BLOCK 2

EMERGING TRENDS IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM

UNIT 6   POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TOURISM

Contents

Learning Objectives

At the end of this unit, the learner would be able to comprehend:

➤   the political economy approach in tourism studies;

➤   international tourism scenario with respect to Globalisation; and

➤   how tourism industry changed with free market economy.

6.0   INTRODUCTION

Tourism is frequently referred to as the world's largest industry. International tourism alone is seen to generate over US$ 450 billion while total global tourism activity (international and domestic) has been estimated to be worth some US$ 3.5 trillion. Tourism has been recognised as a growth industry and it is expected that by 2020 international tourism will be generating up to US$ 2 trillion a year (Sharpley and Telfer 2002: 1). Tourism came to be seen as an integral part of social and economic development and for this reason many countries have adopted tourism development policies to promote themselves as promising tourist destinations. In this unit we would discuss the political economy approach and how it became important for tourism studies.

6.1   THE NEED TO STUDY POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

The benefits of tourism that include foreign exchange earnings, employment creation and diversification of the economy have been widely discussed in tourism literature

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and thus, tourism is seen as a vehicle of development. The economic benefits that follow the development of tourism have been discussed both in development literature and in applied studies done on tourism. Similarly, the research and discussion on the negative environmental and socio-cultural consequences has portrayed the need for sustainable tourism development. During the Nineties, there was an overall change in attitude towards policies related to tourism. The goal was to optimise the benefits of tourism for the host communities and tourists alike, while keeping in mind the social impact on the host community, specially to minimise the environmental impacts of tourism. For example, even activities like trekking on the mountains and climbing peaks like Everest had shown that such activities can be disastrous for the local environment. Tourists tend to bring in large quantities of plastic waste and overuse water and food resources. For many developing countries tourism is often a principal source of foreign exchange earnings while for developed countries the earnings from international tourism makes a significant contribution to the balance of payments. The measurable economic benefits that are widely cited in support for the tourism industry might see tourism as a successful model for development in simplistic terms. In other words, if one perceives only the monetary benefits, there is a great danger of overlooking the social, cultural and environmental impacts that are mostly negative.

Tourism as an industry depicts a healthy growth and is considered as a safe development option. But scholars like Stephen Britton (1981,1982) and Mosedale (2011, 2016) have reasoned an alternate thinking according to which the literature on tourism's contribution to development has been narrowly defined by just focussing on the cost-benefit analyses and imprecise comments on the socio-cultural effects of tourism. Such debates on the advantages and disadvantages of tourism are divorced from the political and historical situations of a country thus providing a myopic view. For a more comprehensive and holistic view there is need to engage in theories on political economy, to examine the power hierarchies and unequal exchanges that take place in the tourism scenario. Scholars like Bianchi (2015), Clancy (1999), Hazbun (2008), Mosedale (2011), Steiner (2006) and Williams (2004); have contributed towards the development of subdiscipline of political economy of tourism.The scholarship has reasoned for a need to discuss the issues of poverty and inequalities between and within nations and also investigate tourism within the dialogue of underdevelopment. In other words, it is asked why tourism which is seen to bring numerous benefits to many poor countries, also is seen to perpetuate already existing inequalities and economic and social problems. Therefore, it is required to understand the underlying mechanisms of inequality and marginalisation inherent in the tourism industry especially in the Third world economies which promote tourism as a development strategy. The political economy approach, especially with regard to tourism is based on the premise that tourism has evolved in a way that it is in sync with the colonial historical patterns of economic dependency. It is seen that wealthy nations develop at the expense of those less fortunate, duplicating the hierarchy between the previously colonising and colonised countries.

Check Your Progress 1

1. What was the goal of tourism policies during the nineties?

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2. What is the need for the study of political economy in tourism?

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3. What is the premise for the study of political economy in tourism?

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6.2   POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

According to Bianchi 2018: 88, 'Political economy comprises the study of the socio-economic forces and power relations that are constituted in the process of the production of commodities for the market and the divisions, conflicts and inequalities that arise from this. The roots of this approach emanate from the changes that occurred during Industrial revolution and the development of capitalism in Western Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries'. The study of political economy in its early stages as discussed by its founding thinkers like Adam Smith (1723-1790), David Ricardo (1772-1823) and J. S. Mill (1806-1873) highlighted the impact of capitalism on the social organisation of the industrial societies. They were concerned with the production and accumulation of wealth (i.e., economy) and distribution (the political dimension). Later Marx (1818-1883) and Engels (1820-1895) reconfigured the focus on political economy by focussing on the distribution (or lack of distribution) of wealth across social classes. Political economists study the complex and variable economic, political, social, technological and cultural forces that shape the organisation and dynamics of domestic and international economies (Gilpin 2001: 40). With regard to tourism development the studies that were done on various domains of tourism did not take into account the political economy approach. It is to be noted here that the original studies on tourism focussed on the cultural, aesthetic and economic dimensions, without paying any heed to the power equations that are inherent in all human situations.

It was much later during1960's and early 1970's, the focus on uneven development across the world led to critical research on development theory with a major focus on the reduction of inequalities and other social problems. Simultaneously a critical analyses of the tourism studies during the 1970's was highlighted with the work of Young's, *Tourism: Blessing or Blight* (1973) and de Kadt's *Tourism: Passport to Development* (1979). Both these works critically analysed the advantages and disadvantages of tourism by focussing on tourism from the

perspective of development and dependency theory and also from political economy perspective.

> *Reflection*
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> The dependency paradigm, also referred to as under-development theory came to prominence in the 1960's as a critique of modernisation theory. As per modernisation theory the country's socio-economic development follows an evolutionary path growing from a traditional society to a modern society; developing from a rural economy to an urban economy and seeing a shift from agriculture to industrialised society. It further says that a country that maintains its traditional structure is an expression of underdevelopment.

The key theme of dependency theory is the relationship between development and under development. Dependency theorists argue that developing countries have an external and internal political, institutional, and economic structure that keep them in a dependent position relative to developed countries. When developing and developed countries come together in the global economic scene it is seen that the developing nations (periphery) are feeding the developed nations (core) economy. Thus, as per dependency theorists, incorporating the peripheral economies into the global capitalist economies, results not only in influencing production to align at the demands at the centre, but also on siphoning the economic surplus to the dominant countries. As the dominant countries at the centre continue to develop based on that surplus, the countries at the periphery struggle with underdevelopment. The political economy that stems from dependency and underdevelopment theory has received little attention in tourism studies research. It was Britton (1982) who realised the importance of this approach and tried to understand the capitalist structures that not only drive tourism development but also inequalities that are visible in the uneven pattern of development.

The dependency paradigm on the other hand also argues that in a society it is not the internal factors that lead to underdevelopment, but it is the external political, institutional and socio-economic structures that keep the developing countries in a dependent position relative to developed countries. A. Frank (1967) in his work *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* described the global economic system as having two poles- a developed 'metropolitan centre' and an underdeveloped 'periphery'. Raw materials that are taken from the periphery are converted into manufactured goods at the centre and then are exported back to the periphery. The periphery then becomes dependent on the centre to purchase its raw materials and also buy manufactured goods in return, resulting in a flow of capital from the periphery to the centre. This is known as leakage. Dependency theorists discuss about this interdependence between the core and the periphery.

6.2.1 Tourism and Core -periphery Dynamics

The dependency theory has been used to describe the relationship between the tourist generating centre (mostly Western) i.e. core and the periphery destinations in the developing world. Theorists have argued that the 'centres' are not only home to world's tourist but also to the economic, political and commercial interests that control the industry. Dependency theory which has been one of the leading arguments in tourism research is of the view that developing countries promote tourism with the hope of generating economic benefits, creating jobs and businesses

and improving their quality of life. They enter the international tourism market and become dependent on external forces.

Britton's work on Fiji (1981, 1982) is one of the prominent works that highlights this interdependence between the tourist generating centre and the destination (periphery) and its consequences. He elaborated that how the Third world destinations are exploited by the metropolitans that organise and control tourism development in the periphery. His 'Enclave Model' of tourism in a periphery economy suggests that the metropolitan enterprises dictate the form and characteristics of the tourist experience that is offered in the destination. The products and services are also owned and provided by the metropolitan firms. Britton in his paper, '*Tourism, Dependency and Development: A mode of Analysis*' (1996:156) says that, '*When Third World countries participate in international tourism, they have to accept various commercial practices that typically accompany any activity that has its historical origins in the developed or metropolitan countries. The reason for this is simply that being first in the field gives considerable commercial advantages to pioneering firms, since they define, create and supply the new industry.*' He further asserted that tourism industry because of the predominance of foreign ownership, imposed a development mode on the peripheral destinations which reinforces structural dependency on the developed metropolitan countries. This structural dependency has been equated with colonialism of the peripheral regions as occurred in the history where the dominant First World used power to keep the colonial regions in subordinate position.This theory also provides a framework to understand the inequalities in power and development levels between and within countries and regions.

For example, if we see the tourism facilities provided in a tourist destination in India, say, in Rajasthan; it is to be seen that it is all oriented towards the tourists from the West. The serving of continental breakfast, the staff trained in Western mannerisms, the fusion cuisine that tries to combine Indian flavours with a western palate; all indicate that the entire show is oriented towards pleasing the Western, and especially American tourist. The decors, the music and the shops within the hotels, are all oriented towards the Euro-American tourist. This is more so in places where foreign tourists go most often, like Jaipur and Agra.

At the same time, the core-periphery studies have mainly focussed on the international contexts and have neglected to consider the internally induced, domestic core-periphery dynamics. Weaver (1998) in his paper '*Peripheries of the Periphery: Tourism in Tobago and Barbuda*' studied the 'dominant' islands of Trinidad and Tobago and the 'subordinate' islands of Antigua and Barbuda and suggested that in domestic context tourism acts as a centrifugal force, which both reflects and magnifies existing core-periphery relationships. The 'dominant' islands have the power to facilitate or restrict tourist arrivals and foreign investment and have effective control over tourism policy and development for the 'subordinate' island.

In India we see that the people from the metropolitan cities are the dominant tourists as they visit smaller and relatively less prosperous destinations. At times they tend to exploit the local people, who are awed by the city dwellers and make all efforts to please them. However, the local people also keep an eye on the

money purses of the visiting tourists so the efforts that they make are not altogether altruistic. The dependency theory has been criticised for being overly deterministic (Chaperon and Bramwell, 2013) and highly abstract and pessimistic. It is seen to suggest that tourism development entails exploitation of the periphery by the core. It also claims that most or all tourism accommodations in developing countries are owned by countries in the developed countries. There are instances where the accommodations are in the hands of the local companies. Moreover, even if there is an attempt to please the tourists, it is done with a pragmatic goal. But one cannot deny that most facilities are oriented towards pleasing tourists coming from more prosperous countries of the World.

Check Your Progress 2

4. During the early stages of the studies in political economy what were the highlights?

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5. What is the major focus in the study of political economy of tourism?

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6. Give the concept of development and dependency theory.

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7. 'Enclave Model' was proposed by whom? Discuss the model.

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6.3 TOURISM, GLOBALISATION AND 'NEW' POLITICAL ECONOMY

By the 1980's the dependency and underdevelopment theories which influenced the tourism studies reached a consensus that development studies had reached a

deadlock. The Third World countries attempted to pursue strategies of economic self-reliance through state led tourism development. The idea that the Third World regions were passive and dependent peripheries was no more a reliable paradigm. By 1990's with liberalisation and free market economic policies led to structural adjustments focussing on micro level interventions aimed at poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Simultaneously the studies on tourism development moved away from generalised abstractions to small scale alternatives. The pro-poor schemes were devised with the aim to channelise the tourism revenues to impoverished rural communities who had seen little benefits of tourism development. For example, if one goes to the Himalayan foothills, many local villages are now providing tent accommodation and other facilities to the tourists, acting as local guides, sometimes in collaboration with outside agencies. It is clear that outside tourism enterprises would find it nearly impossible to operate in these difficult terrains without co-operation from local people. With more tourists coming in, many local persons have entered into the trade and are even building small hotels and guest houses of their own. In pilgrim places in India, the local tourism is almost always controlled by the *Pandas* or hereditary temple functionaries. Therefore, there are local hierarchies that also come into play in tourism. However, at the end of the day, local participation and co-operation is essential for tourism activities to function properly.

One must recognise the partnerships between the local communities and private enterprises as essential for successful tourism. Towards this end, large tourist organisations, often rope in local partners and involve them in the exploitation of local resources. Such targeted interventions at the community level/micro level raised concern among the scholars and activists for the rise of transnationals that came to dominate different sectors of tourism industry (Harrison 2001: 33). The growth of transnational firms led to corporate globalisation of tourism and international tourism which further integrated societies into the international system. A large body of applied empirical work was done to map the distinctive market penetration strategies of transnational tourism and the effects of foreign direct investment in tourism on economic development in developing countries. But studies by Brohman (1996) and Mowforth and Munt (2009) were critical of neoliberal globalisation and corporate concentration in tourism sector which inhibited tourism's potential to contribute to development of developing countries.

 For example, it is seen that three main branches of the tourism industry i.e. hotels, airlines and tour companies have become increasingly transnational and these large enterprises dominate. The transnational hotels seldom invest large amounts of their capital in the Third World but seek funds from private and government sources. In other words, they keep their profits to themselves and while exploiting local resources, rarely invest anything in their development or renewal. Even the associated infrastructure like the roads and power supplies are funded through local sources or via foreign loans. For example, while the government uses the tax-payers money to build roads in the Himalayas, the maximum advantage will go to those corporates who will then make Five-star hotels in these now accessible places. While they have made no contribution, they reap maximum benefits. At the international level, the Third World countries that wish to attract the international hotels are locked in an unequal trading relationship (Lea 1988:10). They must provide the infrastructure, such as roads, sanitation facilities and water

at their own expense, but the hotels are unlikely to make any contribution to these. The exorbitant hotel rates may discourage local people to stay in them. At the most they provide some employment at local level and attract foreigners to these destinations. Therefore, an inequality between the transnational companies and destination persists.

