CASE STUDY ON
THE EFFECTS OF TOURISM
ON CULTURE AND
THE ENVIRONMENT

INDIA
Jaisalmer, Khajuraho and Goa

Prepared by
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PREFACE

The proclamation of the period 1988-1977 the "World Decade for Cultural Development" by the United Nations General Assembly in its forty first session vide Resolution 41/187 ushered in a new era of sustained activities in the field of culture both at national as well as international level. The General Assembly approved the main objectives of the Decade and assigned the United Nation's Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) the role of lead agency for the Decade. In Asia and the Pacific region UNESCO has launched, supported and encouraged a number of projects within the framework of the Decade.

Over the past decade Asia has witnessed tremendous social, cultural, political and technological changes. The rapid growth of tourism on large scale in some countries in the region has been a significant agent of these, not all very welcome, changes. Like in most developing countries of the world, tourism in many Asian countries is also conceived as a powerful means of attracting the coveted foreign exchange and an easy means of boosting the national economy. It brings investment, creates jobs, and promotes sales of crafts and local artifacts, etc. Accordingly the cultural heritage sites, performing arts, crafts and natural resources have all been exploited in attracting the tourists. This approach, however, reduces the cultural heritage and the environmental assets to an economic commodity minimizing or sometime completely ignoring their socio-cultural values.

Moreover converging of a large number of tourists of different background on a historic monument or site and location of tourists facilities on the cultural heritage sites have often resulted not only in altering of the original features but also in all kind of pollution damaging or even destroying the fabric of the monuments and works of art. The zeal of collecting mementoes, particularly from the archaeological sites, has also led to
vandalism of many sites. Tourism, viewed from another perspective, is also a factor of acculturation which affects attitudes, alters popular beliefs, changes mentalities and spreads new concepts relating to work, money, and human relationship. Sometimes it also destroys the ties that bind people to their faith, religion and aesthetics. In the wake of accumulation of restaurants, bars, discos and other entertainments come disturbing public behaviour, drunkenness, vandalism, crime, indecency, etc. The youth in many cases emulate the visitors behaviour and social conflicts brew. On the other hand tourism, by bringing people of different cultures together, provides a direct contact between them and thus serves as a powerful means of diffusion of world cultures. It provides an opportunity of friendly and peaceful dialogue leading to better understanding between people and nations. It can build bridges and create friendship between nations leading to establishing of peace -- the penultimate goal of the United Nations.

Sporadic studies on various aspects of tourism have been carried out previously but there are serious gaps in existing knowledge on tourism in Asia. There is a need to review these studies and evaluate their impact. Aware of the great potential of tourism and conscious of its pitfalls Indonesia and Thailand jointly formulated a project, in 1992, entitled "Culture and Tourism in Asia". UNESCO has sponsored this project as a project of the World Decade for Cultural Development. The main objectives of the project are, to assess in participating countries, present state of tourism; and to review its development and study the impact of tourism on culture and the environment. The project is expected to result in formulation of practicable guidelines, which will promote sustainable tourism: a tourism that encourages understanding of and respect for host culture and natural environment of the country concerned. Modalities of action under the project include, amongst others, undertaking of a case study in a selected community in each participating country in the project. In all nine countries including Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand were selected for undertaking the case studies. Later Philippines withdrew. Each case study was undertaken on a research design
developed by experts on culture and tourism in a meeting held in Cipanas, West Java, Indonesia from 22 to 24 July 1992.

The present volume represents the case study conducted in India. The Government of India entrusted the case study to the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), New Delhi. The author of the case study, Mr. A.G. Krishna Menon and the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage deserve to be congratulated for their sincere efforts to collect, review and analyze the data and reach conclusions presented in Chapter VII. The views and opinion expressed in the case study represent the views and opinion of the author and not of UNESCO. The recommendations in Chapter IX may be found useful and utilized by the interested agencies. It is our sincere hope that the case study will encourage further research on the impacts of tourism on culture and the environment.

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Bangkok
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I. INTRODUCTION

India is environmentally and culturally so diverse that it is not feasible to focus on a single destination or tourist experience to understand the effects of tourism on culture. It was therefore, decided that this study should look at least three different tourist sites, which together could put across the nature and dimensions of the issues being examined.

The three case studies selected were: Jaisalmer, an isolated, medieval town in the desert in the western State of Rajasthan; Khajuraho, a World Heritage Site in the Central Indian State of Madhya Pradesh; and Goa, fast becoming an international ‘sun, sand and sea’ mass tourism destination on India’s west coast. Unlike other more popular destinations like Agra or Jaipur, which along with Delhi form the ‘Golden Triangle’ of Indian tourism, it was felt that in each of the sites selected for study, the effects of tourism on culture could be more easily distinguished from other equally powerful agents of change which are simultaneously transforming those societies.

For the record it must be stated that this study was conducted by an individual researcher actively involved in the field of architectural/urban conservation on behalf of the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, New Delhi (INTACH). It was conducted between January and May 1993, and used participant observation and in-depth interviews as main methods of research, backed by extensive references to numerous multi-disciplinary studies and reports, some prepared by INTACH, and others by Government and Non-Government Organizations.


In a developing country like India, the importance of tourism is primarily seen from the economic angle: earning much needed foreign exchange and providing employment. It is widely perceived by Government policy makers to be a ‘soft’ development option, and as a ‘smokeless industry’
TOURIST MAP OF INDIA

Case Study I

Case Study II

Case Study III

Note: International boundaries are only stylized and not to be taken as authentic.
it is believed to be the least harmful to the environment and society at large. Not surprisingly, the recent National Action Plan for Tourism prepared by the Government of India, Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism, in May 1992, is entirely based on this point of view, and states that the objectives of the new Actions Plan for Tourism are:

1. **Socio-economic development of areas**

   Tourism conferred considerable socio-economic benefits to the community thereby uplifting the quality of life. It can further foster development even in areas where other economic activities would be difficult to sustain.

2. **Increasing employment opportunities**

   Tourism industry generates employment directly and indirectly, for almost 13-14 million people. Employment opportunities should be at least double of the present level before the turn of the century.

3. **Developing domestic tourism especially for the budget category**

   Domestic tourists form the bulk of world tourist traffic. In India also, facilities for domestic tourists will be improved and expanded particularly the budget category so as to ensure an affordable holiday for them.

