summary
- 5.5 References
- 5.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

Learning Objectives

After reading the unit, the learner would be able to comprehend:

- the concept of commodification in tourism;
- how commodification occurs; and
- the aspects in tourism that are being commodified.

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The earlier unit had touched upon some of the concepts in tourism and culture. The notion of authenticity as perceived by the tourist and presented by the host for the benefit of the tourist was discussed. In this unit we will focus on the commodification of tourism. First the concept of commodification will be explained followed by two cases studies, reflecting the commodification of culture. Culture is the sum total of our everyday lives. It is what we do, how we act, how we go about performing the everyday task in our lives. But when these everyday activities are presented in a way that it is sold to the tourist, it becomes commodification. It is no more a normal everyday life of the host, but a life that is glorified, made to appear exotic, to show that it is unique, for which money should be paid.

5.1 CONCEPT OF COMMODIFICATION

As an object of anthropological inquiry, tourism as Shepherd, 2002: 184, (cf. Graburn, 1983: 10; Nash and Smith, 1991: 22) has stated, can be defined and shaped by a series of questions that tend to revolve around three issues: '*individual motivation (why do people travel?)*, *economic gains and losses (who benefits from this travel?)* and *tourism's cultural impact (what 'cultural' changes does tourism bring?)*'. The commodification of culture thus involves a construction of culture wherein the cultural items and traits are being promoted as symbols of a particular culture. Such a reconstruction may dilute the original cultural element

Contributors: Dr. Rukshana Zaman, Faculty of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, IGNOU and Dr. Gunjan Arora, Post- Doctoral Fellow, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, School of Social Sciences, Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi.

many a times. Claude Lévi-Strauss's in *Tristes Tropiques* (1972: 39–40, 45, c.f. Shepherd 2002:184) stated that: *travel books and travellers [contemporary tourists] serve only to 'preserve the illusion of something that no longer exists'; genuine travel has been replaced by movement through a 'monoculture' in a fruitless search for a 'vanished reality'*. The very concept of monoculture arises from the commodification of culture. What tourism projects as 'real culture' is in reality a part of the culture that has been recreated for the benefit of the tourist, to give to the experience an appearance of being real. According to Shepherd (2002:184) cultural commodification is considered by many scholars as that component of cultural tourism that can help in the revival of local interest in traditional cultural forms, thus both reviving vanishing cultural traits and providing the host with material benefits (cf. McKean, 1989 [1977]). This also brings to the forefront the fact that in commodification of culture, the host can easily distinguish between what is 'sacred' (and not open to tourism) from what is 'profane' (and hence open to commodification) (cf. Picard, 1996, 1997). In this regard, Goldstein's, work on *Commodification of Beliefs* (2007: 170-173) can be cited. She has examined the role of commodification in a very different contexts that manifest in exploration and expression of beliefs. The work looks into the practice of Ghost tours, haunted hotels and advertisements for haunted restaurants in Scotland. In a modern world of rational and scientific beliefs, the concept of ghosts and haunted houses holds an aura of thrill and mystification that adds to the overall excitement of travel. Therefore, elements that have haunted attached to it forms the major attraction for tourists visiting Scotland. Such re-enactments and revivals of old myths and old wives' tales are part of the contemporary consumer culture. The haunted elements are projected as part of the history of Scotland, the witch hunts, the wars and plagues which had ravaged the country in the past, giving it an aura of authenticity. Every tourist who had visited Scottish Highlands had gone on the tour of Loch Ness and been presented with the Loch Ness monster story also known as Nessie who lives in the water of the lake. In the next section we shall discuss some of the areas that have been touched by commodification of culture in the tourism industry.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define commodification in tourism.

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5.2 COMMODIFICATION AND ART FORMS

The notion of authenticity is closely linked to the commodification of culture of the host society and has been much in debate in the tourism studies. Where on one hand it is argued that tourism promotes authentic experiences, it is also pointed out that it commodifies cultural assets into consumable goods that can be marketed

as authentic. For instance, local cultural items that are visible through costumes, folk and ethnic art and jewellery are often made specifically for tourist consumption and is often distant from the original item that is in actual use. In this way many of these manufactured items lose their original meaning and are modified to suit the tastes of the tourists. The product might then lose its authentic value and utility in the indigenous culture and emerge as a mere show piece. For example, the head gear of the Bison Horn Maria are still projected as their identity and something of great cultural value. The reality on the other hand is that the symbolic value of prestige and honour projected by this head gear is meaningless to the now marginalised and dispossessed Maria Gonds, who mostly eke out their living as wage labourers and sweepers. The pride of identity embodied in their head gear is lost. Yet they are forced to wear them to perform dances that too have lost their meaning with the loss of their livelihood and environment. This indicates that under impact of forces of capitalist development and market forces the arts and crafts of many indigenous people have changed in style and form and also the purpose for which they were produced. Artefacts formerly produced for religious or ceremonial purposes are now produced for sale (Mathieson and Wall 2006: 272). The religious rituals and ceremonies themselves have lost their actual significance with the destruction of many life ways.