A related instance is of transnational tour operators who have revolutionised the international tourism through marketing of tourist packages for which they bargain with the suppliers in the industry. The net effect of such an arrangement has important consequences in the Third World. It is here that the political economy approach is able to show clearly how the international tourism flourishes in the world economic system characterised by severe distortions and imbalances. The neoliberal policies that dismantled the barriers to the cross- border mobility of capital and services has further stimulated investment and increased financial flows to destination regions in the Third World. Also, the destination regions are no more passive tourist recipient regions but are aggressively involved in attracting maximum tourists to their regions with a focus on public-private partnerships. The local community participation is encouraged and environment protection and sustainability is advocated though may not be adhered to in practice.

The destination regions want to attract maximum tourists and use the full potential of their geographical and cultural attractions to gain maximum from foreign tourists. For instance India with its geographical and cultural diversity with thirty world heritage sites and twenty five bio-geographic zones attracts domestic and International tourists every year. International tourist arrivals are expected to rise to 30.5 million by 2028 and the government is focussed on providing the necessary infrastructure and other facilities to the tourists. The Ministry of Tourism report 2018-19 mentions two major schemes i.e. Swadesh Darshan -Integrated Development of Theme Based Tourist Circuits and PRASHAD Pilgrimage Rejuvenation and Spiritual Augmentation Drive for the development of tourism infrastructure in the country. The total contribution by travel and tourism sector to India's GDP is expected to increase from Rs. 15.24 trillion (US$ 234.03 billion) in 2017 to Rs 32.05 trillion (US$ 492.21 billion) in 2028. Travel and tourism are the third largest foreign exchange earner for India and nearly 81.1 million people are employed in the tourism sector as of 2017-18. The Government of India has set a target of 20 million foreign tourist's arrival by 2020 and double the foreign exchange as well, (Report on Tourism and Hospitality by India Brand Equity Foundation, May 2019).

However, while considering the centre periphery relationship, one must take into account the changing nature of this relationship. In the past few decades there has been considerable transformation in the global power equations. While the earlier First World countries continue to dominate, yet some other regions of the world are emerging as key players in the world of neo-liberal economy. China is emerging as global economic giant and so is South Korea. One sees many Chinese tourists in various Western destinations. Indian tourists to European countries are also becoming more visible. In East Europe, persons in the tourism industry will fold hands and do a namaste to an Indian tourist. Vegetarian food is also served in many places, quite prominently to accommodate the vegetarian Indians.

Theoretically then, political economic approach should encompass these movements between the centre and peripheries of power, not assuming that they remain static.

8. "Facilities in a tourist destination is meant to please the tourist" Critically review the statement.

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9. "Travel and tourism are the third largest foreign exchange earner for India" State whether the statement is true or false.

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10. With an example state how tourism is being controlled by the local communities in religious spaces in India.

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11. Name two of the countries emerging as global economic giants.

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6.4 CONSTRAINTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

Tourism has traditionally been seen mainly from economic perspective. Like many other areas of economic activity tourism too is shaped by the overall socio-economic order. Most of the tourism that is currently organised by few large trans-national companies (e.g. Thomas Cook) exert great influence at the local, regional and national level. This is true for developing Third World countries who desire and strive for better economic development and are using their available natural resource base to promote sustainable tourism. The opening of economies across the world, that enhanced movement of people across national borders has led to increased international tourism. With the use of communication technologies, the tours today are planned either by the consumers or the representatives from the tourism industry with great speed. The remotest destinations on the globe are now visited and with advanced means of transportations, no region or destination is inaccessible.

The earlier notion that continued liberalisation of trade, with reduced restriction and regulations especially in tourism business would bring worldwide economic growth and would eventually eradicate poverty and increase incomes persisted. This hypothesis however, has not been proved and there is increasing evidence that globalisation did not have positive effects for many countries as it promised particularly in the developing countries. Scholars on globalisation and its effect on tourism industry have pointed that if people (those working in the tourism industry

as semi-skilled or unskilled workers) are to participate fully in the global economy then the wages and social conditions must be so created to allow their full participation. The transnational companies, those wholly or partly involved in tourism, take the major share of the profits and often do not participate towards environmental concerns of the destinations. There is a possibility that when the destinations are stressed/over used their infrastructure might crumble with increased influx of tourists than it can hold/ entertain and gradually might fail to attract any tourists. The possibility is like mining, the tourist industry will suckdry the local natural resources, such as water and forests, and then move on. For the global industries, there is no emotional or economic attachment to the local people or places. To them, every location is only a profit-making commodity. Tourism for example, has destroyed coastal regions, like in Kerala where large tracts of Mangroves were cut down to make hotels and Malls. In the consequence of a natural disaster like the Tsunami, such depletion of natural cover has shown to have frightening consequences. There are chances that the particular location may be destroyed for ever. While it might mean the end of the road for the local inhabitants who lose their livelihood and ecological balance, for the Five-star hotel chains it may just mean that they shift their location to another lucrative destination.

The neglect of social infrastructure and disintegration of the built environment would gradually fail to create wealth which it was supposed to. Tourism which is seen as a major player in 'new economy' might not create the required development and growth which was intended. This is the major question that confronts the tourism industry and communities all over the world today and the issue of creating a sustainable tourism business and increased concern for the environment would be necessary if international tourism is to survive.

Butler (1980) provided a 'product life-cycle' model to the development and management of tourist destinations. This model traces the trajectory of the tourism product from initial exploration of development possibilities to its eventual decline. The model is contingent on the overexploitation of the product without due concern being given to social and environmental concerns (Reid 2003: 39). The market economy may be beneficial to the tourism industry and its development but social and environment concerns should be taken care of and government policies should be put in place. Also, the political discourse on the ecological sustainability should be crystallised. The tourism industry should not be the creator of the problem but should be part of the solution and issues of ecological sustainability, reduced energy consumption and reduced pollution at the destinations should be encouraged.

The communities at the destinations should be organised and encouraged to participate in tourism development projects as is being done in certain destination sites in India like the North eastern region. The aim is to develop a satisfying community tourism project where the local communities participate and are benefited from the industry. Adequate income when generated at the local level would not only help in the growth of tourism industry but would also lessen down the polarisation between the haves and have nots and allow each section to benefit from the new economy and not allow exclusive authority of capital to just one section of society.

12. Discuss some of the shortcomings of the political economy theory.

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6.5   SUMMARY

Tourism is neither inherently negative nor positive but what constitutes its success and failure is how it is controlled and managed and who controls that development. If market alone is allowed to control its development then it will have least concern for the social and environmental conditions in which it is located. The alternate discourse on community's participation and increased concern for environment would greatly contribute towards a political economy of tourism. The costs and benefits of tourism need to be considered not only in relation to economic growth but also assess its impact on natural, social and cultural resources that it depends on. A discussion on alternative has to be researched and further studies are to be incorporated in the critical political economy approach which would challenge the existing tourism policies, tourism development, practices and discourses.

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6.7. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Refer to section 6.1

2. Refer to section 6.1

3. Refer to section 6.1

4. Refer to section 6.2

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11. Refer to section 6.3

12. Refer to section 6.4

UNIT 7 TOURISM VERSUS HERITAGE SITES

Contents

Learning Objectives

Learners after reading this unit, would be able to comprehend the:

➢ relationship between tourism and heritage sites;

➢ definition of heritage sites; and

➢ importance of preservation and conservation of heritage sites

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Earlier units have discussed the definition and issues associated with tourism from an anthropological perspective. But just to recapitulate, tourism focuses on historical sites, artistic lifestyle, heritage, experience, cultural environments, visual and performing arts, museums, music and theatre. Cultural tourism involves soaking in the indigenous atmosphere, visiting historic and religious monuments and ruins and even rural and village countryside.

Heritage is an important dimension covered in tourism. In general, heritage refers to those aspects of culture that has been inherited from the past and has historical value. In this respect heritage is a gift from past generations to future generations. In the case of families, heritage can be property such as an old and historical house, possessions such as heirloom furniture, jewels, and traditions such as a particular ritual or a ceremony. While speaking of a country's heritage, we refer to its history, culture and achievements. For example, the heritage of India includes its places of worship, monuments such as the Jama Masjid and Taj Mahal; temples and sites such as Konark. The historic battlefields such as Kurukshetra and Panipat and museums made in honour of great religious, social and political leaders such as the Gandhi Museum and Rajghat are also a part of our heritage. Any tourist coming to India aspires to see at least some of these sites. In this unit we would discuss the relationship between tourism and heritage sites.

7.1 DEFINING HERITAGE TOURISM

Essentially in tourism, the term Heritage has come to mean landscapes, natural history buildings, artifacts and cultural traditions that are either literally or metaphorically passed on from one generation to the other. Heritage is not homogenous. It exists at different levels – global, national, regional and local. Heritage has the dual character of being subjective, personal and emotional and at the same time being objective and functional. For example while the Jagannath Puri temple is a heritage site for a foreign tourist who looks upon it as the relic of an ancient culture, to the Hindu devotees it is a place of Bhakti or devotion and at the personal level for a person who is a devotee of the particular deity, it is place for fulfillment of emotional needs and desires. In this way heritage also means different things to the various sectors of the tourism industry. Although different people may come with different perceptions and intents, the heritage sites are the core product and remains at the center of attraction. No matter what may be the subjective and emotional relationship that a visitor may have to a site, for the tourism industry and to tour operators, it is a commodity to be sold. There is an instrumental relationship of a product and its price.

Due to the attractiveness of heritage as a commodity, increasing number of areas are being promoted as heritage destinations (Herbert 1995) Miller (1989) Hardy (1988). Different scholars have tried to identify the attraction of heritage tourism and the reasons for its popularity. Tighe (1986) suggest that heritage tourism is all about cultural traditions, places and values of the people, Weller and Hail (1992) include monuments, museums, battle fields, historic structures and land marks (Brijan 1977) Tassel (1990) includes natural gardens, wilderness areas of scenic beauty as heritage sites. Hargrove (1995) argues that heritage tourism is about searching for something that links the past and it is integrally tied to nostalgia. To understand the meaning of heritage in greater depth it is important to link it to the concept of culture.

Cultural Heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expansions and values. Cultural forms reflect and shape values, beliefs and aspirations of a people. Iconic cultural items and collective ceremonials often define and symbolise a nation's identity. Preservation of cultural heritage is one of the ways in which collective memories are kept alive and collective identities such as that of a nation are both maintained and also constructed. Museums such as that of the Jewish museum in Warsaw, is a continued icon not only of Jewish identity but also of their history and their collective suffering. Similarly, the Red Fort is both a symbol of past history as well as a symbol of the nation as it is at present. Cultural celebrations reinforce the social solidarity and bonding and sense of belongingness of the people of a community, group and larger entities like nations.

UNESCO AND WORLD HERITAGE SITES

UNESCO's protection of World Heritage Sites was inaugurated by the Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, commonly known as the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972), which elevated national symbols into items of 'outstanding universal value' and property of all mankind, thereby corroborating an essentialist view of the past (Paganoni 2015b c.f. Griffiths and Barbour 2016). As per the convention guidelines, there was a change in the approach, that included the "expanding the meaning of heritage

89

from the protection of historic buildings and monuments towards a more general understanding of the wider context and preservation of tangible and intangible cultural forms" (Griffiths and Barbour 2016). The World Heritage Committee's thus, decided to include cultural landscapes in the World Heritage List (UNESCO 1992). In the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO 2003) the inclusion of the notion of 'cultural landscape' in the understanding of the World Heritage sites allowing diverse possible interactions between people and the natural environment took place (https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/15164-EN.pdf).

The concept of cultural landscape takes a holistic view of culture that includes not just the monument or building but the entire narrative that surrounds it. For example, there are tours popularly known as 'Heritage Walks' that recreate ancient routes like the Silk Route, or take people though lanes and by lanes of an old city, like Chandni Chowk in Old Delhi, where every step tells a story. Quite often these include not only sights but smells and food as well.

The conference on Cultural Heritage Tourism and Regional Development (1991) emphasised that cultural heritage tourism means enrichment of aesthetic and effective experiences of the quality of life. By the activities promoting heritage tourism – there may be enhancement of the resources of the local areas, preservation of the total physical setting and associated rituals and activities of cultural importance, support and encouragement is given to local musicians and artists, there is development of heritage museums and galleries and enrichment of the material culture that supports them. Revitalisation of local music, dance and festivals are also a part of heritage development. As of the year 2020, 157 countries are a part of the world heritage convention of 1972 (Protecting the world's Cultural and natural heritage) and 590 sites are inscribed in the UNESCO's World Heritage first list UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE sites (https://whc.unesco.org/en/newproperties/date=2004& mode=list).

World Heritage Sites: A Brief History

The term World Heritage sites refer to those treasures of the past and wonders of nature that are so unique that all the nations of the world have a duty to protect them, irrespective of the country they are located in. The world Heritage sites reflect the cultural and natural wealth and diversity of our planet. The UNESCO World Heritage Center was born by merging two separate movements. The first was for the preservation of cultural sites. The second was a movement that dealt with the conservation of nature. The first movement started with the decision to build the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. This Dam would have flooded the valley where Abu Simbel temple was located. In 1959, UNESCO launched a campaign to safe guard these temples. Fifty (50) countries got together and this organisation was born. In 1972 the World Heritage fund was created to assist nations in identifying, preserving and promoting world Heritage sites. Contributions are both compulsory as well as voluntary. There is a process by which a site becomes a World Heritage site. One of the important aspects is that for a space to be declared as World Heritage site, it must be located within the boundaries of these countries that have signed the world heritage convention (https://www.quora.com/How-are-World-Heritage-sites-selected).