4. **Preservation of national heritage and environment**

   Tourism would be developed in a manner that our cultural expression and heritage are presented in all its manifestations including support to arts and crafts. Preservation and enrichment of environment should also form an integral part of tourism development.
5. Development of international tourism and optimization of foreign exchange earnings.

International tourism contributes substantially to foreign exchange earnings and keeping in view the country's requirements, tourism will be so developed that foreign exchange earnings increase from Rs. 2440 crores to Rs. 10,000 crores by the end of the century (US $813 to 3,333 million @ Rs.30 per US $).

6. Diversification of the tourism product

While retaining the traditional image of cultural tourism that India enjoys, diversification of the tourism product would continue, particularly the field of leisure, adventure, convention and incentive tourism, thereby responding to the changing consumer needs.

7. Increase in India's share in world tourism

Presently the foreign tourist arrivals in India constitute only about 0.4 per cent of the total foreign tourists movement all over the world. One of the objectives of the action plan would be to increase India's share to 1 per cent within the next five years.

These concepts and policies display an exclusive concern with growth in the number of tourists and consequently, of tourist revenue. There is mention of 'preservation and enrichment of environment', and that this should form an 'integral part of tourism development'. However, such integration is seldom seen in practice, and there is sufficient evidence emerging from tourism studies around the world, especially those concerning tourism in developing societies, that in future, this obsession with economic growth based on the development of tourism will compromise the social, cultural and even economic well-being of the host community, and will lead to great conflicts of interest between, on the one hand, the tourists, tourist agencies, traffic industries and ancillary services, to say nothing of governments anxious to augment their reserves of foreign currencies, and
all those who care about preserving (the object of tourism) on the other’ (Mishan 1969:140).

Such conflicts of interest are already apparent in Goa where a strong opposition to luxury tourism has begun to take root amongst the local people and concerned NGOs who oppose the Government’s policy to allocate land for luxury tourist resorts. The complex and problematic relationship which has resulted between those who promote or support tourism, including the hapless tourist, and those who do not, which include largely the indigenous populations who are affected by the tourism activity, precludes rational dialogue and takes it into the realm of political discourse. As Krippendorf asserts, "Whether we like it or not: modern tourism has colonialist characteristics – everywhere and without exception" (Krippendorf 1987: 56). Consequently, there has been much discussions in seminars and workshops on tourism, about the very desirability of tourism itself, especially luxury tourism, and its efficacy in the strategy for economic development in developing societies. Such pessimism at the academic level contrasts starkly with the unbounded enthusiasm and optimism of policy makers and tourism promoters who would only like to see unfettered development in this sector of the economy. This optimism is evident in the NAPT document.

A. Theoretical Framework

What is becoming clearer in the face of such dichotomous perceptions on the efficacy of tourism, is that the correlation between tourism activity and social change is very much stronger and complex than what policy makers wish to admit in their optimistic planning documents, and contrary to expectations they are often detrimental to the overall well-being of local people as well. Nevertheless, what opponents of the tourism policy must also recognize is that, in a poor country like India, there is desperate need for quick economic development in whatever manner possible, and under the circumstance, tourism appears to be a viable solution in the face of tremendous financial constraints: it is supposed to bring in quick and substantial returns, especially in the form of foreign exchange, for much less investment. This strategy also dovetails with a strong desire amongst the
affluent in any society for visiting exotic locales such as that exist in abundance in India. If, as it is claimed, international tourism also facilitates the social intercourse between societies leading to the development of better understanding and good will among nations, tourism becomes a very attractive proposition to policy makers (Bond and Ladman 1980: 231-240).

In pragmatic terms the policy maker is often confronted with the option of choosing between the devil and the deep blue sea: while tourism may not be a quick fix economic panacea as its promoters claim, and may create social problems in its wake, it is also not possible to stem the tide of world-wide tourism that is taking place in open societies, or dismiss its obviously attractive qualities as a strategy for development. Any decision, either for tourism development, or against it, is not without consequences, because iron curtains have been pulled down where tourism was restrained, and, where permitted without restraint, many regions have become merely the playgrounds of the rich. It would be quixotic for any society to try and isolate itself from the forces of these events since tourism clearly has global dimensions. However, it may be possible to mitigate its ramifications if tourism is viewed in a broader perspective of socio-economic development and transformation.

Krippendorf offers a useful framework for evaluating the phenomenon of tourism in which it is viewed as the resultant of four forces that are acting simultaneously and connected by a complex network of interactions (Krippendorf 1987:3-5). These forces are: society with its values (the socio-cultural sub-system); the economy and its structure (the economic sub-system); the environment and its resources (the ecological sub-system); and the State and its policies (the political sub-system). When these forces are seen in isolation, the tourism debate is reduced to a contentious ideological argument, but taken together, these sub-systems offer a better understanding of the imperatives of tourism, and form the stage on which a rational exchange of ideas and experiences can take place.

Krippendorf describes these sub-systems in broad strokes. He characterises the socio-cultural sub-system in contemporary society by the
fact that the values of 'being' have been superseded by those of 'having': possession, prosperity, wealth, consumption and egoism have taken precedence over community, tolerance, moderation, sensibility, modesty and honesty. He does not condone the situation, but recognizes that it has a strong influence on the development of tourism, and determines its characteristics more than individuals or policy makers would like to concede. In the light of this distinction in the realm of societal values, the debate between the pro- and anti-tourism lobbies in India can be better understood in terms of the position the protagonists have taken on this issue (Holden 1984:15-17).

In the economic sub-system he sees the economy characterised by the growing control of business in the hands of a few; by an increase, that is, in the number of huge consortium with more and more economic power at the cost of independent small- and medium-sized business (Wilber and Jameson 1992). With the Indian Government having taken a firm resolve to align its future economic policies along global trends towards a market economy, the bias in favour of big business/luxury tourism appears to be an inevitable consequence. The NAPT is only reflecting this reality when it states: 'The State has made substantial contribution in the service sector which is best left to private initiative and investment. The policy now would be to encourage private investment, both domestic and foreign, for accelerated growth' (NAPT 1992: 7).

The ecological perspective, Krippendorf points out, has been defined by policies in which the environment is being treated and used as though resources were inexhaustible. Science and technology have so far provided new means of stretching the limits of the ecosystem, and while those who favour a substantial growth in tourism feel that this state of affairs can continue much further, others clearly disagree (Brundtland 1987).