While studying the relation between tourism and culture, social scientists have attended to a few points:

- It is argued that tourism can kindle a revival of local interest in their traditional cultural art forms thus providing locals that is the host giving it access to material benefits but;
- It is warned that due to tourist demands the aesthetic quality of cultural products and traditions is lost thereby leading to cultural commodification.
- With the destruction and transformation of original cultures some of these cultural traits only remain as meaningless commodities, being produced and exhibited only for the benefit of the outsiders.

However not all effects of tourism on local cultures is negative. At times tourism and the monetary incentives genuinely serve to revive or maintain some local traditions, skills and crafts. In India the revival of local crafts and handloom products owe much to the market forces and the interest of outsiders including tourists, in these products.

Revival of traditional art forms- Graburn (1976) study on the Eastern Canadian Inuit is an example of the positive effect of tourism on the arts and crafts of the host society. There have been refinements in the art forms of the Inuit and new ideas have been incorporated by the host community, the positive symbolic value of the product is maintained and trained craftsmen from the local community are engaged to make the products thus ensuring their originality. However, it is not always that the art and craft follow their original symbolic and cultural values. The tourist demand for souvenirs is an example where the products are solely made for profit by the host producer.

We can also take as example, the demand for Indian handicrafts made by the wide variety of local communities in the country. The state has taken an active interest in the revival and marketing of indigenous handicrafts and many state emporiums and also specialised markets have been created for that purpose. Artisans, craftsmen and small entrepreneurs are encouraged to produce, develop and market products which are special to their region. Works on wood, brass, terracotta, embroidery have survived through centuries in India and are in great demand in foreign countries. Each region of India uses local materials for making a variety of goods, like bamboo in the N-E region, brass in the South and terracotta in the Eastern regions. The government through various ministries promotes the development of these traditional handicrafts which helps in the survival and recognition of both the art and the artisan. However not all of the material so produced is authentic.

The deterioration of traditional art forms- Graburn's book, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (1976) is one of the earliest book on the study of the commercialisation of cultural traditions. Graburn and later Cohen have argued that tourism has accelerated the promotion of pseudo-traditional arts. There have been studies that have portrayed a less positive picture and have shown that though tourism provided a market and helped to preserve the traditional art forms, it has also encouraged the production of pseudo-traditional art forms which is also called the 'airport art'. Much of the airport art is mass produced often by people with little knowledge of the traditional culture who may not be members of the society whose art they purport to portray (May 1977: 125). Although May's viewpoint is extreme one, it highlights the demands of tourists for cheap and exotic souvenirs.

Activity

Next time you fly to a destination, try and identify the 'airport art'. During your stay, try to relate to the culture of the host and evaluate if the airport art was the true representation.

It is argued that changes have occurred in the meaning of art and its social or spiritual significance. There are changes in the size, form, quality and the material used in the production of the art forms and are often manufactured according to the tastes of tourists. For instance, Bascom (1976: 314) while studying the African art showed that wooden masks produced by Zambian indigenes have lost their spiritual or inspiring value and it is produced to match tourist's tastes. Arts that are culminations of the craftsman's values, experience and meaning of life are sold as 'native symbols of identity' (Mac Kenzie 1977: 83). But even these have lost their meaning and the old messages they earlier use to portray. Moreover, the tourist purchases are mostly fuelled by a desire to possess a piece of culture that they have visited, rather than any sincere interest in local culture, their traditions or beliefs (Mathieson and Wall 1982:165-9).

Seeing the demand for art products there is generally an increased production which not only leads to mass production and commercialisation of the (pseudo) art forms but also an increased role of middlemen. These middlemen act as intermediaries between the producers and the consumers where there is little or no tourist-host interaction. This trend of mass commercialisation and increased

role of middlemen has been described by Evans (1994) in his paper, 'Fair Trade: Cultural Tourism and Craft Production in the Third World'. This mass production of the 'authentic replicas' (Evans, 1994) or 'tourist art' (Graburn, 1976) are imitation of traditional materials and techniques; may be produced in factories in large quantities and marketed for tourist consumption in the local markets or even exported to foreign countries. Baum et.al. (2013) sees these souvenirs as 'glocal' products. i.e. products that are simultaneously local and global.