India and World Heritage Sites

Each of India's ancient, historic monuments is a window to the rich heritage of its past. Our first Prime minister J.L. Nehru expressed this opinion about such great sites, "At Sarnath, near Benares, I could almost see the Buddha preaching his first sermon and some of his recorded words would come like indistinct echo to me through 2500 years. Ashoka's pillars of stone, with their inscriptions, would speak to me in their magnificent language and tell me of a man, who though an emperor, was greater than any king or emperor" (Nehru: 1946:52). With reference to Nehru's take on India and tourism, one also finds another area which attracts visitors. 'India is one of the earliest cradles of civilisation and the function head of religion and philosophy. It has much to offer by way of spiritual and mental rejuvenation in this material world. Philosophy meditation, yoga, Ayurveda, physical and mental healing and contact with ancient traditions and systems make India an outstanding attractive destination, mysticism and history will always fascinate serious mended tourists rather than luxury or leisure travel' (World Travel and Tourism Council [WTTC] Report 2001). Ajanta and Ellora Caves of Maharashtra, Agra Fort and Taj Mahal of Uttar Pradesh, Sun Temple of Konark, Kaziranga National Park and Manas Wildlife Sanctuary of Assam, Rock shelters of Bhimbetka, Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus Mumbai etc., are some of the sites that are listed in the World Heritage UNESCO list. India has a total thirty-seven (needs confirmation and reference) sites recognised as World Heritage sites by UNESCO as of the year 2020. The fact to be noted here is that there are different varieties of monuments, buildings and national parks that have been listed.

Characteristics of Cultural Heritage Tourism Management and Cultural Heritage Tourism in India

D.G. UNESCO stated that 'world Heritage sites have no doubt become tourist attraction and form the backbone of the tourism industry. Without cultural heritage there would be no tourism as it is intrinsically linked to the heritage of humanity and the future of each depends on the other'. Today, even in the field of tourism most countries have decided and developed strategies to complement each other rather than competing with their neighbours in order to gain larger revenues from tourism. For example, Singapore and Malaysia have joined hands to offer a comprehensive package to tourists, cultural heritage tourism management deals with the challenges in the field of culture heritage and tourism and integration of these as a concept of Culture Heritage Tourism Management (CHTM). The International Charter of Cultural Tourism (18th Draft ICOMOS, October 1999) has structured principles governing International Cultural Tourism. The principles of cultural heritage tourism adequately highlight the importance of cultural heritage, host community, expectations of visitors and their code of conduct, responsibilities of travel and tourism agencies to operate within the socio-cultural sensitivities of the destinations, thereby providing valuable insights. Now let us take these aspects forward in the next section and see how anthropologists have studied the conservation and preservation of heritage sites with a case study in the next section.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define heritage.

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2. What is cultural heritage?

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3. How many countries are part of the World Heritage Convention as of today?

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4. List some of the objects that can be part of heritage?

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7.2 REVIVAL AND PRESERVATION PROJECTS

7.2.1 CASE STUDY 1

Taj Mahal

In the Indian context when we discuss heritage sites, Taj Mahal is one of the most visited and universally known place. Begley, 1979 had stated that the Taj Mahal has been described as "teardrop on the cheek of time" by Nobel Prize-winning poet Rabindranath Tagore, while world traveller Eleanor Roosevelt felt that its white marble "symbolizes the purity of real love." Both of these statements hint at the romanticism of the mausoleum that was built by Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1592-1666) in memory of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal (1593-1631). Koch (2005), explains that Shah Jahan's early historian Muhammad Amin Qazwini, had given a beautiful description of the monument in the 1630s as a mark of the power of the Mughal empire. The mausoleum is not only a magnificent burial place for Shah Jahan's beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal, but is also a testimony to the power and glory of the emperor for posterity as stated by emperor's main historian Abd al-Hamid Lahavri in his work. Even today, it is one of the worlds most visited sites in terms of tourism that earns revenues.

However, for the local people it would have never had any significance if it were not for the praise and importance showered on it by the outsiders. For the indigenous population it is a tomb and only the mosque inside it had a religious

significance. Its aesthetic appeal to the western world has pushed it to be a major attraction and a money spinner for the tourist industry. The Taj is an example of how the same cultural item can be looked upon through various perspectives. To the tourism industry, it is a money-making product. To the local villagers and towns people it is a tomb. For some within the Indian subcontinent it is a sore thumb, a constant reminder of the glorious Islamic past, to the faithful Muslims it is a place of worship. Again, some see it is a mockery of the love of the poor people who cannot afford to build such magnificent monuments for their beloved. Therefore, most historical monuments may have polysemic meanings depending upon the platform of the viewer. Thus, when a monument is considered a global heritage, then it also needs to be made a symbol of some universal value. The Taj for example is projected as a monument that epitomizes romantic love, that is viewed as an universal value. It is for this reason that places of historic importance are mostly taken over by the respective states or by a global body like UNESCO, so that they are no longer associated with any particularistic value system. For example, the presence of the mosque inside Taj Mahal is usually downplayed to the tourists. The Taj is similarly upheld as a national heritage delinking it from its Islamic roots.

Preservation and Conservation of the Taj Mahal

At present the Taj Mahal listed as a World Heritage site is a National property of India and is being maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), a department of Culture. The preservation and conservation of the monument is being done by the ASI. In order to maintain the monument certain code of conduct has been assigned by the ASI so as to preserve the almost 350 years old monument. The monument of international repute in the last decades had faced the issue of discolouring of the marbles owning to high pollution levels, thus, a buffer zone was created within the 2 km radius of the Taj where no vehicles are allowed. In other words, heritage sites such as the Taj, or the Niagra Falls or the Statue of Liberty, transcend their real and localised values, to become what is known as a national symbol or in terms of what Sherry Ortner has referred to as a Key Symbol.

> *Reflection*
>
> A Key Symbol is something that is representative of a culture, society, community or country. For example, the Eifel Tower can be seen as a Key symbol of France, the Statue of Liberty of America and the Taj Mahal of India.

7.2.2 CASE STUDY II

Bhimbetka

McKercher and Du Cros (2002:1) had reported that the public interest in rock art tourism has risen over the past three decades in tandem with the worldwide increase in cultural tourism that is estimated at more than 240 million international travellers in a year. This surge in rock art tourism across the globe raises questions of conservation and preservation of the sites. Deacon (2006:379), states that "policies and guidelines have been developed for cultural heritage and cultural tourism and there is a widely accepted range of principles in place, but a theory of sustainable rock art tourism is only in its infancy". Research on the interaction and movement of Tourist and the long term effects on the rock paintings and

engravings in their original setting, as well as consideration of social and economic factors that drive tourism and the public interest in rock art needs to be focused upon. In this regard, Deacon had commented that education of the tourist is one of the steps with regards to rock art conservation and preservation. This aspect is crucial as any damage to the site is not repairable. Therefore, one is faced with the issues of contradiction between the preservation of a scientifically important site like a cave painting and its commodification to raise money. It is ironical that the money earned from tourists is mostly used for the conservation and preservation of heritage sites, yet in some cases the fragile nature of the sites, primarily like the rock art sites, is open to damage by these very acts of tourism.

Conservation and preservation of heritage sites is of paramount importance for the sake of science as academic work. In India the Bhimbetka rock shelter in Madhya Pradesh were the homes of the early man. The rock shelters through the art and paintings engraved on the walls of the caves depict the lives of the prehistoric human beings. The time period spans from the Paleolithic to the Mesolithic era. Today, this site is one of the major tourist attractions and visited by thousands of tourists every year. The question that arises now is about the necessity or importance of keeping these relics from the past. These rock shelters today have numerous visitors and this can have an impact that would lead to wear and tear. If the art is being touched by visitors it would lead to wearing off and loss of precious art that is presently a window into the past. In order to maintain the sanctity of the place and keep the art from perishing, the principles for cultural tourism management needs to be followed, that came up as a result of international agreement on guidelines for World Heritage sites (UNESCO, 2001). In the Indian context the heritage sites that have been identified and recognised as World Heritage Sites are being looked after by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). The restoration, conservation and preservation of heritage sites are being directly managed by ASI. The ASI issues guidelines that are posted and widely circulated around the heritage sites. As we had seen in the case of the Taj Mahal based on the requirement of the site, the measures are developed by the ASI. In case of the Bhimbehka site barriers are posted around the areas where the cave art is found. Beyond a certain area visitors' are not allowed. A safe distance is maintained between the rock art and the tourists.

Check Your Progress 4

5. How has the Taj been symbolised by different categories of people? Write in brief.

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6. Which government organisation is responsible for conservation and preservation of monuments in India?

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7. What is a key symbol?

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8. Discuss the challenges of the Bhimbetka rock shelters from tourism perspective?

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7.3 TOURISM VERSUS HERITAGE SITES: SOME ISSUES

Natural versus Heritage

Many studies on tourism and heritage sites, have reflected on the fact that the very definition of Heritage sites according to UNESCO has led to major issues in the conservation and preservation of the sites declared as both natural and heritage. Michel-Rolph Trouillot in his work *Silencing the Past* observes that 'any historical narrative is a bundle of silences' (1995: 27). This statement reflects on the actively manufactured absences in the reproduction of historical facts. Delancy (2020:37) has stated "Heritage, being a past legacy in the present, has taken shape in much the same way as historical production. Persons in positions of power have attributed significance to tangible and intangible representations of narratives that privilege their position and establish hegemony". In this regard he quotes the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), as coined by Australian author and heritage worker Laurajane Smith (2006:4), this gives credence to epistemologies of dominant societies leading to top down legacies. Delancy, in his work *History to Heritage: An Assessment of Tarpum Bay, Eleuthera, the Bahamas* had taken up the voices of the Bahamian community of Tarpum Bay. Delancy, described the history and heritage of the locals as they wanted it to be understood and preserved. His work was in defiance of the dominant narratives of the Bahamas derived from colonial records of Great Britain and influences from the United States. His work pursued to understand the history and heritage from the Bahamian community of Tarpum Bay, thus, preserving the heritage as the locals' everyday life rather than a part of Tourism activities.

Heritage versus Local Culture

Christina and Svensson (2018), in their study of the Tibetan village in the Meili Snow Mountains, which is part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site Three Parallel Rivers had shown the complexity in the interplay and artificial distinction between natural and cultural heritage in UNESCO's work and its impact on the local Tibetan community. The mountains are listed only as a natural heritage site, although they are sacred to the Tibetans. The new heritage status ignores the mountains' long-standing cultural significance and meaning for the local community. The listing and natural park status is also problematic since it seems to favour tourists' experiences at the expense of local communities' participation in and management of the area (Laukkanen 2018:195). As part of natural heritage, the site of the mountain has been recognised by UNSECO, however, the culture of

the local Tibetan people residing in there is not a part of the UNESCO World Heritage list. This has led to a threat to the culture of the Tibetan people, as the site is being developed with the interest of the Tourists in mind rather than preserving the culture of the local people, a fact that many scholars, activists and the Dalai Lama regard it as being threat (Barnett 2001; Lopez 1998; Anand 2000 cited in Laukkanen 2018). The development of Tourism in this site has even led to a name change of Zhongdian town to Shangri-la and the nomination of Meili Snow Mountains as part of World Natural Heritage. The policies concerning the development of heritage tourism influenced the villagers' conception of their heritage and identity. Even, though, heritage tourism has brought many benefits (mostly economic and infrastructural) to the locals, it has eroded the culture of the local people (Laukkanen 2018:196).

Local Environment versus Tourist

Tourism brings in revenues but is accompanied by a host of problems. Alongside other types of pollution, India can now add one more category to its pollution worries – beach pollution. Tourism is the biggest culprit contributing to plastic litter on beaches, according to a study conducted by the National Centre for Coastal Research (NCCR) (Singh 2018). As we had seen in the earlier examples too, air pollution is a major concern when it comes to heritage sites like the Taj Mahal. But in the case of the Taj, tourism actually saved it, as the air pollution from nearby factories was having an adverse effect on the colour of the marble, but concerns of tourism and the fact it is now regarded as a national treasure, led to action to prevent the pollution from reaching the monument. On the other hand, the rock shelters of Bhimbetka are also threatened as numerous tourist visits is endangering the art on the cave walls. The beaches too are being dumped with waste material, leading to loss of some of the precious under water lives (sea and ocean) because of pollution and water contamination.

It is worth noting here that tourism has also affected the cultural heritage of human societies, leading to displacement and relocation of local communities. Vasan (2018:483) has stated that while the "International Union for Conversation of Nature (IUCN) declares that the creation of protected areas should not adversely affect local communities, in densely populated regions such as South Asia, most protected areas are embedded in landscapes that have been inhabited by humans for millennia". Wildlife sanctuaries, nature walks, forest reserves are some of the spaces that have come under the influence of tourism. These sites, earlier home for many human communities have now become restricted sites, leading to the locals having to part way with their lifestyles that had earlier centered round the forest. For example, for the creation of the Sariska Tiger Reserve for the protection and preservation of tigers, many local villages had to be uprooted and relocated. Most of these displaced communities that have been relocated have lost their indigenous culture and folkways. In India, several national parks continue to be sites of violent confrontations, both between humans and wildlife and between so-called encroachers and enforcers (Vasan 2018). McRea argues that because many tourists travel to experience the lives and cultures of other people, travellers develop preconceived perceptions of what they are expecting (2003). In order to satisfy these, the tourists, alterations are made in the culture of the destination countries (Tooman 1997). The constant pressures of changing can have negative effects on individuals' habits, routines, social lives, beliefs and values (Dogan 1989).