Finally, in the political sub-system, says Krippendorf, we may note that as a modernising, industrializing nation, India is confronted with a situation in which the role of the bureaucracy and the scope of State interests and expenditures - and consequently the tendency to greater centrism in
government - is necessarily increasing. This is creating obvious friction within the various levels of Government, as also between the Government and the individual (Habermas 1975). This alienation is reflected in the polemics of the tourism debate.

While the framework described by Krippendorf is useful to conduct a rational debate, at a practical level this is difficult, and in the three case studies selected for this project, we shall see that these forces operate at different levels of dominance. In fact, these elements were seldom found to be complementary, and the various parts were to a certain extent mutually exclusive and often existed in opposition to each other. This leads to greater ambiguities that can only be unravelled at greater length, which was beyond the scope of this study. However, it has made for useful insights for which the study is richer.

The study has therefore, attempted to understand these forces by focusing on the three major agents of change that are frequently cited in tourism literature (Chopra 1991: 35).

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<th>Forces of Change</th>
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<td>A. Physical presence of tourists</td>
<td>Language, gastronomy, dress, leisure utilization, orientation to self, work and life; attitudinal changes towards traditional art forms, and participation in traditional ceremonial festivals and dance forms.</td>
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<td>B. Changes introduced by new economic activities</td>
<td>Changes in the pace and rhythm of life; altered forms of social and familial interaction.</td>
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<td>C. Changes in the physical environment</td>
<td>Value changes resulting from modern urbanization; altered forms of social interaction.</td>
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While each of the sites selected has been studied in this light, it must be mentioned that each site has unique characteristics, and as such none is an idealized model which could be explained by a common theoretical framework. Besides, India embarked on a process of structured change since the early 50's and each site has experienced change to varying degrees on this account, quite apart from the recent impact of tourism. To this extent, therefore, the study must be seen as an adumbrated view of events in the making.

B. The Case Studies

Jaisalmer was, until recently, an isolated desert town. This fortified town is dominated by a 15th century ‘golden’ citadel - so called because it is made with the yellowish coloured local sandstone. The town contains exquisite examples of a unique vernacular architectural style and ensembles of buildings of great aesthetic quality and unsurpassed craftsmanship. The town possesses a palpable medieval aura that has begun to catch the attention of the outside world and attract an increasing number of tourists to this isolated destination. The NAPT identifies Jaisalmer and the neighbouring region for ‘intensive development’ (NAPT 1992: 18). However, there has been no attempt so far to understand the impact of tourism on the culture of Jaisalmer, except for an INTACH study on the tourism carrying capacity of Jaisalmer (INTACH 1987). This report also contained a report on the physical state of the architectural heritage by Prof. K.B. Jain, who has been diligently monitoring its deterioration for the last couple of decades (INTACH 1987:32-61). In spite of this study, the NAPT and the State Tourism Department seek to substantially increase the level of tourism in Jaisalmer, without simultaneously focusing their attention on the side effects highlighted in the study: as a living archaeological and ethnographic museum, one of several such tourism destinations in the country, what is happening to Jaisalmer could well be seen as a common paradigm for other destinations in India. In addition, of course, the desert environment of this area is ecologically very fragile, and this will constitute an added dimension to the examination of Jaisalmer.
Khajuraho, the second case study, is, on the other hand, a small and quite ordinary, agricultural village, adjacent to an extraordinary group of 10th-11th century monuments which are on the World Heritage List. These historic monuments are superb examples of classical medieval Indian architecture and would merit wider exposure under any circumstance, but the development of tourism in Khajuraho is becoming a problematic issue because it focuses on the few erotic sculptures which adorn these temples. Besides, considering the low level of development at Khajuraho and its vicinity, one could even argue that a substantial increase in tourism at Khajuraho may not have a deleterious effect on the physical environment. Thus, this site is being selected for study not so much for the problem tourism poses to the archaeological or environmental characteristics of this destination, but because of the singular nature of tourist activity: the tourist attention is primarily directed to the erotic sculptures that decorate them.

The salacious quality of the iconography at Khajuraho is teasingly alluded to even in the Government's own marketing strategy, creating the strange situation of an otherwise puritanical Government exploiting what could be considered a pornographic subject for economic gain which makes for interesting insights into the gender issues that lies implicit in the promotion of tourism in general. The whole question of 'sexuality in the field of vision' (Rose 1986) is gaining prominence amongst researchers, and while there are other issues at Khajuraho few stand out so markedly. Again, there are lessons in this case study for other parts of the country where similar problems exist, especially at Konarak, in the eastern State of Orissa.

The case study of Goa addresses a third set of problems encountered in Indian tourism. The 'sun, sand and sea' variety of mass tourism being promoted in Goa raises pertinent questions on who benefits and at what cost. While this form of tourism is seen as the goose that lays the golden egg at the national level, in Goa itself the promotion of luxury tourism has generated inflation and worse, creating enormous antipathy amongst the local people, exploding at times into xenophobic frenzy. The situation at Goa has produced some of the most polemic studies on tourism in India. The tourism policy being pursued appears oblivious to these dangerous
undercurrents, because the NAPT proposes to promote many more such leisure tourism destinations along India's long coastline to respond 'to the changing consumer needs': on this count therefore, Goa is an important case study. Unlike the other two case studies, here for instance, all four forces described by Krippendorf in his analytical framework become manifest.

Together, the three case studies address the broad range of issues that define the effects of tourism on culture and environment in India. It must be clarified at this juncture that considering the diversity of cultural and environmental patterns existing in the country, the three case studies only explicate broad trends and not the nuances which in fact, distinguish the Indian experience. Perhaps it may be necessary to undertake similar sub-regional studies in future in order to understand the complex mosaic of patterns which characterize the tourism experience in the Indian context.

C. Tourism Development in India

At this stage, it is necessary to briefly describe the development of tourism management in India, since this will provide the background to understand the individual case studies.

The first conscious and organized efforts to promote tourism in India were made in 1945 when a committee was set up by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Sir John Sargent, the then Educational Adviser to the Government of India. The major terms of reference of the Committee were, among others:

1. Examine the scope for increasing the existing tourist traffic, both from within the country and from overseas;

2. To suggest ways and means of creating, both in India and overseas, the desire for touring, including visits to holiday resorts, good climate stations, scenic places, places of pilgrimage, of historical, and of archaeological interest in India;
3. To suggest what facilities should be provided at places to be developed and advertised for 1) Indian visitors, and 2) foreign visitors ... etc.