Apart from the artefacts, other elements of the culture such as dance, music, special ceremonies/functions are also promoted as a commodity. Romanticised images of the destination areas, their dances and ceremonies are portrayed by marketers and these symbols are evident in travel brochures and advertisements as promotional literature to attract the potential tourists. Even the heritage sites and monuments/ buildings are viewed as tourist commodities. In this way the cultural assets of the host community are converted into consumable products. Traditional ceremonies, dances, customs and festivals thus acquire a new status and are transformed into entertainment sites or rituals and gradually become the characteristic feature of the tourist destinations. For instance, the traditional *Kathputali* dance or way the local dancers greet us when we enter any hotel or resort in Rajasthan. The guests are greeted in the traditional way by putting *Kumkum tika* on the forehead at the main entrance of the hotel. The welcome / traditional songs which might be sung by local people on special occasions are now sung in hotel lobbies to greet the guests. This depiction of the local culture and local people are very much visible in the tourist resorts and hotels but torn out of context and projected as fragments of culture.

Another instance of the commodification of culture and cultural elements has been portrayed in the study of a Spanish public ritual by Greenwood (1977:174). The *Alarde* is a public ritual festival which commemorates Spain's victory over the French in 1638. The festival signifies solidarity and unity and the town people use to participate in the ceremony. Rapid rise in Spanish tourism and the timing of the *Alarde* during the peak tourist season led to collapse of the cultural meanings of the ritual. The private ceremony of the town has become a public attraction through government and commercial promotion.

Therefore, it is quite possible that the cultural forms lose their traditional meaning when they are modified for the tourist consumption and further lead to staged displays or contrived experiences to attract tourists. The staging of cultural attractions may have both positive and negative consequences. The staged attractions may help to preserve the culture, enhance the pride of the local community in their unique traditions and might also lead to increased awareness about the preservation of culture among the younger generation. Or there might be negative consequences such as manipulation of the traditions and customs to enhance the tourist's experience. The staged displays like the traditional dances or certain rituals/ performances are superficial and may just be for economic gain both by the local and the tourist marketers. Although such contrived experiences may usually be an honest attempt to portray local culture but they may dilute the local cultural qualities from their real meaningful contexts. In the next section with the help of case studies we would try to understand, how at different levels commodification of culture happens in the host site for the benefit of tourists.

Check Your Progress 2

2. What is airport art?

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3. Define glocal.

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5.3 CASE STUDIES

5.3.1 Case Study I

From Temple to Commodity? Tourism in Songpan and the Bon Monasteries of A'mdo Sharkhog by Mona Schrempf and Jack Patrick Hayes (2009) pp. 285-312.

In this work the authors studied the change that was reflected in a province in China after it was declared as a tourism site, owing to the campaign of 'Opening of the West' in 1999. The study pertains to Songpan Country and its main town known by the same name (Tib. Zung chu mkhar). The region included the Tibetan area of Shar khog, with its small Bon po villages and rebuilt monasteries situated to the north of Songpan town, and also the former Bon pilgrimage mountain of Shar Dung ri ('Eastern Conch Mountain') surrounded by beautiful forest and turquoise-coloured lakes (Tib. gSer mtsho), now known as Huanglong Nature Reserve.

The study focused on the rural Tibetan area of Shar khog with its Bon monasteries (these monasteries were not Tibetan in origin), some of which were engaged in tourism since 1999 (till the publication of the study in 2009) and urban tourism of Songpan town. The idea was to understand the diversity of local developments and transformations through tourism and how tourism was commodified. In 1999, the China Daily had broadcasted that in view of popularising 'eco-tourism' campaign, southwest China's Sichuan province had initiated a dozen new tour routes. Now let us understand some of the areas that came under commodification.