9. "Developing a heritage site can have an impact on the local culture". State whether this statement is true or false.

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10. Examine some of the impacts on the local culture owing to development of tourism.

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11. "Tourism affects local environment". State whether the following statement is true or false.

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12. Discuss the changes in local environment and communities due to tourism.

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7.4 SUMMARY

Tourism basically involves understanding the heritage our cultures and others too. Thus, tourism calls for preservation and conservation of heritage. UNESCO in this regard is taking steps to recognise and preserve some of the well-known and even some lesser known heritage sites across the world. However, when it comes to tourism, often the heritage sites are compromised. The local interest of the communities i.e., the host does not get priority over the commercial interests of the outside stakeholders. The local culture and heritage gets sidelined, whereas only certain aspects are highlighted, the ones that fit in with the expectations of the tourists. For the sake of tourism, heritage values; their conservation and

preservation are being compromised to project an image of what the tourist had envisaged or that is likely to attract tourism rather than what is authentic. Thus, we start looking at our 'own' heritage from the eyes of the tourist.

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7.6   CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1.   See section 7.1

2.   See section 7.1

3.   See section 7.1

4.   See section 7.1

5.   See section 7.2

6.   Archaeological Survey of India

7.   See section 7.2

8.   See section 7.2

9.   Yes

10.   See section 7.3

11.   Yes

12.   See section 7.3

UNIT 8   TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

Contents

Learning Objectives

After reading this unit, you should be able to:

➢   define tangible and intangible heritage;

➢   comprehend the significance of festivals, food, museums and art as cultural heritage; and

➢   discuss how we can contribute for the preservation of our cultural heritage.

8.0   INTRODUCTION

In the earlier unit we had discussed the relationship between tourism and heritage sites. The challenges of preservation and conservation of these sites and the compromising of cultures in favour of profit, were the major themes. In this unit we shall try to define cultural heritage and elaborate on the difference between tangible and intangible heritage. Case studies would be used as illustrations for understanding the differences as well as the relationship between these two.

8.1   CULTURAL HERITAGE

At present, the word Heritage includes both cultural and natural heritage. If we want to understand the cultural diversities that exist in the world, we cannot separate culture from nature, as to some extent although not totally, human cultures are adaptations to the natural environment. However, as pointed out by anthropologists such as Daryll Forde (reference), environment or nature plays a limiting rather than a determining role on culture. The objectives of the study of cultural heritage are to.

- Reflect on the significance of Cultural Heritage and the need to preserve it.

- Explain the types of cultural heritage.

- Understand the contribution of cultural heritage to tourism in India.

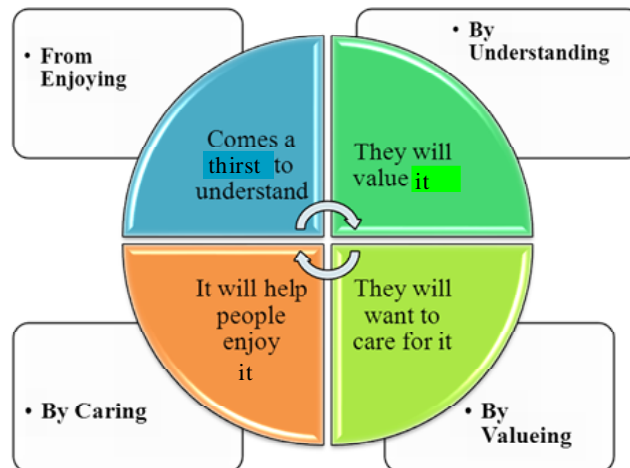- Explain the role of Institutions in conservation and protection of cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage allows people to connect with their values, norms, beliefs, customs and sacred resources and allows communities to better understand their ancestors and their past. In case of an entire nation, these values enhance a sense of identity and unity by the presence of the cultural property within its borders. The presence of these heritage sites signifies the link between the artifact and its geographical and historical milieu. For example, for India, the presence of heritage sites like the Taj Mahal and the Konarak temple, creates a sense of pride and being connected through common heritage, uniting the past and the present. Such heritage sites create a sense of common ownership responsibility as a nation to preserve and promote them. As social scientists like Benedict Anderson (reference) have defined the nation as a construct, cultural heritage is one mechanism that contributes towards such a construct, as it identifies some objects as common property, an object that has a collective ownership that belongs to the entity called nation. When we say that Taj Mahal belongs to India, we are also helping to create India through this statement.

For a nation to maintain this identity, it is imperative that the preservation and dissemination of knowledge about such collectively owned objects should be seen as a state enterprise and not left to individuals. The state works through its formal institutions like the Archaeological Survey of India. In addition, local volunteers and community residents play important role in conservation and protection of heritage sites. They arouse a sense of common responsibility and self-awareness that gets translated into action of the local populace, who are in turn motivated to act as citizens of a nation to which they feel they belong. The sense of ownership and responsibility is directly proportional to the sense of identification with the nation. To utilize the power of the local people, the government and non-governmental organizations (N.G.Os') must respect cultural rights of local people and their perception of development so as to effectively protect the heritage while simultaneously not putting into jeopardy the legitimate rights and interests of local people. If the people feel marginalised, they will lose their sense of responsibility in the same proportion as they feel disenfranchised. If local people are told that they have no right over a certain object or site, they will feel no compulsion to take care of it.

Towards this end, the role of experts should be to advice and gently point out the ways and not to show coercion or impose.

Heritage Cycle Diagram

It gives an idea how to make the part of our future (Simon Thurley, 2005). In a clock wise direction, the wedges and arrows read:

Heritage Cycle

Now let us understand some of the aspects that falls under cultural heritage. We would try to explain with examples from the Indian context, some of the them for better understanding.

8.1.1 Art as Cultural Heritage

Dr. Kiran Seth the founder of SPIC MACAY is credited with taking classical arts to young people in schools, colleges and other institutions. He worked tirelessly for the last 42 years. He reflects on the relation between arts and science, and art as an intangible cultural heritage. Ustad Amjad Ali Khan, the great maestro of Sarod, is of the opinion that "Our Hindustani classical music has the gait of an elephant- slow steady and dignified, it is not a horse race ". What is meant is that classical arts take a long time to learn and even to appreciate them, one has to devote time and show dedication. Heritage appreciation should therefore begin at a young age.

Reflection

SPIC MACAY forum holds conventions every year featuring concerts by leading exponents of Indian classical music and dance, folk performances, talks by eminent artists and painters, screenings of cinema classics, heritage walks, craft workshops and yoga practice meditation techniques. These are held in the educational institutes like schools, colleges and Universities, targeting the younger generation so as to give them an insight into the rich cultural heritage of our country.

In India, Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, (INTACH), looks after the conservation, preservation and maintenance of art forms. It has a conservation laboratory and a knowledge center that contains books and various art and craft products. It also provides Heritage education and communication service and conducts courses on heritage tourism. It also has Heritage Academy where intangible cultural programmes are conducted. The cultural affairs division provides scholarships and holds seminars, workshops, discussions by eminent people in relevant fields.

The media and internet are playing a crucial role in the promotion of intangible cultural heritage of art, literature and culture. Many Art Blogs have started featuring Arts and Business, Arts and Healing, Arts Education, Arts Marketing, Community engagement, Public Art, Art and social change Technology in the Arts. These kinds of blogs and organizations promote, cultivate, sustain and support art heritage all around the world. Concerned about the "disappearance", of many intangible legacy of India over time, the United Nations launched a project on creating an inventory of art forms and craftsmanship of the country under its UNESCO program.

According to the project director of UNESCO in India, a simple tradition of producing hand crafted sarees in a small town, a folk song in a village in a corner of the country, a recipe crafted by someone's mother or grandmother which may be disappearing because the next generation has migrated to other big cities; this project sought to capture them in a capsule of sorts, for the posterity. Towards this end the technology of sounds, sights, techniques, styles through photography and other audio- visual medium are being used.

From the point of view of anthropology, the preservation of cultural heritage keeps alive the sense of unity in plurality, a sense of identity and a sense of belongingness for the people of a nation. Since the nation is a constructed identity (Anderson reference), such common heritage plays a critical role in making substantive, an identity that is abstract. Cultural transmission is an important aspect of identity maintenance and to prevent anomie. Therefore, transmission is an integral aspect of safeguarding heritage. Not only the material artefacts but the skills, knowledge and meanings need to be transferred over generations.

The Department of Culture, Government of India, is a nodal agency for commemorating significant events and celebrating centenaries of great artists. Arts, in the plural, refers to individually or collectively created products of value, the expression or application of creative skill and imagination in the various branches of creative activity such as painting, sculpture, music, dance, theatre, films and graphic arts. Arts, is a broader term than 'Art' which means only visual arts, art comes from the word '*ars*' meaning arrangement- an act of making works or artworks which use the human creative impulse and which have meaning beyond simple description. Prose writing, poetry dance, acting or drama film, music, sculpture, photography, illustration architecture, collage painting, craft and fashion. Art may also be understood as relating to creativity, aesthetics and the generation of emotion.

Anthropologists have regarded Art as a subdivision of culture, composed of many creative endeavors and material and non-material products of the human mind. In the very early period of anthropology, art was a matter to which attention was paid, like the classic work by Franz Boas, on Primitive Art and in India, the works of Verrier Elwin on the art and crafts of the Indian tribes.

8.1.2 Festivals

Holi: A case study of Intangible Cultural Heritage

The celebration of Holi represents the interconnectedness of this world and the other world as per the Hindu mythological story of the demon King, Hrinyakashyap, who having attained near immortality, and drunk on this new power, demanded that he be worshipped as God. Prahald, the demon king's son,

a devotee of Lord Shiva, refused to acknowledge his father as a God and was much tortured. However, nothing could change the determination of the boy. Enraged at being unable to convert Prahlad's devotion towards him, the king sought the help of his sister, Holika (after whom the festival is named) to get rid of the son and also set an example to the non-devotees. In an attempt to send a strong message to the masses and set an example for anyone who dared to defy the King, Holika planned to kill Prahlad. She made him sit in her lap on a pyre. However, the other world's gods, on seeing Prahlad's devotion to them, came to his rescue while Holika was burned to ashes, even though she was supposed to be immune to fire. Traditionally, *holi* celebrations begin with the burning of a pyre on the eve of the festival, symbolizing victory of good over evil (Bhandari 2017).

However, in different parts of India there are different connotations and meanings attached with the celebration of Holi. Holi is also known as *Lath Mar* (beat (*mar*) with a (*lath*) stick) Holi in some places. Legends, suggest that once Krishna was trying to smear Radha with Holi and her friends came out with sticks to protect her and thus, it is enacted every Holi in some place, more so in Barsana the birth place of Radha, in Uttar Pradesh (Mukherjee, 2018). While others see it as an act of role reversal, where the women express themselves, when otherwise are suppressed and subjugated in their everyday lives in a patriarchal society. In his work Bhandari, (2017) explores the festival of colours Holi in a village Chilkiya in the foothills of the Himalayas in Uttarakhand, India. He presents the significance that *holi* encompasses: the mythological, folk, cultural, social and gives insight into the gender relations in the context of *Holi*. Thus, the tourists who are interested in the history and culture of the people, find this aspect of Holi very fascinating. The uniqueness of the colours makes it one of the most attractive avenues for tourism. The festival of colours celebrated across India is a boon for tourism, as many tourists likes to join in the festivities. Tourist from all over the world make advance bookings to be a part of this festival and many other like the Konark Dance Festival etc.

Chhau Dance: Also called Paiku Nritya (battle dance). The name chhau is derived from *Chhavani* (military camp). This folk dance traditionally emerged as a victory dance, performed by the warriors from the eastern part of India including Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. Traditionally, in Bihar the dance form depicted scenes from the epics - Mahabharata and the Ramayana, folklores etc. Its three distinct styles hail from regions of Seraikella, Purulia and Mayurbhanj in Eastern India. "*The Chhau is one of the earliest indigenous forms of dance in India. These practices demonstrate that in India living continuity with the past is an important criterion for its heritage*" (Mukherjee 2015).

8.1.3 Edible Identites

Food as Heritage

Cuisine as Heritage is considered both a socio -cultural construction – which can symbolically represent an identity and a value-added industry. It can be stated that all the knowledge and practices related to the transformation, distribution and consumption of food that are transmitted across generations within a region or community make up a collective heritage. Anthropologists have studied the various dimensions of food that is related to tourism. Belasco and Scranton, 2002 have analysed the shaping of consumer tastes and using of cuisines for the purpose of constructing national identities. While some had focused on the

historical role of external forces in the creation of food identity. The history of the Kolkata Biryani which is different from the Awadhi, Lucknavi and Hyderabadi versions is a fine example. The Kolkata Biryani is known for the addition of the potatoes and boiled eggs in it by the Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (1856) and his cook as an experimentation, which was flaunted by the British rulers of that time as a case of the Nawab's diminishing riches that pushed him to replace the mutton with potatoes (Bhandari 2020 Hindustan Times).