The Committee's interim report submitted in October 1946, recognized the potential to substantially augment both direct and indirect revenues through tourism and therefore identified the need for a separate organization to take initiative in such matters. Amongst the other major recommendations were the need for a 'chain of first class hotels of international standard for the convenience and comfort of foreign tourists', and starting publicity bureaux in 'important' foreign countries (Bhatia 1982: 288-298).

Clearly the seeds of the present two-tier tourism policy were laid by the Sargent Committee in 1946, apparent in its emphasis on increasing foreign exchange earnings and the setting up of separate 'first class hotels of international standards'. The policy also identified the importance of 'cultural tourism', and this has been the main plank of the post-independence tourism policy until the recent NAPT, 1992, when we see a purposeful shifting emphasis towards 'recreation and adventure' tourism. It must be pointed out, however, that one of the characteristics of the Indian bureaucracy is its penchant for precedence and continuity: while NAPT, 1992 attempts to shift priorities, each succeeding policy statement has in fact, developed from earlier ones, all the way back to the Sergent Committee Report.

After independence, the Government set up the Tourist Traffic Branch in the Ministry of Transport in 1949 as a follow-up on the Sargent Committee recommendation. In 1958 a separate Department of Tourism in the Ministry of Transport and Communication was set up and in 1967 a separate Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation was created with the Department of Tourism as one of the two constituent departments. Besides the influence of policy changes, the advancement of tourism in the country closely parallels the fiscal incentives provided by the Planning Commission in the successive Five-year Plans which have guided the overall economic development of the country. Beginning with a plan outlay of Rs.33.6 million
in the Second Plan, it was Rs.3,261.6 million in the Seventh Plan (Chopra 1991:8-9).

It is also important to point out that in the Indian federal system of government, the Central Ministry mainly guides, assists and co-ordinates tourism policy. The responsibility for implementation of these strategies is shared by the Centre - through autonomous agencies like the India Tourism Development Corporation, the State Governments and the private sector. However, since the control on the use of land vests with the State Government, all projects involving the Master Planning and development of land and the provision of infrastructure for tourism, needs the active co-operation of State Governments: co-operation is by no means always certain. It has therefore, often been mooted that tourism should be brought into the Concurrent list of the Constitution, so that the Central Government can play a stronger role in implementing tourism policy. But this is a delicate matter of Centre-State relationship which may not proceed much further in the near future (Planning Commission 1988:8). Briefly, one finds that in effect the development of tourism has been uneven over the country and has often reflected the initiatives of individuals who happened to be in power at a particular time in the State Governments, rather than the result of any long-term rational tourism policy, as may have been expected with the existence of a strong bureaucratic set-up.

The total number of tourist arrivals during the year 1992-93 was 1,820,239 with a seasonal peak from November to January, and a trough from April to June (Indian Express 6 May 1993:11). It was pointed by several travel agents with whom the subject was discussed, that these gross figures of ‘tourist’ arrivals were obviously incorrect, because they included double entry of tourist transiting through India to other destinations like Nepal, and also included a significant number of business travellers. Even if these inflated figures are accepted for purposes of discussions as total tourist arrivals, they constitute only about 0.4 per cent of the total foreign tourists movement all over the world and, as we have noted earlier, the Government proposes to increase this share to 1 per cent by the year 2000 (NAPT 1992:5). This is an ambitious goal and will have enormous ramifications in the tourism industry.
Thus, it is important to keep in mind that for a country like the size of India, the number of tourists is very small. Even in a place like Goa where the negative effects of tourism have been most highlighted by critics, the number of foreign tourists is only around 100,000 per year. These are insignificant numbers compared to the number of tourists who visit the island of Bali, for example.

However, what these figures really indicate in the context of this study is that, at least in certain communities in the country, the relative impact of tourism on culture - even when the numbers involved is small - is greater than what these numbers themselves would otherwise have led us to believe. It is possible that the incipient influence of tourism on the culture of the host communities - even by the relatively fewer number of tourists - is noticeable only on account of the low level of economic and social development that is generally taking place in those places. Suffice to say, however, that such influences are seldom taken into account, and it is the consideration of the low numbers alone that provokes Government policymakers towards the one obvious option: growth in this sector of the economy. This complex interrelationship between the number of tourists and their relative level of influence on the host community needs to be borne in mind in each of the case studies.
II. JAISALMER

Set in the arid plains of western Rajasthan, in the midst of the vast Thar desert, the city of Jaisalmer is a living fortress, perhaps the only one of its kind in India. There are many spectacular forts in India, particularly in Rajasthan, reflecting a martial history of which the local people are self-consciously proud. This theme is commonly exploited in the publicity material produced by the Government. These forts have tremendous tourist potential, and proposals are afoot to convert some into ‘heritage hotels’ or museums (NAPT 1992). The Jaisalmer Fort, however, is sui generis because it is also a functioning town. It has palaces, havelis (town houses of the rich), dramatic fort walls with bastions, temples, and, above all, it is vibrantly alive. To the visitor, almost every nook and corner of this richly crafted town in the midst of the desert is fascinating, because a medieval aura is still palpable in the streets, architecture and the traditional society of Jaisalmer.

The city was founded in 1156 AD as a military fort controlling the legendary east-west caravan route. It consequently prospered and a protected town grew within the fort walls. Today this town consists of two major components: the fortified upper citadel, elevated on a ridge, with more than 400 houses, groups of temples and a palace complex, and the lower town, also fortified, set on the north-eastern slopes of the ridge in the wind-shadow of the citadel. During the last 20 years however, the modern city has expanded chaotically in other directions as well, in order to meet the growing demands of its population and the needs of the growing district administration. In this respect Jaisalmer is not different from other Indian urban centres - big, medium and small - all of which are being overwhelmed by an unprecedented scale of urbanization.
TOURIST MAP OF JAISALMER
Statement showing the Monthwise Tourist Arrivals in Jaisalmer from 1988 to 1992

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<td>37391</td>
<td>399547</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Grand Total 111237 120253 139717 142625 166021

Source: Tourist Officer
Tourist Information Bureau
Government of Rajasthan
Jaisalmer.