Cultural politics of place name

The authors reflected on the cultural politics of changing the name of a place from Tibetan into Chinese and how majority of ethnic Tibetans in China represented and symbolised the transformative politics of place-making that came around due to tourism supported by the Chinese state. The authors had intentionally used either Tibetan or Chinese place names in the first instance with their respective Chinese or Tibetan alternative form in parentheses afterwards. They used Chinese names for those places that were commonly known and used as such also by Tibetans and have been transformed into designated urban 'cultural' or natural 'scenic places' through state policies on tourism. As stated by the

authors, such places showed visible and structural changes which had almost transformed in a Chinese way. The places in and around the Songpan town, in Shar khog proper, several major tourist hotels and many tourism services came up, leading to a development of these areas too. The national nature reserves of Huanglong (Tib. gSer mtsho) and Jiuzhaigou (Tib. gZi rtsa sde dgu) were also major areas that came under the tourism spotlight. The authors on the other hand, maintained Tibetan place and monasteries' names in the area north of Songpan town known as Shar khog (and put their Chinese names in brackets) as these people were still maintaining their Tibetan culture as villages or monasteries.

Building of Urban and Infrastructure development

The study presented the urban and rural tourism divide. Since 2000 Songpan County tourism development divided between two kinds of tourism models - one that highlighted a kind of local national-urban culture, and the other that highlighted local rural ethnic culture. The most visible signs of Songpan's 'touristic modernity', came up in the nearby areas that developed into tourist resorts, however, such urbanisation was not found in rural villages of Songpan initially.

Marketing of Chinese traditional goods for tourism

Tibetan and Chinese medicinal plants, and animal products were being sold as local products or 'primary' products of the county, that became much important for export purposes and the tourism industry. Processing and sales were being run mainly by local Tibetans in the businesses formerly organised as collectives. The goods were brought from the locals by the Songpan County Market Development Company (part of the old county forestry bureau), later renamed as Songpan County Huanglong Tourism Market Development Company, which were later processed, and marketed via the county pharmacies. The idea, as stated by a local tourism official was to '[...] superior aspects of traditional cultural knowledge of the Tibetans and Hui directly, to create social wealth so as to increase social productivity and play positive roles in the sustainable development of the whole society' (2009:297).

Bon Monasteries and Monastic Revival in Shar khog for Tourism

Before the tourism publicity was started, sponsorship from outsiders or tourists, was not available for the study of the monks or the practice of rituals in the monasteries. It was solely done by the local Tibetan villagers. Even during the initial stages of rebuilding the Bon monasteries it was managed with the help of the local village population that included labour and financial support, with some initial support from the local government. With the opening up of avenues in tourism, the concept of leasing the monasteries was a new beginning. Thus, tourism facilitated and attracted considerable numbers of tourists for the annual monastic festivals, which earlier was a local affair. The monasteries were following the Tibetan way of life before the exposure to tourism. However, with leasing out, a few changes in terms of commodification could be seen. The very concept of leasing out was a part of commodification. The entry of Chinese women as tourist guides in a space which earlier followed taboos on entry of women during menstruation was also attributed to the commodification process. However, the monasteries leased out to the tourism development agencies

had a different opinion as they welcomed the Chinese guides. Owing to language issues the Tibetan villagers felt inadequate to deal with Chinese tourists directly, and were thankful for the intervention of the Chinese tourist guides who had command over the Chinese language.

However, one of the major issues with the leasing out of the monasteries was a crisis of cultural identity that was reflected in one of the rituals. Monasteries are ideally considered as belonging to Tibetans who are Buddhist and they have the practice of circumambulation (going round in a circle around an object) the monastery in a clock-wise direction, however, in the Bon monasteries it was anti-clockwise. A few such incidences were previously reported, these happened when small Chinese tourist groups came to visit, they assumed the monasteries to be Tibetan and followed the Tibetan rituals. In order to overcome the situation, the Chinese tour agencies that were leasing the Bon monasteries of sNa steng, gTso tshang, sKyang tshang and dGa' mal (when the authors were conducting their fieldwork), devised a way out from this cultural identity conflict. They set up huge Chinese cauldrons for incense in the middle of the monastery courtyard and made washrooms besides them. Thus, without making things too obvious, a route was created for the tourist to follow the right path, to subtly resolve the issue.

In this study we see many aspects of commodification in terms of tourism. It shows how cultural politics played a role in even naming of the places as per the Tibetan or Chinese culture. The leasing of the monasteries was also a new aspect, which came about, owing to tourism, leading to commodification of a religious space. The Bon monasteries which were different from the Tibetan monasteries in terms of ritual performances maintained their ways with a subtle change in the orientation and placement of cauldrons, without bringing the fact much into focus of the tourists. The study brought into the fore how different forms of tourism emerged in this area and how local people and the outsiders engaged in it in various ways, sometimes there were conflicts and contestations that led to commodification.