Food is an important aspect to understand the ethos of a culture. The concept of food as a heritage entity had allowed the entry of many stakeholders in the tourism industry. Anthropological studies have also looked at how "food demarcates social boundaries, especially if and when they become objectified as intellectual property or intangible cultural heritage" (Palmié 2009:54). In one of the cases in the Indian context the geographical indication (GI) Tag for the sweet '*rasgulla*' can be cited. The GI Tag was given to the state of West Bengal as they claimed it to be a delicacy created by Nabin Chandra Das, a renowned sweet maker in the nineteenth century. This was however, challenged by the State of Odisha who tagged it as a part of the traditional ritual offerings made to Lord Jagannath in Puri, a temple that dates back to the 12th century CE. They wanted the name of the sweet changed from '*Bangalar Rasgulla*' to '*Jagannath Rasgulla*' based on their claim. The two states were in a bitter battle for GI tag which lasted for almost two years and as the case was decided in favour of West Bengal, the government declared 30th July as '*Rasgulla Dibasa*' to celebrate its origin (Nath 2019: News 18 India). The historical connotations attached to food makes it an attraction for the tourists.

Check Your Progress 1

1. What is National Heritage? List the National Heritage sites (if any) in your locality.

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2. Name some of the intangible cultural heritages of India.

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3. 'Food is a part of cultural heritage'. State whether the following statement is either True or False.

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8.2 HERITAGE: CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION

Today, when we talk of heritage, it is assumed that it includes old buildings and monuments, ancestral properties and historical sites. But heritage is not an entity that is limited to only "brick and mortar" and the way a building looks and how ancient it is. Heritage refers to places, objects and ideas that are culturally and socially valued and which have been passed from one generation to the next (Prentice 1994). The heritage list of UNESCO includes both Tangible and Intangible forms of heritage. While buildings, monuments and material objects are included in the tangible list; festivals, languages, music, handicrafts, a particular culinary expertise (recipes), textiles, a particular lifestyle (tribal, nomadic) and performing arts are also classified as Intangible Heritage. The 2003 UNESCO convention marked the endorsement of "safe guarding of the intangible cultural heritage focusingon the non-material cultural heritage. The key word of the Convention was 'Safeguarding' which has been defined as "measures aimed at ensuring theviability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage" (http://ayla.culture.gr/en/diafylaxi-apk/).

UNESCO's definition of Intangible Heritage is as follows "The practices, representations expressions, knowledge, skills as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated there with- that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognised as part of their cultural heritage" (Article 2, UNESCO Convention 2003). Intangible cultural heritage, as the word itself suggests, is that part of the culture which is not material, for example: values, norms, beliefs, folklores, dance and music which do not have a definite shape but are part of our cultural practices. These elements do not survive on their own but are kept alive in the day to day practices of people in society. For example, dance as an art form has its origin in the society and its structures, as in the temple culture of India. There is an association between monuments and the cultural practices that make up the cultural space. The temple dance traditions that was a part of most Indian temples in India was banned by the Madras Devdasi Act, 1947. This led to the dwindling away of the art form and it almost went into oblivion. Today, however, the temple dance forms have been revived, revised andreconstructed to meet the requirements of the modern world by dedicated scholars and dancers like Rukmini Devi Arundale, Kelucharan Mahapatra, PadmaSubrahmaniyam and many others. The dances are no longer viewed only as part of the temple tradition but as the classical heritage of our country and have assumed iconic status as identity markers. They have made the transition from the temples to being an aspect of public culture. In this way they have also assumed legitimacy and recognition as respectable and accepted part of middle class life style.

Likewise, there are many folklores and traditions which are on the brink of being extinct, thus, bringing in the need for safeguarding and preserving

such cultural heritage. The UNSECOs list of intangible heritage has been a boon to the tourism industry; its adoption of the conservation and safeguarding of intangible heritage in 2003 has made some of the art forms, in danger of dying across the globe come to life.

In the Indian context, the Kalbelia dance and songs of the Kalbelia tribe of Rajasthan who were earlier snake charmers, was listed in UNSECOs list of intangible cultural heritage of humanity, in 2010. The Kalbelia dance represents the serpents and their movements. The women dressed in black and with heavy embroidery work, tattoos and jewelry, present the mythological stories of their ancestors the snake charmers. The menfolk play the percussion instrument (Khanjari) and the woodwind (poongi) that is used to charm the snakes. The popularity of the art form has increased after its listing by UNCESO. The tribal group was also encouraged to continue its traditions in the wake of the new found interest in their performing art. Therefore, the tribal group that was fast changing its occupation to adopt to a changing world, were persuaded to keep their art and culture alive. This is a positiveexample of tourism actually sustaining a lifestyle although now in a more commercial form. These dances are no longer performed ritually as they used to be but as staged performances and to the tribal people the dance form is now a means of earning a livelihood and not a way of life. But atleast by enacting the dances they are recreating their myths and ancestral narratives.

"India is a treasure trove of intangible world heritage artefacts." (reference).

In July 2018, a cluster of 94 buildings in South Mumbai, India, built in the Victorian Gothic and Art Deco styles, were declared as world heritage sites at the UNESCO Conference in Manama, Bahrain. This is the third site after Ajanta and Ellora (Aurangabad), Elephanta (Mumbai) and Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus building (Mumbai) to be recognized as a UNESCO certified World Heritage Site. With the inclusion of these cluster of buildings, the number of UNESCO certified World Heritage sites in India go up to thirty-seven (reference). Since we are talking about intangible cultural heritage, it is to be understood that it is not the physical building alone that is a heritage site, but the style and the architecture that is embedded in it, that is the real heritage.

In 2013-2014 a scheme was inaugurated titled 'Scheme for Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage and Diverse Cultural Traditions of India' for safeguarding, promoting and propagating it systematically. With the recognition of various cultural products such as dance forms, architecture and music as intangible cultural heritage, these kinds of schema can work in a more inclusive way and expand their frontiers of action. It is to be understood that the ideas, concepts and symbols that are manifested in these art forms, performances and materials represent the core of the intangible cultural heritage. This heritage emphasises the products of the human mind and imaginations rather than the physical and material aspects they are embodied in.

Check Your Progress 2

4. 'Dance is part of intangible heritage'. State whether the following statement is either true or false.

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5. 'In terms of physical buildings the style and the architecture that is embedded in it is not a part of the cultural heritage'. State whether the following statement is either true or false.

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6. 'Kalbelia Dance is a part of the UNSECO list of intangible cultural heritage'. State whether the following statement is either true or false.

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8.3 MUSEUMS AS CULTURAL HERITAGE

Tourism, anthropology and museums are closely interconnected. Urry, (1990:1,3 cf. Teague 1995) has stated that a. tourism, anthropology and museums are "journeys" intended to change perceived images and symbols, b. which share a common "gaze". To understand this statement let's see how a particular community gets reflected through a tourist, an anthropologist and a museum. A tourist would look at a culture and its practices, click a few photographs that would become a part of the memories of a place visited, on the other hand anthropologist would try to gain insight into the culture- its beliefs and practices, record the findings through a detailed ethnographic account, while a museum would preserve the material culture for eternity. Through museums preservation of the cultural relics takes place. However, the question of authenticity looms large as to what has been preserved is really a part of the culture or just a model to attract tourism.

International Council of Museums (ICOM) believes that museums play a vital role in the protection of intangible cultural heritage and is committed to the defenses of this vulnerable heritage – the traditions of living expressions. The ICOM definition of Museum recognises the role of museums in the preservation and protection of both 'the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity'; they can significantly use their mandate, infrastructures and resources to develop creative initiatives about its preservation (*reference*).

Nicholas Crofts (*reference*) questions how should museums document intangible heritage? A museum is a nonprofit, permanent institution in the service of society

and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

Over the last two decades museum priorities have been characterised by a shift from the preservation of collections to the satisfaction of audiences (*Keene 2005:2*). The New museology (Vergo 1989) acknowledging the occasionally exclusive character of museums and underlined the need for a more inclusive museum practice. Museums now have a social, educational and cultural responsibility towards their public and for this reason special attention should be given to the satisfaction of the educational and cultural and cultural needs of audiences. Hooper *Greenhill (2000)* announced the event of the 'post museum'. This is opposite of the traditional 'modernist museum' that has dominated western museum practice over the last centuries. The 'modernist museum' was primarily focused on the accumulation of objects that were displayed "harmonious, unified, and complete", narratives (p.151). As a consequence, it began to stand for the dominant, upper class ideology. The postmodernist museum questions grand narratives continuity and truth. Static and monolithic knowledge now is replaced by vibrancy of creation and discovery fostering cultural diversity and constructive learning. Witcomb (2003) says that this is a new way of perceiving museums, asking them to move "beyond the mausoleums" and to reinvent their role and functions in contemporary, heterogeneous societies to engulf diversity and dialogue new ideas like 'feminization of the museums' or 'cacophony of voices' are floating about. But concern is expressed by Keene that the postmodern museum is primarily focused on events and outreach programs and shows little interest for museum collections.

Pinna (2003:3) locates intangible heritage in expressions embodied in physical forms and related objects e. g. theatrical performances, masks, costumes or in non-physical or tangible form e. g. dances and songs or in the symbolic meaning of objects, an additional dimension of oral history as an expression of memory and identity. Thus, the notion of intangible heritage in museums enables a wider and deeper interpretation and contextualisation of artefacts. Museum collections can be comprised of video and sound recordings of cultural expressions and practices. In this way the processes and conditions that lead to creation and use of objects can be made present in the context of museums. *Franz Boas* complains that ethnographic objects are incapable of presenting the psychological as well as historical relations of cultures (*1907:928*) is dealt with through the use of new technologies e. g. oral history programmes, collection of stories, museums of performing arts are a further category of musicians. London theatre museum safeguard their theatrical heritage, recording, documentations, transform cultural expressions into new museum objects to be conserved for future.

Exhibitions are the main aspect of museum practice. Exhibition models with features like music, special lighting effect and live performances. It gives the objects a wider circle of meaning (*Garton Smith 2000:58*)

Communities are a fundamental constituent of the concept of intangible cultural heritage. Community partnership programmes can help identify and safe guard expressions of intangible heritage (*Vanttuy 2003:28*). E.g. Papa Tongerewa Museum in New Zealand. The National museum of the American Indian in U.S.A.

Check Your Progress 3

7.   'Tourism, anthropology and museums are closely interconnected.

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8.   'Museums in the last two decades have shifted from preservation of collections
to the satisfaction of audiences' Elaborate on this aspect.

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8.4   SUMMARY

The unit had expanded on the meaning of Heritage which today encompasses not
only monuments, buildings and ancestral properties but also values, norms, folklores,
art, dance, music and cultural beliefs. It reflected on the tangible and intangible
heritage and its meaning. The unit helped us to comprehend the significance of
some of our tangible and intangible heritages like festivals, food, museums etc.,
and how it impacts tourism. The tourist today prefers to be a part of the living
heritage and cultures of the host rather than be just a bystander. One such
example is the participation of the tourist in the festival of *Holi* or dances. The
unit further looked into the aspect of conservation and preservation of the popular
tourist spaces. In the next unit we would look at ecotourism as a new concept
that has emerged in the anthropological study of tourism. We would discuss how
ecotourism helps in sustainable development and takes forward tourism while
safeguarding the natural environment.

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8.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 8.1 for the fist part of the answer. For the second part explore your city to find out if there are any national heritages.

2. See section 8.1

3. True

4. True

5. False

6. True

7. True

8. See section 8.3

UNIT 9   ECOTOURISM

Contents

Learning Objectives

The learners after reading the unit should be able to:

➢ define ecotourism;

➢ determine the relationship between ecotourism and sustainable development; and

➢ discuss the impact of ecotourism based on the case studies in the unit.

9.0   INTRODUCTION

In the earlier unit we had discussed about tangible and intangible heritage its meaning, definitions and its preservation and conservation. With times in the world of tourism a new aspect has been added besides preservation and conservation. The concept deals with tourism being made available not only to the present generation but leaving behind a heritage and legacy that would allow the next generations to sustain themselves. The aim is to be responsible for the environment that we are living in and preserving and conserving our natural heritages. This unit shall deal with the definitions of ecotourism and its concepts. Four case studies from the Indian sub-continent would leave space in the young minds to understand how ecotourism can be developed in the already existing heritage of the nation.

9.1 DEFINING ECOTOURISM

The first formal definition of 'Ecotourism' was perhaps given by the Mexican architect Hector Ceballos-Lascurain. Ecotourism has been defined as "environmentally responsible, enlightening travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio- economic involvement of local populations" (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996). According to this definition, ecotourism can involve both cultural and environmental tourism and, bring benefits to the local population which is also an integral part of the activity. Various definitions on ecotourism were floated since then. Most of the definitions perceive ecotourism as a special form of tourism that has three important criteria:

a.   provision for environmental conservation that includes participation of community in a meaningful way;

b.   profitable to the host community; and

c.   self-sustaining.

Carrier (2005) had stated that ecotourism is noteworthy as it is one of the 'fastest growing sector in the tourism industry'. Ecotourism is sometimes referred to as alternative form of tourism; it is also used synonymously with cultural tourism. It can be formally defined as, "a form of tourism that is consistent with natural, social and community values. It allows both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences. Instead of condemning the impact of tourism on local communities, there is a tendency to applaud ecotourism as panacea for achieving a wide array of social, economic, and environmental goals." (Stronza 2001: 274). In contemporary times, anthropologists are paying increasing attention to forms of tourism such as ecotourism, cultural tourism, community-based-tourism, or simply alternative tourism.

Ecotourism is inspired by the culture and natural history of a particular area. The combination of natural and cultural resources can contribute towards generating revenue for the state; at the same time provide economic opportunities to local residents. Since anthropology is a discipline that is particularly involved with the study and understanding of cultures and local communities, it can play an important role as far as planning and implementation of tourism projects is concerned. Anthropologists can identify the local needs, the livelihood potentials, the cultural elements that are supportive of tourism and those that are likely to cause impediments. They can design forms of tourism that does not cause too much disruption to local lives and those actions that can be positively harmful to the local communities. Professional anthropologists can therefore become involved in the tourism sector, expanding the relevance and potential of the discipline.