But what is particularly unfortunate in a place like Jaisalmer, is that the inevitable urbanization is also destroying its aesthetic appeal. Today, we find that the spectacular visual quality of the town has been inexorably vitiated through insensitive planning, proliferating slums, and the razing of parts of the lower fortification. The late Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, even...
ordered the demolition of an old haveli, opposite the famous Patwon ki Haveli, in order to facilitate a better view! Within the fort walls the traditional vernacular urban texture and the individual monuments are being transformed to cater to new needs like tourist accommodation, restaurants and curio shops. They are also deteriorating because of lack of necessary maintenance. Merchants who built these magnificent havelis have moved on to greener pastures, abandoning their homes in Jaisalmer. Other historic elements too are threatened, and conservation management - except in the case of the few officially protected monuments - is totally absent. The present Collector (the chief district administrator) has initiated steps for the conservation of Jaisalmer's heritage by appointing a conservation architect on an ad hoc basis. But this enlightened initiative begs the question: why the Government of Rajasthan, in spite of possessing some of the most spectacular architectural heritage in the country, appears indifferent to the imperatives of their conservation. Thus it is not certain that after the present incumbent leaves, the conservation initiatives will continue. In fact, INTACH officials who were interviewed, said that they had been trying to introduce a systemized process of urban conservation in Rajasthan for almost a decade with little success so far: this indifference to the cultural heritage is endemic, and must be considered in addition to any damage caused by tourism, which in any case, is fairly recent.

The growth of tourism in Jaisalmer is a phenomenon that is only two decades old. It has generated some awareness amongst the local people and the district administration for the need for urban conservation. A proposal for a Conservation Master Plan has been initiated by the Collector, and the administration has begun to tackle the apparent problems of environmental and physical degradation of the historic town. At present the work is being carried out on the basis of the INTACH study on the Tourism Carrying Capacity undertaken in 1987 (INTACH 1987), but detailed studies have only recently been commissioned.

The INTACH study highlighted several problems that were beginning to show up in this ecologically fragile environment. To begin with, it identified the tourism resources of Jaisalmer as follows (INTACH 1987:107-108):
A restored city gate at Jaisalmer. While the sentiments are honourable, is the end result equally exemplary?

Jaisalmer: Construction of a new building in the traditional style. This trend has helped sustain the profession of the stone mason, and can perhaps be attributed to the awareness generated by tourism.
The common way of reaching Jaisalmer — obviously only the adventurous tourist visits this exotic destination.

Jaisalmer: The citadel on the escarpment overlooking the city below which was also fortified.
The Patwaon-Ki-Haveli in Jaisalmer can now be gazed upon by the tourist because the Haveli opposite to it—from where the photograph is taken—is now demolished on the orders of the late prime minister Indira Gandhi.

Watching the sunset at Jaisalmer from the cenotaphs
A traditional residential lane in Jaisalmer – the palpable medieval aura can still be experienced in these lanes.

The state of the neglected Havelis of the upper citadel, Jaisalmer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Heading</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Consideration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Natural factors</td>
<td>1. Scenic beauty</td>
<td>i. Geological features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Flora and fauna</td>
<td>ii. Desert landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Climate</td>
<td>i. Thorn and scrub forests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Animal life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Temperature, length of sunshine hours, atmospheric quality, comfort/discomfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Social factors</td>
<td>4. Distinctive local features</td>
<td>i. Ethnicity - people, settlements, life-style, dress and jewellery</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Folk traditions, folkdances/music/songs and musical instruments</td>
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<td></td>
<td>5. Artistic and Architectural features</td>
<td>i. Local architecture, temples and sculptures</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Religious significance</td>
<td>ii. Local handicrafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Fairs and festivals</td>
<td>i. Pilgrim centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Rituals and religious observances</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i. Fairs religious cum-cultural</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Historical Factors</td>
<td>8. Historical archaeological sites</td>
<td>ii. Festivals, e.g. the Desert Festival in February</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. Historical events</td>
<td>i. Ancient ruins</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Recreation and shopping facilities</td>
<td>10. Facilities conducive to health, rest, tranquility and education</td>
<td>ii. Buildings-forts, Palace havelis etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. Shopping opportunities</td>
<td>i. Legends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Other historical events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Infrastructure, food and shelter</td>
<td>12. Infrastructure above minimum touristic quality</td>
<td>i. Cultural shows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Desert Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iii. Fossil Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>iv. Camel Safaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i. Souveniers and gift shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ii. Handicraft shops</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was found that each of these resources was facing increasing strain on account of both tourism and urbanisation.
Regarding the natural elements in the environment of Jaisalmer, the Central Arid Zone Research Institute at Jodhpur, identified the major factors causing the deterioration of the desert (INTACH 1987:147-155):

1. Uneconomic landuse: cultivation on the sand dunes and the marginal lands which affects the adjacent fertile lands causing soil erosion;

2. The intensive and uneconomic use of canal irrigation - over-exploitation of water resources - leading to the rise of the water table, seepage problem and increased salinity;

3. Uncontrolled grazing and indiscriminate cutting of trees leading to further soil erosion, increased desertification hazards and stunting the growth of trees.

The desert is surprisingly well populated, and one comes across tiny fields of millet, shrubs with berries and of course, flocks of sheep or goats. Thus the problems were being generated by increased human activity in the desert, but now, increasingly, the Desert Safaris which have become a popular tourist activity in Jaisalmer.

Desert Safaris, by Camel or Jeep, have become a great attraction for foreign tourists who find the experience both full of adventure and exotic, a potent brew. The number of tour operators offering the service has consequently, mushroomed with inevitable repercussions on standards and professional ethics. Several fly-by-night operators have reduced these excursions into a virtually disreputable activity. The Government nominally 'recognizes' a few operators, a most perfunctory practice, and these recognized operators try and follow rudimentary guidelines. By and large, however, the situation is a free-for-all, with the tourist being literally taken for a ride and little else. The camels are all independently owned by drovers - so the hoteliers and the travel agents are just middlemen. The tourist shops for the cheapest tour, which are often offered at less than the cost of the food required for the trip, so there are many complaints when promises are made and not kept. Who is responsible for this sorry situation -- is it the agent who
makes impossible promises or the travellers who have unrealistic expectations? It was alleged that the operators of these Safaris made their profit through the sale of drugs and prostitution. The problem of drugs in this situation, is independent of tourism - though there is an obvious relationship - and is on account of the area being on the drug traffic route which passes this way from Pakistan to the West.