Check Your Progress 3

4. List the aspects of commodification in Mona Schrempf and Jack Patrick Hayes study *From Temple to Commodity? Tourism in Songpan and the Bon Monasteries of A'mdo Sharkhog*.

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5.3.2 Case Study II

Examples from India

Commodification of Heritage Sites

Now let's see if these aspects of commodification are sporadic or universal. If we take the case of Taj Mahal in India as a tourist destination, we get to understand the different types of commodification that has taken place in this historical space. The Taj Mahal was built during the Mughal era and is

famous for the use of white marble slabs, which were produced in Makrana in Rajasthan (Koch 2006 *The Complete Taj*). The white marble during that period was not produced locally. Today however, the city of Agra is known for its marble production and replicas of the Taj Mahal is being sold as souvenir to the tourists. This has generated a huge market for the marble industry. Likewise, the township has grown with luxury hotels to cater to the needs of the international tourists. The locals too have imbibed language skills other than their local language, so that they can interact with the tourists. These locals have mostly not completed their formal education (10+12) in the Indian context, but have developed the skills for communication in English. Another example is the case of building spaces like Dilli Haat, in Delhi, where artisans from all over the country gather to display and sell their ethnic, handmade products. This also leads to commodification of products, yet the tourist experiences different aspects of Indian culture at one space.

Commodification of Religious Sites

Likewise, if we take the case of any religious sites in India, which are also places of tourist attractions we see traces of commodification. In this example we can see how the host commodifies culture as part of rites and rituals. This example is cited from Zaman's personal experience of visiting the Nizamuddin *dargah* (the tomb or shrine of a Sufi saint) in Delhi. As one enters the small lanes, the tourist or the pilgrims are greeted by vendors selling items that they would suggest are part of the ritual offering, that are essential for prayers in the *dargah*. The vendors have a ready to go tray (made of cane) with rose garlands and petals, incense sticks, a bottle of *attar* (an essential oil derived from botanical sources, commonly rose petals), *maanat ke daage* (a thread that is blessed in the *dargah* during the prayer service, thereafter the devotee ties it with a wish on one of the spaces provided) and *batasha* (small sugar candy). These items after prayers are known as *tabarruk* (an Arabic word which means seeking goodness by virtue of touching or being close to something or being blessed) to be shared with everyone as a blessing. Sometimes, they even lure the tourist to buy a *chadar* (a long cloth that is laid over the grave of the Sufi saint). However, these are optional and not a necessary part of the rituals. Yet, these objects are being commodified in the name of rituals and offered to the tourists and people who are on pilgrimage.

Activity

When you next visit any religious space or tourist destinations, try to identify the aspects that are examples of commodification.

Commodification of National Parks

Let's take here the example from Vasan's 2018 work, *Consuming the Tiger Experiencing Neoliberal Nature*, who as a participant observer had related her experience of commodification at the Ranthambore National Park in Rajasthan, and Kanha and Bandhavgarh National Parks in Madhya Pradesh, India. Vasan had dwelled on her experience of seeing the tiger emerge as a specific form of commodity located within the process of commodification. This has been brought into the forefront via the mediums of marketing that included the process of the tiger sighting. The very access to National Parks and safari regulations reinforced wildlife experience as a scarce market commodity. She emphasised upon the tourist gaze, the photography mediated through global and new social media that makes the tiger simultaneously wild and familiar, multicultural and parochial, making

it a unique universal commodity. She also looked at the material experience through which the tourist ‘consumes’ the tiger, the social status and economic hierarchies that make the tiger accessible to a limited few. Her work unravelled a “basic contradiction between a sustainable conservation ethic, and subjectivity created by this form of competitive consumption of commoditised nature” (Vasan 2018: 481).

Check Your Progress 4

- List the aspects of commodification in culture that you may find while visiting a heritage site, a religious space and national parks.

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5.4 SUMMARY

In this unit the learners were acquainted with the concept of commodification of culture in tourism. When a particular element of a culture is highlighted or subdued for the enhancement of tourist activities it is known as commodification. Commodification leads to diluting a culture. This we tried to explain with examples from the many anthropological works. We have also tried to list out some of the experiences from the host as well as tourist perspectives of how commodification of culture takes place. In the next unit we would take into account the concept of political economy in tourism.

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5.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 5.1
2. See section 5.2
3. See section 5.2
4. See section 5.3.1
5. See section 5.3.2