Carrier and Macleod (2005: 315) say that "Ecotourism involves travel to enjoy and engage with attractive and interesting surroundings which is often identified as natural. It also involves travel to enjoy and engage with attractive people and their activities often identified as exotic or indigenous, in a way that respects and supports them". In this way they are emphasising the

human desire to seek out the exotic and the unknown. Anthropologists, were also said to do the same, but they have done so professionally, in order to know more and more about human ways of living and also about varieties of worldviews, in order to have a deeper comparative understanding of human behaviour. However, the tourists are only superficially interested in the local cultures. Anthropologists are genuinely interested in the local communities and often apply their knowledge for the wellbeing of the people. But for tourists it is just a touch and go affair. Many of them are not at all bothered about what happens to the local communities and this is a genuine drawback of eco/cultural tourism.

In recent times, ecotourism ventures are on demand; this could be due to the saturation of old and often visited tourist destinations and the desire for new experiences. It is important to note that in many parts of the world, areas and lands that are labelled as wilderness, and occupied by indigenous peoples have been opened up to the tourism industry. However, there is a concern; these more remote, less developed areas that ecotourists seek are vulnerable to cultural disruption and environmental degradation (Cater 1993: 85).

Check Your Progress 1

1. Define ecotourism.

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9.2 EMPOWERMENT AND DISEMPOWERMENT

Ecotourists are more likely to make use of services and accommodation which are owned by the local residents. This ensures that the local economy is benefitted. It is to be noted that ecotourism should be able to fulfil the following:

a. protect environment;

b. benefit conservation of local cultural items;

c. benefit local economy;

d. empower local communities;

To ensure that local people gets their due benefits from ecotourism, some control over it should be handed over to the local people.

There will be empowerment of the local people if their voices are taken into consideration. They should be able to decide what forms of tourism facilities and wildlife conservation programmes should be developed in their respective regions. The local community should become an important stakeholder in decision making and for claiming benefits.

9.2.1 Political Empowerment

The voices and the concerns of the local community should be able to guide the development of any ecotourism project from the conceptual stage to its implementation. It is pertinent to give voice and decision-making powers

to diverse interest groups within a community and power to be distributed among all diverse groups divided by age, sex and class. All the stakeholders within a community need to have representation on community and broader decision-making bodies. In order for the local communities to exert some control over ecotourism, power need to be delegated to the level of the community. It is to be ensured that even the most marginal groups within the community get the benefits.

9.2.2 Social

Social empowerment refers to a situation in which a community's sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed or strengthened by any collective activity whose benefits are distributed among the group members- ism. Strong community groups, including youth groups, and women's groups, may be signs of an empowered community. Social empowerment is perhaps most clearly a result of ecotourism when profits from the tourism activity are used to fund social development projects, such as water supply systems or health clinics, in the local area.

Now let's check if there are any disadvantages to ecotourism. It has been reflected that social disempowerment may happen if ecotourism activities result in crime, begging, overcrowding, displacement from traditional lands, loss of authenticity of local culture, and emergence of prostitution (Mansperger 1993).These consequences are quite likely to happen in the situation of tourism of any kind, including ecotourism. Certain internal power differences within the local community that lead to inequities in distribution of the benefits of ecotourism, may lead to social disempowerment of certain segments and disproportionate benefits to others. Conflicts and dissatisfactions may arise due to feelings of jealousy and ill-will as a result of inequities of distribution of economic benefits and opportunities.

9.2.3 Psychological

A community is said to be psychologically strong, when its members are positive about the future, have strong faith in the potentials and abilities of its residents, self-reliant, independent, and take pride in their traditions and culture (Scheyvens 1999: 248). One needs to understand that in many small-scale societies, maintaining a group's sense of belonginess, self-esteem and well-being is very important. This maintenance is ensured by preservation of their tradition. One of the key features of ecotourism is sensitivity to cultural norms and respect for local traditions. This sensitivity and respect can be empowering for local people.

On the other hand, ecotourism can be disempowering if it interferes with cultural norms of the local people. For example, interfering with the vital relationship between the local people and their land, may have demoralising effects. The Yagua Indians of the Peruvian and Colombian Amazon who were relocated by their tour operators, to places which were more convenient and more accessible to tourists is a case that can be cited here. Eventually the Yagua became more dependent on money received from cultural performances. Their obligations to tour operators for cultural performances led to insufficient time to cultivate, hunt and fish, also not forgetting the unavailability of land to cultivate slash-and-burn agriculture. It is said that the Yagua are now seriously afflicted by different forms of ill-health, thus leading

to apathy and depression which is now quite common. These feelings, disillusionment and confusion, are indicators of psychological disempowerment of a community (Scheyvens 1999: 248).

We can also take a look at local community's access to resources in area proposed for ecotourism to determine economic empowerment or disempowerment. For example, if certain areas of land are identified as protected areas for the sake of ecotourism, it eventually reduces the access to agricultural lands as well as hunting grounds. Protection of wildlife species may even result in destruction of crops and cause harm to livestock and people. Local people should have equitable distribution of benefits, however there is a concern, local people will willingly support conservation of protected areas only if it is simultaneous with their own development.

9.2.4 Community-based Ecotourism

Since the term 'ecotourism' is fluidly used by various writers, some have suggested that the term 'community-based ecotourism ventures' should be used to differentiate those ventures that are environmentally sensitive, and the local community have higher degree of control over ecotourism activities (Liu 1994; Ceballos-Lascurain 1996). This is totally different from ecotourism ventures that are controlled by outside operators, and it is also different from the contexts in which the government claims most of the revenue generated through ecotourism. (Akama 1996).

The need to promote the quality of life of people and conservation of natural resources is important for a community-based approach. In order to make ecotourism economically and socially sustainable, it is imperative that members of local host community be trained. A community-based approach seeks to revive reverence for traditions, at the same time boost local livelihoods by providing source of income for unemployed members of local host community.

An important way to establish responsible community-based ecotourism is to approach it from a sustainable development perspective, which takes into consideration social, environmental and economic goals. Instead of prioritising only economic or environmental impacts of community-based approach, it is important to take into consideration the social dimensions of experience of tourism too.

Check Your Progress 2

2. "Community should become an important stake holder in ecotourism". State whether the statement is true or false.

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3. "Ecotourism can be disempowering if it interferes with the cultural norms of the community". State whether the statement is true or false.

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4. What is the community based approach in ecotourism?

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9.3 ECOTOURISM AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Sustainable development is becoming an important focus for transnational, and NGOs especially in developing countries. This is the result of increased awareness of the need to preserve the environment (Grieves et. al, 2014). The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), published the Brundtland Report called 'Our Common Future'. The Brundtland Report defines sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1987:43).

As regards to marginalised indigenous communities, the guidelines stated in the report are not specific enough to implement sustainable development policies. Preservation of environment and elimination of poverty remain important domains of sustainable development, yet an increasing emphasis has also been made on participation of local community and their control in sustainable development endeavours. There is a focus on ecotourism, sometimes known as sustainable tourism, to sustain natural resources of indigenous communities. These ecotourism endeavours strive to rope in mechanisms that ensure that the benefits produced by ecotourism should profit the indigenous local community rather than external agencies. (Grieves, et.al., 2014). It is to be noted that such kind of partnership between indigenous communities and outside agencies, however noble it may sound on paper, are often encountered with conflicts and imbalance of power.

According to Subramaniam (2008: 245) ecotourism has a vital role to play in sustainable development in India. It has also a pivotal role in developing an agenda for inclusion of non-urban communities, which are excluded and marginalised to some extent in most programs of development. In order to achieve this, a shift in attitudes is required; there has to be a shift from regulation control to empowerment, from patronage to partnership, and from linear government-led structures to alliances with diverse stake holders. Subramaniam (2008:246) also argued that in the context of India, the need to emphasise on the aspect of improving the well-being of local communities should be addressed through ecotourism venture. In order to reap the value of the benefits of ecotourism, there is a need to embrace all non-urban communities in the country too.

Check Your Progress 3

5. Define sustainable development.

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9.4 ECOTOURISM IN INDIA

9.4.1 Nagaland: Community Participation

The Naga society is mostly community based. In most of the Naga villages, important decisions related to cultivation, conservation of forest and other important socioeconomic issues are being made collectively. If ecotourism has to succeed in Nagaland, then local participation has to tapped strategically. The Nagaland Communitisation of Public Institutions and Service Act 2002 (Act no. 2 of 2002) "provide for empowerment of the community and delegations of the powers and function of the state government to the local authorities by way of participation of the community in matters connected with the management of local public utilities, public services, and the activities of the state government connected with education, water supply, roads, forest, power, sanitation, health and other welfare and development schemes and also to provide promotion of community based schemes".

The State Tourism Department is promoting community participation in Ecotourism and Sustainable Tourism Development; however, it offers some facilities but not sufficient to cater to the entire inflow of the tourists, both foreign and domestic. Therefore, the villagers have started to open paying guest accommodations which are also popularly known as 'Homestays'. The interest of the state to promote tourism in Nagaland is also directed at weaning people away from shifting cultivation, because it does not produce as much revenue for the state as tourism does.

9.4.1.1 Ecotourism in Khonoma Village

Ecotourism initiatives in Khonoma village are a great success. The village council banned logging and hunting considering the fact that these activities were contributing to environmental degradation. Hence the need for conservation of environment was the first step that was initiated. Despite being initiated and funded from government scheme ecotourism in the village is still identified as a community initiative because it is the members of the community who took lead in planning and implementation of ecotourism ventures. The sense of ownership in the community is high; this has to do with the fact that land ownership solely lays with the people and not with the government (Kinny and Lanusosang 1996:158).

9.4.1.2 Amur Falcon Conservation

Every year, huge number of Amur Falcons from Siberia stops over in the state of Nagaland, on their way to Africa (Kinny and Lanusosang 1996:158). It is considered to be one of the biggest falcon roosts in the world. The conservation programme of migratory bird Amur Falcon is mainly implemented by a local NGO-Natural Naga, Nagaland Wildlife and Biodiversity Conservation Trust, working with the Nagaland Forest Department along with three village councils in Wokha district. The village councils in Wokha district prohibited hunting and killing of Amur Falcons and made it illegal and punishable. This prohibition along with the support of members in village community helped in conservation of the migratory birds in Nagaland. It has also started attracting hundreds of tourists and curious scientists. The success of such initiatives has made other villages realised the importance of tapping the natural resources for sustainable livelihood.

9.4.1.3 Wildlife and Bird Sanctuaries

Nagaland has a number of Wildlife/Bird Sanctuaries that are located and scattered in different parts of the state. The chief ones are: Intanki National Park in Peren district, Fakim Wildlife Sanctuary in Tuensang district, and Ghosu bird Sanctuary in Zunheboto district.

Despite immense potentials for sustainable tourism in the state, there are a number of factors that have emerged as obstacles in the way of desired development. Peace and security are important factors for any kind of development. The entire North East region of India has insurgency problems. With the signing of ceasefire agreement in 1997 and Peace Accord in 2015, the situation has improved to some extent in Nagaland. Nonetheless fear and insecurity still exists in the minds of tourists. The state has plenty of constraints in the form of poor connectivity, lack of communication facilities, poorly developed infrastructure and entry formalities like Inner Line Permit and restricted Area Permit. At present, the state is totally dependent on the central assistance for development of ecotourism ventures. Sustained peace and security are essential for the future of tourism in this region.

9.4.2 Kerala: Ecological Sustainable Tourism

The state of Kerala also known as God's own country is one of the most famous eco-destinations in India. It has many destinations known for their natural beauty and exquisite landscape. The Western Ghats region of Kerala has a protected area that includes two National Parks and 12 Wildlife Sanctuaries. These sanctuaries and parks are important destinations for ecotourism. The Western Ghats of Kerala have natural advantage because of their beauty and density of forests and wild life. The major ecotourism ventures in Kerala are broadly classified as backwaters, beaches, hill stations and wildlife sanctuaries. Kerala is rich with evergreen forests and its rich biological diversity is of added advantage to boost ecotourism. Due to construction of dams and other related projects, water bodies have formed within the forest. These are being used for recreational facilities. Various activities like mountaineering, trekking, bird watching etc. are being initiated by the Government of Kerala as part of marketing campaign. In Kerala, ecotourism destinations have range of choices.

9.4.2.1 Parambikulam Tiger Reserve

The word Parambikulam is derived from two words; 'parambu' (reeds) and 'kulam'(waterhole). In this reserve there is a teak plantation which is managed scientifically. Within this plantation the great Kannimara tree stands against time. This tree is considered to be the oldest and largest of its kind and is worshipped by the tribals as they believe it to be a symbol of the Gods and its magnificence is amplified by the sheer magnitude of its size and reach. Parambikulam tiger reserve is one of the emerging ecotourism destinations in the country with attractive tourism packages like eco meditation, elephant song trial, bear path trail, Camps, Tree top hut, Island Hut, trekking, full moon census, Bamboo Rafting etc., All these activities are organised by local tribal communities. The economic benefits from ecotourism are reaped by the locals. Some important source of income are bamboo handicrafts, bee wax balm, carry paper bags, honey processing and other souvenirs. The locals create environmentally friendly souvenirs with the intention of making

the reserve plastic free. The communities owned ecotourism enterprises and take care of their resources (Vinodan & Manalel, 2011: 103).