The length of a Safari tour varies from half-a-day trip to several days excursion. Night halts and food are arranged by the camel driver who is also the guide. Some of the tourists interviewed complained that the food was unhygienic and the bedding filthy, but accepted it as part of the authentic 'experience'. It was not difficult to speculate on the impression both the host and visitor carried of each other under the circumstance, which does not auger well for the further development of tourism in Jaisalmer. Several reports are now surfacing linking the rise in the use of drugs and the incidence of AIDS amongst the indigenous population in Jaisalmer to contacts made during the Desert Safaris (The Times of India, New Delhi 22 February 1993) and the problem is taking on serious dimensions.

Similar complaints were also voiced regarding littering, illegal hunting, and damage to the desert ecology in general. The damage to the desert ecology can be clearly witnessed at another popular tourist event: watching the sunset from the sand dunes at Sam, about 35 kilometres from Jaisalmer or the nearby cenotaphs. The timing for this event is commonly available with tour operators, and hundreds of people wend their way to selected sites to witness the beautiful sunset. The area is soon transformed into a huge, rambunctious fair, with camel rides, eating stalls and itinerant musicians. There is no apparent control at these sites, leading to the conclusion that the authorities obviously do not consider it a problem.

Komal Kothari, a reputed musical ethnographer, has identified a problem of a different nature, and complains that the influence of tourism has altered the authenticity of the traditional music of this region. Certain traditional instruments have been discarded and showy musical flourishes, out of context, have begun to dominate the repertoire of these musicians. Children of the performers who earlier had a subsidiary role in the
performance, now attract more attention by acting 'cute' and turn in impromptu dance steps to embellish the music, both for applause and tips. Thus, the distinctive musical ethnicity of this region, which attracts the tourists in the first place, is being compromised to pander to the fickle gaze of the tourists.

The region has several traditional fairs and festivals. In fact, the Government has listed the dates of about 10 important fairs in the State upto the year 2000! However, Jaisalmer is now better known for a made-for-tourist fair called the Desert Festival. This was started in 1978 and is normally held around February every year (to coincide with the full moon). The local people complain that the Festival is dominated by bureaucrats, VIPs and their friends and relatives, while the tourists complain that it is all too ersatz and inauthentic. Hybrid shows from Calcutta and Bombay were indeed, commandeered by VIPs, Government functionaries and their guests. As a foreign guide book warns: '... it seems to have quickly become a purely commercial tourist trap' (Lonely Planet 1990:471-472). Surprisingly, when this was pointed out to one of the local organizers of the Festival, he was genuinely surprised to learn of the unflattering sentiments of both the local people and the tourists. The show, he said by way of an explanation, was planned in Jaipur, the State Capital.

The town continues to be a pilgrimage centre for Jain pilgrims. The domestic tourists outnumber the foreign tourists by almost 3:1, and a large number of these domestic tourists are pilgrims.

The total number of tourists in 1982 was 75,961, and their numbers have more than doubled in the last decade. It may be noted that in 1982, the foreign tourists visiting Jaisalmer constituted only 1.23 per cent of the total visitors to India and they stayed in Jaisalmer for an average of 3.86 days (Planning Commission 1988:38). The foreign tourists are generally independent travellers (FITs), and such travellers interact more closely with the local people during the course of their stay than the group tourists. Their influence on local culture is therefore, greater than their numbers would indicate.
The majority of the domestic tourists as has been noted, are pilgrims but an increasing number also makes a holiday out of the trip. These were the rambunctious revellers who were making their presence felt at Sam during the sunset ritual. The pilgrims follow a controlled and ritualized circuit that coalesces almost seamlessly with local patterns of activities and life-styles. The pilgrim group is generally self-sufficient in their arrangements of travel and adds little to the local economy, unless of course, they also venture forth as tourists.

The figures of tourist arrivals are not large compared to other destinations even in the State of Rajasthan, but they still have a noticeable impact on Jaisalmer. If we compare the average daily tourist arrivals with the total population of Jaisalmer in 1991 we find that the proportion was only 1:100. Jaisalmer is therefore, still far from being 'inundated' with tourists, though such an impression commonly persists.

Since Jaisalmer is the district headquarters for Government administration, it gets its share of Central and State funds for development. The town can therefore, survive and develop even as an administrative centre, like other administrative centres in the country. This role is substantially augmented by the presence of the army. Jaisalmer is the staging point for protecting the sensitive India - Pakistan border. It could in fact be argued that the presence of the army is imposing as much strain on the culture of Jaisalmer as is tourism. The Muslim community of Jaisalmer particularly, finds itself beleagured on account of the army activities in this sensitive border area, a situation that is generally exacerbated on account of the drug nexus with the criminal elements in that community. There had been so many search and survey missions carried out by the army on this community, that researchers have had difficulties conducting surveys amongst them (Rao 1993).

The region is also rich in minerals (about 600 wagon loads of sandstone are reported to be exported from Jaisalmer every day) and there is potential for developing oil/natural gas fields which have been identified in the region. The effect of tourism on Jaisalmer must be viewed in this larger developmental perspective.
Tourism activity takes place only in certain specific areas. Considering the extreme fragility of the desert eco-system and the insular nature of the host community both Hindu and Muslim, even the limited scale of tourism taking place at the specific areas becomes magnified and has a discernible impact on the local culture and environment.

The population of the city was 38,735 according to the Census of India in 1991 and registered a dramatic increase on the 1981 census figure of 22,042. One major factor in the growth of population has been of course, the location of the army camp. As the District headquarters of a very large district (39,581 Km²) it has also attracted a large number of Government and related administrative offices; this has also spurred urbanisation. It may be noted that it is significant that the migrants are mainly males from Jaisalmer district itself or the contiguous districts (Census of India, 1981, Series 18, Rajasthan, Part V, A + B Migration Tables, Delhi 1986). Thus the cultural profile of the migrant population is by and large similar to that of the original resident - patriarchal, traditional and insular. The men and children deal with tourists, not the women. In such societies, it is an accepted fact, that men can transgress social norms. The influence that tourists have had on their behaviour - affection in manner of speaking, dress and timings of work, are thus largely accepted by the society at large. The women however, remain unaffected. A lady social worker expressed concern at the influence tourism is having on children in general, which she admitted was only at an incipient stage (Purohit 1993).