9.4.2.2 Aralam Wildlife Sanctuary

Aralam is the only wildlife sanctuary in Kannur, spreading over a 55 sq. km area of forests in the Western Ghats. The forest offers pleasant trekking options. The Aralam witnesses the remarkable natural phenomenon of butterfly migration. Like in Parambikulam, the ecotourism efforts at Aralam are a community-based affair too. Regular nature camps are held in Aralam with special emphasis to children. Conservation of natural resources are given importance as that is what the younger generation will inherit.

9.4.3 Gujarat: Development of Ecotourism Circuit

Gujarat has a great wealth of wildlife and is considered an ideal place for a wildlife getaway (GOG 2017). Gujarat offers opportunities to see a wide range of wildlife including the Asiatic lion, Indian wild ass, endangered antelopes and a variety of deer. It is also one of India's most important regions for bird watchers as it has many rare and endangered species of migratory bird's wildlife sanctuaries. It also has India's first marine national park. The forest department has various Ecotourism sites placed amidst the dense jungles for nature enthusiasts.

The state occupies a special status among Eco-tourists for its per-historic Dinosaur nesting sites in Balasinore, remains of Indus Valley Civilization at Dholavira and Lothal, heritage and cultural monuments and artifacts. Gujarat has its own distinctiveness as it is the only remaining habitat for species like the Asiatic Lions and Wild Ass (https://www.ecotourismgujarat.com).

9.4.3.1 Great Rann of Kutch

The natural history of the Rann is unique and has international conservation significance. Fossils of different periods - Pre-Jurassic, Jurassic and Cretaceous are found. There is an area rich in wood and marine fossils, and it is managed as fossil park. The visitors find the fossils of big sized trees interesting. The migrating birds can be seen crowding various water bodies during winter.

9.4.3.2 The Gir Forest National Park and Wildlife Sanctuary

This wildlife sanctuary in Gujarat was established in 1965. It is the only home of the pure Asiatic Lions (*Panthera leo persica*) and is considered one of the most important protected areas in Asia. The ecosystem of Gir comprise of diverse flora and fauna.

9.4.3.3 Ecotourism in Dang District

Dang is a tribal dominated district located in extreme south of Gujarat. It has mountain ranges and dense forest. Bhil, Konkani, Varli, Kotwaliya, Kathodi and Gamit are some of the major tribes in Dang district. The Dang district has been declared as Ecotourism spot by the state. The district is adorned with rich forests, small and large waterfalls, beautiful landscapes and tribal unique culture. Saputara, in southern part of Dang, is known as abode of serpents, offers rich wildlife for ecotourists. Saputara museum gives out interesting information about topography and anthropology of Dangs (Vnasiya & Mahida 2012).

9.4.4 Assam: Potentials and Challenges

Assam, is considered to be hotspot for tourists for its natural beauty and favourable climatic condition. The state is famous for varieties of flora and fauna, historical monuments, pilgrim centres, tea gardens and colourful cultural festivals which are considered as tourism ventures There are various national parks, wildlife and bird sanctuaries and biosphere reserves in Assam, which are potential resources for tourism.

i)   Kaziranga National Park: The Kaziranga national park has a large number of hilly terrains, marshes, plains, and water bodies where many species of unique flora and fauna, inhabit. The Great Indian One-horned Rhinoceros to tiny turtles are sight to behold and where one can gather an exhilarating experience of adventure sports too.

ii) Manas National Park: Located on the banks of the Manas river, Manas National Park is a world heritage site and an important tiger reserve of India. It is marked by highland savanna, moist deciduous and tropical semievergreen trees. The park is also a forest of endangered and rare flora and fauna. The existence of rare species also attracts tourists, both national and international.

iii) Nameri National Park: Nameri National Park is located at the foothills of the eastern Himalayas. Main activities in this park include bird watching, trekking, angling (fishing) on the Jiabharali (river) etc. It is to be noted that angling for the golden mahseer has been the trademark of Nameri ever since the colonial regime. Every year, the Jiabharali attracts anglers from all over the world. Regulated angling is permitted on a 'catch-record and release' basis.

iv) Majuli: Once the largest river island in the world, situated in the Brahmaputra river of Assam, today falls under the endangered list owing to heavy erosion. Majuli is the melting pot of various ethnic communities like Ahoms, Kacharis, Brahmins, Koch Rajbongshi, Bonais, Koibartas, Nepalis etc. It is considered to be the cultural capital and the cradle of Assamese civilization known for the *Satras* (monasteries) that have been the seat of learning for the past five hundred years. Pottery done in Majuli shows resemblance to the ones found in ancient Harrappan Civilisation. Pottery is made from beaten clay and burnt in driftwood fired kilns (Devi, 2012). The preservation of the unique culture of various ethnic groups inhabiting Majuli island is pertinent for ecotourism ventures. The craft of mask-making; the finest boats are a part of the island activities. A wetland, Majuli is a hotspot for flora and fauna, harbouring many rare and endangered species including migratory birds that arrive in the winter season. The colourful cultures, migratory birds, Ali-ai-ligang festival, pottery making, mask making, Paal Naam and Raas Leela festival, crafting of masks, are some major attractions which boost ecotourism.

Other places in Assam which have huge potentials for ecotourism ventures are Haflong, Maibang, Umrangso, Panimoor, Chandubi Lake, Rani Reserved Forest, Hajo, Darranga, Mayong, Bardowa, Bordowa (Devi 2012). The state of Assam has huge potential with respect to ecotourism ventures.

Check Your Progress 4

6. "Naga society is mostly community based". State whether the statement is true or false.

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7. Which state is known as God's own country?

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8. Why does Gujarat have a special status among eco tourists?

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9. Which national park in Assam is a part of the World Heritage Sites?

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9.5   IMPACT OF ECOTOURISM

Ecotourism is expected to usher in lasting economic benefits to a local community. Many households in a community earn cash through ecotourism. Das and Hussain (2016: 241) argued that ecotourism generates economic welfare by positively and significantly affecting household budget. Taking into consideration the extent of poverty and backwardness in the periphery villages of Kaziranga National Park (KNP) Assam, the ecotourism venture sounds feasible and desirable. According to Das and Hussain (2016: 255), the people living in the periphery villages of KNP would have continued to practices less profitable agriculture or similar activities if not for ecotourism. Income generated from traditional livelihood may not be sufficient due to low level of investment, small size of agricultural land holdings, animal raids and flood etc. There is potential of ecotourism boosting the local economy in Kaziranga National park. Ecotourism provides a range of employment possibilities for the periphery villages of KNP in the form of opening restaurants, crafting handicrafts, making local preserved food, hosting cultural programmes, souvenir sales and production, eco-lodge, home stay accommodation, tours and transportation, and guiding services (Das & Hussain, 2016).

The Naga villages in the state of Nagaland are community based. Decisions pertaining to cultivation, preservation of forest, and important socio- economic issues are collectively made. If there is any break-through of ecotourism in Nagaland, it is because community participation. The village of Khonoma in Nagaland deciding to go green and abandon their traditional activities of hunting animals and collecting wood from the forest is a huge boost to the eco conservation and ecotourism venture. Community members have taken a lead in planning and implementation of the Green village project. Ecotourism is flourishing in Nagaland because of the effort of community with assistance from the government (Kinny and Lanusosang 2016: 158).

Harmon (2003 c.f. West 2016) discusses intangible values derived from protected areas in Gujarat: 'recreational, therapeutic, spiritual, cultural, identity, existence, artistic, aesthetic, educational, peace, and scientific research and monitoring'. These values are seen as potentials to change the social lives and well-being of the people who visit parks and the people living in them.

9.6 SUMMARY

Ecotourism has been perceived as tourism based on natural and cultural resources, which is sustainable, promotes conservation, meaningful community involvement and environmentally sound. All the four states that have been taken up as case study are different from one another. For example, the community participation which is very prominent in Nagaland and Kerala may not work in other states, whereas the luxury of national parks and water bodies in Kerala and Assam is absent in Nagaland. Some tourists may prefer camping vis-à-vis hotel accommodation in Gujarat, whereas some may prefer the homestay in Nagaland for different experience. Ecotourism in all these four states of Assam, Nagaland, Gujarat and Kerala has huge potentials as both the state and community are equally interested in saving the eco system at the same time, preserve cultural and heritage of its indigenous people too. Keeping in mind the diverse cultures and geographical features of India, each state may need different strategy while formulating ecotourism framework.

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9.8   ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1.   See section 9.1

2.   True

3.   True

4.   See section 9.2

5.   See section 9.3

6.   True

7.   Kerala

8.   See section 9.4.3

9.   Manas National Park

UNIT 10 NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF TOURISM

Contents

10.1 Introduction

10.2 Globalisation Contemporary Tourism and Sustainable Development

10.3 New Directions in Anthropology of Tourism

10.4 Summary

10.5 References

10.6 Answers to Check your Progress

Learning Objectives

At the end of this unit, you will be able to comprehend:

➢ about the sub-discipline of anthropology of tourism;

➢ the anthropological perspectives on tourism; and

➢ the changing nature of tourism and emerging trends in today's globalised world.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism has a long history and is widespread in all the cultures and is an important social element in the lives of contemporary people. It is one of the major industries of the world and both the developed and developing countries have recognised its significance. The concept of tourism includes the movement of people to destinations outside their normal place of residence and work, the activities they undertake during their stay in those destinations and the facilities created and services provided to cater to their needs. In a way the study on tourism focusses not only on the traveller and his/her expectations but also on the destination (i.e., the physical environment) and the host community and the impacts it has on the economic, environmental and social well-being of the host community. The increasing number of influential studies devoted to trying to understand the cultural processes associated with tourism have provided insights for comprehending the complex nature of tourism.

Anthropological interest in tourism which gained momentum only after 1970's, is now a well-established sub discipline with positive signs of future development and growth. Anthropologists have been interested in everything that concerns humankind and the study of tourism emerged from an anthropological concern with culture contact and culture change. Anthropologists began to see the tourist like the conqueror, the governor, or missionary, "as the 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). There are numerous accounts of tourist behaviour and a variety of theories to help us understand the motivations of tourists and social and cultural complexity in touristic encounters. There also has been a shift from an overwhelmingly negative assessments of tourism to a more balanced view of the subject.

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Anthropologists do not hesitate to accept their late arrival on the tourism scene and now have managed to contribute significantly to this branch of study. Social anthropologists using their distinct methodology, ethnographic fieldwork have been in a considerably strong position to highlight a number of interconnected themes. The studies on how tourism has contributed to changes in societies over time, its impact on the economy, environment and social fabric of the host community and the practical implications for host government that have been made. Both the good and bad impacts of tourism have been highlighted by various scholars. Globalisation and a changed world in terms of intense connectivity has impacted tourism, changing its character from the time when journey would take months and years, and travellers had little communication with home and community. Anthropologists have much to contribute to the changing nature of tourism as the world transforms in complex ways.

10.2 GLOBALISATION CONTEMPORARY TOURISM AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Discussions on contemporary tourism in today's globalised world focusses both on the local and global concerns, by recognising the interconnectedness of economic, environmental and social domains. Globalisation, is often described as a process by which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe (Giddens 1990). The Nineties period that saw increased global connectedness has been adequately summed by Giddens (1990: 64) as "the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa".

Globalisation came to be understood as a process having ramifications on every aspects of our lives be it economic, social or cultural. Robertson (1992: 166) called it 'compression of the world' as there is increased cross border exchange of people, goods, assets, ideas and cultures. Internet and increased communication resulted in remarkable 'time-space compression' as people across the globe have been brought closer through various technology assisted developments.

Burns and Holden (1995: 75) refer to globalisation as 'the ways in which at one level (i.e., at the level of trade and consumption) economic and political relations between nations are increasingly framed by a sort of 'cultural convergence' where a set of values emerges across a range of countries with a tendency towards 'cultural homogeneity'. Anthropologists like Michael Kearney (1995) and George Marcus (1995) were some of the first anthropologists to recognise the impact globalism and transnationalism have had on issues such as personal/community identity, de-territorialisation and migration. Marcus has further argued that globalisation is changing not only the face of local communities but also of the discipline of anthropology. Other anthropologists and sociologists have theorised the socio-cultural aspects of globalisation like Appadurai (1996), Bauman (1998), Eriksen (2003), Robertson (1992), Inda and Rosaldo (2002). They have noticed that the situation of growing global interconnectedness and interdependency

has opened up the cross-cultural production of local meanings, self-images, representations and modes of life typical of various groups and individuals (Appadurai 1996) thereby putting the notions of the 'local' to the forefront of scholarly analyses. The 'local' here not only refers to a particular space but also to the people inhabiting that space, who have a particular way of life and a particular worldview. This notion of 'local' gets more pronounced in the tourism studies.

Globalisation has opened the sites and destinations which were once remote to becoming tourist destinations. In this shrinking world people have been brought closer and as Cairncross (1997) puts it that there is 'death of distance', there is rapid flow of people/travellers physically moving from place to place across national borders. All the societies which were earlier remote destinations have started to see the flow of tourists. Earlier the terms used for people who travelled to distant places was 'explorer' and 'adventurer'; there were implications of danger and uncertainty, but in a world where travel and communication has been highly developed technologically, travel to even very remote places have become a part of routine tourism, something that can be undertaken by any one. Since travel and going to distant places has lost its glamour as well adventure, it has become a task for tourist agencies to recreate the illusions of adventure. The anthropologists are involved in the study of the symbolic aspects of travel, about motivations as well as the interface of tourism with the political economy of the world.

Tourism also exposes notions of identity, belongingness and personhood. For example, persons travelling to say, Myanmar, in British India, from any part of India, say Calcutta, would not consider themselves as tourists; as they were travelling within their own country. People also travelled when they had to, for work, trade or administration. Travelling for pleasure is a phenomenon of a global world with safe travel possibilities, reduced time and connectivity. At the same time, in the post-World War II world, there has been fragmentation and reformulation of identities; creation of new nations and different sense of belongingness.