The INTACH study of 1987 estimated that by the year 2000 the numbers of tourists would have tripled. Obviously, this increase will have a stronger impact on the cultural values of its inhabitants and the physical condition of the city itself than they do at current levels.

Tourism has already had a visible impact on the architecture and urban morphology of Jaisalmer. The elements of the architectural character of Jaisalmer which have been affected, in part, by tourism are:
1. The city as a whole, with both the upper fortress and the lower town;

2. The outer city wall, its bastions and the adjoining land;

3. The bazaar, street and spaces in the lower town;

4. Several havelis and houses, both in the fortress and the lower town;

5. The city gates;

6. The Fort as a whole, with its walls and bastions (including the bastion houses);

7. The palaces;

8. The temples;

9. The skyline of the Fort;

10. The facades along the streets.

In 1970, apart from the lodgings for pilgrims, there was not a single hotel worth the name, but in 1987 there were 33 ‘hotels’ with bed capacity of 300. Today there are 84 hotels and the bed capacity has increased to approximately 900 with about 7 hotels of the starred variety (information supplied by a local hotelier). Most of the growth in hotels has occurred by converting old houses into guest houses, and building new ones on vacant plots in the residential areas. These conversions and in-filling of open spaces are altering the morphology of the town. It is also introducing commercial activities like shops and restaurants in predominantly residential neighbourhoods and therefore, changing the character of the town. However, it is interesting to note that the Municipal regulations - one of few such in the country - require new buildings to have some traditional element in its facade. This has given a fillip to the profession of stone masons (Khare 1993).
The Draft Master Plan prepared in 1982 (which has still to be ratified, a common temporal feature in the Indian scene) did not adequately estimate the demands of tourism. It indicated the location of a few hotel sites outside the fortified town but was silent on what changes could take place within it to cater to increased demands for tourist services. The FIT (Foreign Individual Tourist) has a marked preference for inner city locations of accommodation and this has provided the necessary incentive to the private developers of tourist lodges. The absence of a Statutory Master Plan has thus resulted in ad hoc development which has damaged Jaisalmer in the following manners:

1. The basic principles of land use planning have not been followed. Hotels, guest houses, curio/souvenir shops, transport related functions including repair shops and garages, travel agencies etc. have followed market dictates and overwhelmed the traditional texture and fabric of Jaisalmer.

2. The rise in tourist business has been an incentive to population growth which has not been properly catered for, resulting in slums and proliferation of informal economic activity.

3. In order to convert old houses into guest houses, toilets have been insensitively added in front of the houses thus destroying the streetscape. The new guest houses are also altering the skyline of the Fort.

4. Increasing population and greater consumption of water is causing a problem in the disposal of liquid wastes which was obviously not anticipated when the city was built. Overflowing drains, saturation of the soil leading to considerable seepage through the Fort walls are some of the consequences which are creating an unhealthy environment.

5. The growth of tourism has resulted in greater commercial activity, proliferation of sign boards, posters and other graphic elements.
6. Increased motorized traffic partly on account of tourism, is raising dust in the atmosphere which is settling on the damp Fort walls making them grey and black. Thus the legendary 'Golden' Fortress is turning grey (INTACH 1987).

As mentioned earlier, steps have recently been initiated to tackle these problems, but judgement will have to be reserved until concrete results are achieved (Agrawal 1993).

The perception of local residents on the impact of tourism on their town and culture revealed an interesting distinction in the positive and negative nature of the impact. They saw positive impact in economic terms while negative impact was seen in social terms. Economic and material gains were the most commonly cited aspects of positive change: more income, more variety of goods available in the market ('... once we did not have water to drink, now Bisleri is available in the remotest village!'), and variety of job opportunities. The social moral of foreign tourists, especially the women, was cited as the most strongly felt negative influence on the local culture: immodest dress and objectionable behaviour in public places, photographing local women, walking into houses and temples, giving money to children thus encouraging them to solicit other souvenirs from tourists (Purohit 1993).

The souvenir shop owners said that most of the craft that they sold came from outside Jaisalmer. Some leather works and stone sculptures were produced locally. A local stone mason confirmed that the local tradition of using carved stone decorations on the facade of buildings had been reinforced by local building regulations, and was a boon to his profession. He felt that this was due to the awareness created through tourism.

The Guest House owners and the local Travel Agents and Guides are the primary contact points between tourists and the local community. A sample survey of personnel at these places revealed that they were, by and large, self-taught in their profession and were more opportunistic. Not surprisingly, they were culturally ambivalent and operated in a 'liminal' world, which appeared to give them license to behave differently. Talking to foreign tourists confirmed another aspect of liminality amongst these
The effects of tourism on culture and the environment in India

'cultural brokers': most tourists did not entirely trust them and felt that they were uncouth and behaved badly only with foreign tourists. The tourists are hassled by touts from the time they get off the bus or train, to the time they leave. This was the saddest insight into the real nature of relationship between the tourists and the host community: the closer the contact between the host and the visitor, the more disappointed they were of each other.

It was surprising to find out however, that while the tourists generally anticipated that they would be cheated in their dealings with local people (at the Guest House, restaurant, Camel Safari and souvenir shops), almost everyone carried back with them a positive impression of the place and people. The natural pride and dignity of the local people came through even as they tried to make the quick buck. The reality of the destination they read about or imagined and the character of the desert people with whom they had contact (unlike the obvious touts), lived up to their expectations. The havelis and Jain temples were pleasant surprises and reinforced the dominant images they had held of Jaisalmer before they came - colour, desert, the Fort, jewellery, exotic people and the sunset.