In the context of tourism, there has been phenomenal increase in the growth of the tourism industry and newer places are being continually drawn into the tourism process. Not just capital and commodities are being transferred across borders but tourists too. As the biggest growth industry, employer and source of revenue around the world, many Third world countries soon realised that by boosting their tourism potential they can progress and earn foreign exchange. Tourism is also deeply influenced by the political status of the country and also the relationship of one's own country to the country of travel. Tourism decision making is an aspect that anthropologists can study within the ambit of global power fields. People do not make decision to travel to particular places based on only one criteria, there are multiple aspects including, economic, political and cultural ones. Only through in-depth data collection methods, used by anthropologists, a nuanced and realistic insight can be gained into the phenomenon of tourism. Many countries are out of bounds if they do not encourage the visit of people from another country. Whether or not one is even allowed into a country depends on the position in global power hierarchy of that country, citizens of the USA for example do not need visa for many countries. The political relations between one's country and the other is also important. Financial constraints are also important criteria for

tourism. This is the reason that Third World countries are preferred destinations for tourism as everything appears cheaper there for visitors from First World countries.

Technology and Tourism

Technology is an integral aspect of culture and technological changes are a significant aspect of culture change. Anthropologists have been engaged in the study of culture and technological changes for a very long time. Technological changes are not simply mechanical changes but result in considerable transformation of social relations and patterns of behaviour of social persons. With the advent of internet technology, likewise much has changed in societies around the world. With increasing urbanisation, human relations had been atomized. People have also become more individualistic though not in all cultures. Earlier most lives were embedded within families and people spend most of their lives taking care of household duties. With overall transformation of technologies and with greater urbanisation, people are now liberated from intensive involvement with community and family. In the cities people are enculturated into a life style that encourages individual decision making and movements. A family of husband, wife and children can take an independent decision to take a family holiday, without having to take permission from family elders. In some cultures, people travel in huge family groups as well. On the other hand, single persons can also travel individually. Travel agents have to be perceptive to all kinds of demands for travel. They have different ways of dealing with family groups, larger family groups, individuals and also group travels where the members are not related. Under the present conditions of globalisation, it is quite possible that in a group of unrelated travellers, people may be of different nationalities and cultures.

The internet and media connectivity has not only connected people, it has brought the world to one's homes. The media has increased awareness about different parts of the world. There is also a snowballing effect of tourist visits, as certain sites begin to gain in popularity, thereby increasing tourist foot falls exponentially, as more people going means that informal networks are used to spread the word around, and more and more people gain interest in visiting a particular place.

International tourism and hospitality enterprises take advantage of multiple incentives for people go for tours to expand their operations globally. Use of Internet Technology has further enabled the tourism industry to extend its span. This face of the new tourism aided by Internet Technology has two main dimensions:

1. *The more informed new tourist and consumer*-The proliferation of information technology has made potential tourists more informed, who not only require value for money but also value for time**.** The internet tools enable consumers to search online for information about the destination to be visited and also make reservations. The internet allows the consumer to access reliable and accurate information and make reservations in fraction of time. The service quality can also be ensured through IT as per the demand of the consumer thereby enabling higher tourist satisfaction. It also ensures a more customised tourism product. The new consumers are more culturally and environmentally aware and they often like greater involvement with the local society.

2. *Increased competition and changes in tourism promotion-*On the supplier front the opportunity to communicate with the target population i.e.,

the tourist, enables the travel agencies and other intermediary organisations to have direct relationship with the consumer. There is quick identification of consumer needs and in no time, a comprehensive, personalised and up-to-date information is made available.

The internet has revolutionised flexibility in both consumer choice and service delivery process. Thus, internet empowered the new type of tourist to become knowledgeable and seek value for money and time. Offering tailormade tourism products not only ensures customer satisfaction but also ensures that tourist organisations will attract tourist in future as well. The tourist organisations also involve themselves in extensive market research to look into the demands and concerns of the potential tourist. Developing relationship marketing allows tourism organisations to establish close partnership with the consumers and maintain consumer retention and loyalty. Schmalleger and Carson (2008) have highlighted how the internet is significant in tourism within promotion, production distribution, communication, management and research. The internet has made a networked economy where tourism suppliers can operate on a global scale and there is less reliance on traditional intermediaries like travel agencies thereby making tourism product more individual specific and flexible.

It is thus seen that there is an omnivorous producing and consuming of places around the globe and core components of contemporary global culture now include a hotel buffet, the pool, the cocktail, the beach, the airport lounge and the bronzed tan (Urry and Larsen 2011: 24). This growth of 'tourism reflexivity' which enables a place to monitor, evaluate and develop its tourism potential consequently leads to development of tourist infrastructures at the unlikeliest places like Alaska, Antarctica, Nazi occupation sites, Mongolia etc.

Another feature of contemporary tourism is that many tourists are coming from the Asian region which were earlier the regions consumed by the western travellers. The rising income of an Asian middle class has created a strong desire to visit those places in the West that appear to define global culture. There is an increase in the number of middle- class pursuing education, jobs or holidays in foreign countries. Following Bourdieu's *Distinctions* (1984), Urry and Larsen in their book *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011*)* have discussed how social classes constantly struggle and seek to distinguish themselves from others (class factions above and below) by way of education, occupation, commodities they own and thus construct a lifestyle different from others. The incorporation of tourism as one of the characters of distinction, of cultural superiority is a consistent incentive for tourism. In Northern India, like in Punjab, being 'foreign visited' is taken as an additional qualification for a bride to be. People count the number of places they have visited as a kind of value addition to their social status and cultural achievement. The commodities they own may be objects such as car, furniture and also experiences such as holidays. The consumption of holidays is one feature that has assumed a significant role in this class and cultural differentiation. It can be said that contemporary tourism had gained a symbolic value. Ian Munt and Martin Mowforth (2016:125) in their book *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World* have shown how different social classes consume tourism which is a under researched area.

Additionally, another important strand that needs attention in the tourism studies in the globalised world of today, is the issue of **sustainability and sustainable development**. Since the statements of the Brundtland Commission on Environment

and Development 1987, sustainable development has been defined as development that meets the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. It has been accepted as an approach that opines the coexistence of economic well-being along with environmental quality.

When we talk of sustainable tourism, it suggests that tourism must be sustained, but this is a very narrow perspective. Therefore, it is proposed that tourism must contribute towards sustainable development. As per sustainable development, the idea is that tourism should be inserted into the existing economy rather displace the economy i.e. tourism should help to diversify the economy rather replace one sector by the other. Despite of considerable discussion on sustainable development and tourism planning it is seen that there is substantial gap between theory and practice.

Tourism planning and management

Most tourism plans set goals for increasing the number of visitors or on attracting tourists with the belief that the local community would benefit if there is increase in the number of tourists. In developing countries like India, there is a continued emphasis on the Master Plans that set the direction for development. These plans are often made by external consultants and attract external investments on the pretext of potential of the tourism industry of a particular area.

The benefit-cost analysis that is often employed in the tourism planning projects which decides the implications of the tourism project in a particular area should ideally combine economic, socio-cultural and environmental benefits and also assess the sustainability. For instance, economic benefits can be assessed quantitatively but the environmental impacts or social concerns need a qualitative assessment. The evaluation of the project must encapsulate the growing concern for the environment and natural resources. As more and more developing/ Third world countries are drawn in the sphere of tourism there is growing concern on the global environment. The debates over environment, development and sustainability of tourism have gained importance. The steps should be taken and the planning of tourism development should be done in ways so that it minimizes the negative impacts and simultaneously accentuates the positive impacts. Sustainable development will not occur unless certain criteria are taken care of i.e. equity and efficiency, ecological and cultural integrity and continuity of traditional institutions. Briefly we can say that, sustainable tourism and its development and planning should take care of following points:

1. *Ecological integrity*- the touristic activities should be compatible with the environmental capabilities of the area and steps should be taken to maintain the life support systems like land, water, air and vegetation.

2. *Cultural integrity*- tourism must be used to develop, enhance and protect culture as expressed in religion, arts and institutions through a policy of cultural tourism.

3. *Community*- opportunities to be provided to the local community to participate in tourism directly or indirectly in tourist businesses as well as supporting the craft industry and agricultural activities.

4. *Balance* – maintaining balance and harmony between economy and environment, between sectors such as agriculture and tourism. A careful local planning of tourist areas should be done in line with their resource base.

5. *Equity and enhancing the quality of life-* The benefits of the tourism should reach the local society and enhance the quality of life.

Check Your Progress 1

1. Give the meaning of the term 'local' as discussed in the study of tourism.

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2. Outline the face of contemporary tourism in today's globalised world.

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3. State how the development of information technology affected the tourism industry?

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4. Briefly state the aspects that sustainable tourism and its development and planning should take into account.

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10.3 NEW DIRECTIONS IN ANTHROPOLOGY OF TOURISM

The above discussion on changing nature of tourism in today's globalised world illustrates that tourism demands have evolved rapidly since the 1990's and is also changing the whole range of factors influencing tourism industry in a phenomenal way. Tourism has grown enormously in the last half century and has become the world's largest industry. The dynamic and multidimensional character of this industry and the globalisation experience when taken together demand a new analysis.

It is seen that the effects of tourism are complex and contradictory. Desirability of tourism as a method to achieve economic development especially in developing countries has raised many queries which resulted in impact assessment studies by anthropologists and social scientists. The main question asked by anthropologists was, '*Development for whom?*'. The resorts or luxury hotels or golf courses that are built, '*how would they benefit the indigenous/ local population?*'. Another question that is raised is,' *how do local communities view tourism industry?*'. These discussions brought major shifts and the issues of local participation, ecological sustainability, cultural integrity and environmental education were brought to the forefront.

Increasingly anthropologists have moved from the academic side to a more applied side and are bringing out a more nuanced view of tourism, in which it is seen as a strategy that has both positive and negative consequences. The new approach also demonstrates the ways in which anthropologists with their theoretical knowledge and field experience can contribute in neutralising the negative effects of tourism development projects without compromising on the potential of the industry. Various perspectives of the local community members, tourists, travel agents and community planners have been brought out by the applied anthropologists. These new perspectives not only provide a fresh approach but also give momentum to tourism studies and sustainable tourism practices.

Applied anthropologists strongly believe that no applied project can succeed without the participation of the local community. By allowing the local residents to have an important role, anthropologist's talk of specificities i.e., customised assessments and analysis of local areas. They also help the planners in identifying the specific histories, political and social elements of the local population and are helping in directing the tourism planning and development initiatives towards cultural conservation. Applied anthropologists are acting as consultants to the government agencies and have initiated new forms of alternative tourism where the ecological and cultural integrity is not compromised and economic benefits also flow into the community.

Generally defined, alternative tourism includes 'forms of tourism that are consistent with natural, social and community values and which allow both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences' (Eadington and Smith 1992: 3). This new form of tourism has gained the attention of researchers who are concerned with the agenda of linking conservation and development.

Alternative Tourism and Future possibilities

The new terminology like 'Green Tourism', 'Cottage Tourism', 'Culture Tourism', 'Ecotourism' 'Sustainable Tourism' etc have been used in Journals, tourist brochures and advertisements to appeal to the new informed consumer. The alternate forms of tourism were encouraged and it was claimed that these alternate forms were an answer to the problems that were created as a result of unsustainable activities that occurred as a result of conventional mass tourism. The impact studies have shown that though these alternate forms of tourism are more of a community-based tourism and protects the natural sites and cultural traditions of the host population, we still lack enough anthropological studies on it. Alternative forms of tourism is being encouraged that are consistent with the natural, social and community values which allows both hosts and guests to enjoy an appositive experience. The *Journals of Ecotourism* and the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* have begun to focus on the possibilities of alternative tourism. For instance, Ecotourism that has gained wide attention today is seen as a form of tourism which is inspired by the natural history of an area including its indigenous cultures. Ecotourist's appreciation for the natural and cultural resources of an area not only contributes towards revenue to local conservation efforts but also provides economic opportunities to local residents. This means that the applied research done by anthropologists has become critical to the planning and implementation of tourism projects.

Environmental specialists and conservationists (like Honey 1999, Lindberg 1991, Whelan 1991) are optimistic that ecotourism may help protect nature,

conserve culture while meeting the economic needs of the local residents. The enhanced local participation and local ownership of touristic infrastructure has assumed importance and local communities are partnering with government agencies, non-government organisations and private tour companies to plan tourism strategies and develop new tourist attractions. The increased local participation in tourism should be analysed by anthropologists in future.

Anthropologists are proficient in this role and can make tourist development a community-based project. They can create research frameworks, broadly outline, within which the policy makers and development specialist can work. Based on community's perspective and evaluation, the role of applied anthropologists is to place the community's concern on the forefront. Once the community's position is established the planning and policies can be put in place for a more sustainable tourism. The continued guidance from anthropologists who can act as mediators should be sought to put local skills and energies to generate creative groups aimed at collective businesses.

Check Your Progress 2

5. List some of the terminologies that are used in describing tourism today.

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6. What are the factors that can help in developing sustainable tourism practices?

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7. Explain the changing nature of Tourism and how applied anthropologists can contribute towards this.

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10.4 SUMMARY

In this unit we have tried to look into the avenues that tourism studies are now taking into its fold. The are many under searched areas that need the attention of anthropologists in terms of tourism and development. We have seen that many new terminologies are coming up, so as to add the present day considerations that are important to sustain and develop tourism as a long term project.

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10.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. See section 10.2

2. See section 10.2

3. See section 10.2

4. See section 10.2

5. See section 10.3

6. See section 10.3

7. See section 10.3

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