One could conclude from these impressions that Jaisalmer in spite of the problems still retains its aura for the tourists: this reflects the depth and resilience of the attractive characteristics of the city and the local people, rather than any positive initiative on the part of the Government to conserve them. There is no effort to train or educate the tourist-related personnel, the 'cultural brokers' and consequently they offer a negative image of the local society. In fact, the Government initiative to influence or regulate the quality of tourism service was conspicuous by its absence. All that is taking place in Jaisalmer is largely due to unregulated private initiative. The Government has plans to boost tourism at Jaisalmer by improving its accessibility, including the introduction of air service. There is no evidence that it recognizes the consequences of such actions to the very qualities which attract tourists to Jaisalmer.
The ancient and historic temples of Khajuraho were built by the Chandelas in the short span of a hundred years from 950-1050 AD in an inspired burst of creativity, but were abandoned after the 14th century. The once flourishing capital city of the Chandelas survived as a small, picturesque agricultural village, with no other evidence of its former glory besides the 22 remaining temples out of the original 85. These were 'discovered' by T.S. Burt in 1838, a young officer in the British colonial army, who out of curiosity diverted from his official itinerary to follow the trail to this remarkable group of temples which his palki-bearers had talked about (Punja 1992:3-4). The area was then covered with dense jungle and was dotted with numerous ponds, which would have made the site look very different from today's neatly manicured lawns and tourist bustle. The extant temples are widely recognized amongst scholars as unique examples of Hindu architecture, though they are better known to the public for the sensuous sculptures which adorn them. These temples have now been included in the World Heritage List of UNESCO, one of 14 such sites in India. The temples of Khajuraho are one of India's major tourist attractions close behind the Taj and up there with Varanasi, Jaipur and Delhi (Wightman 1986:227-239).

The town is only accessible by road and air and is not conveniently linked by railways, the common mode of mass transit for tourism in India. The nearest railway stations are Jhansi (173 km), Harpalpur (86 km) and Satna (120 km). Direct buses connect Khajuraho to these stations and to Chhatarpur (the District headquarters), Bhopal (the State Capital), and other regional centres like Kanpur, Agra and Varanasi. A daily flight to Khajuraho is available from Delhi on a circular route that includes Agra and Varanasi. Most foreign tourists utilize this service.

The only attraction for the tourists at this destination is the temples. The village is basically an agricultural village and is situated some distance away from the temples. Shopping consists of some handicrafts and gem stones, not specifically indigenous to Khajuraho. The temples and contiguous
land are fenced in and protected by the Archaeological Survey of India but haphazard constructions have taken their toll around the temple precincts on account of the tourist activity. Khajuraho and its environments have been designated by the State Government as a Special Area to control its unusual development problems. In 1975 a draft Development Plan was produced which has largely guided subsequent development in Khajuraho.

Khajuraho is also a religious centre in the regional level. What is often overlooked while mentioning the 'rediscovery' of Khajuraho by T.S. Burt is that there has been a virtual continuity of ritual practices, at least in one of the temples, Matangeswara, since the time it was built. Burt mentioned that he saw a light burning in this temple and was not allowed to enter. Obviously the temple was worshipped when Burt 'discovered' it. Shivratri and Basant Panchami are two important local festivals attracting tens of thousands of pilgrims from the region. Not all temples are Hindu however, and there are Jain temples in the Eastern Group which attract large groups of Jain pilgrims to Khajuraho from other parts of the country as well.

The figures of tourists visiting Khajuraho show that their numbers have virtually stabilized for over a decade, around 150-170,000 domestic tourists and 35-40,000 foreign tourists per year.

**Tourist Arrivals at Khajuraho**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
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<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>136,767</td>
<td>36,536</td>
<td>173,303</td>
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<td>1985-86</td>
<td>166,467</td>
<td>37,173</td>
<td>203,640</td>
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<td>150,116</td>
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<td>1987-88</td>
<td>135,162</td>
<td>40,820</td>
<td>175,982</td>
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<td>1988-89</td>
<td>153,102</td>
<td>41,209</td>
<td>194,311</td>
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<td>1989-90</td>
<td>158,023</td>
<td>28,869</td>
<td>186,892</td>
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<td>1990-91</td>
<td>104,069</td>
<td>31,442</td>
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<td>1991-92</td>
<td>118,790</td>
<td>32,560</td>
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*Source: Statistical Section, Madhya Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation Ltd.*
The modern manicured setting of the ancient temples of Khajuraho: the western group.

Uncontrolled tourist related development outside the western group of temples at Khajuraho.
(Top) The primary object of the tourist gaze at Khajuraho – the sculptural band around the Khandariya Mahadev Temple of the western group of temples at Khajuraho: "It seems like a long way to go for a cheap thrill."

(Middle) Traditional potters are still part of the social and economic fabric of Khajuraho, much as they were before the advent of tourism.

(Bottom) This typical publicity poster for the Khajuraho Dance Festival produced by the Government of Madhya Pradesh reinforces the singular image of Khajuraho by emphasizing amorous couples in its message.
In 1982-83, the foreign tourists visiting Khajuraho constituted 3.3% of the total visitors to India, and their average length of stay was 1.58 days (Planning Commission 1988:37). This proportion has perhaps remained the same since then, and is indicative of the limited range of interests available at Khajuraho.

Most of the tourists are independent, low budget category (Chopra 1991:211-220) but amongst the foreign tour groups who visit India, about half visit Khajuraho (Weightman 1986:227-239). The perceptible drop in tourist arrivals during the last three years can be attributed to the prevailing political problems all over the country.

It is interesting to compare the tourist arrival figures for Khajuraho and Jaisalmer. More visitors, both domestic and foreign, visited Khajuraho with its single attraction than Jaisalmer with its variety of attractions. Accessibility is of course, an important factor accounting for this difference, but the difference in level of promotion of these destinations is also another factor. Jaisalmer is seldom mentioned as a destination in national tourism promotion literature. The difference in the average length of stay of foreign tourists in both destinations is also an indication of the variety available at Jaisalmer, thus it is likely to be concluded that the greater number of tourists at Khajuraho is largely the result of more concerted marketing of that destination.

The temples at Khajuraho were not known to many people as a tourist attraction until the early 50's. S.N. Chib, the first Director-General of the Tourism Department, describes how to reach Khajuraho in 1955 by making several changes and halts by bus and a 10 kilometer ride by tanga, a one-horse carriage, on an unmetalled road. Even then 'the temples stood in a sort of wilderness' and 'the cattle and pariah dogs who roamed freely around the temples and in the sleepy village seemed to outnumber the human beings' (Chib 1983:18-19). It was only the odd foreign journalists or photographers who visited Khajuraho and publicized these temples to the outside world. Most people, including Indians, came to know about these
temples through pictorial books on India produced by these photographers for the European market. Only a determined traveller visited these temples because there was no infrastructure for the tourists in those days.

Two tourist bungalows for high and low budget visitors were built between 1961-66. The airport was built in 1969 and a few years later extended to accommodate medium-size aeroplanes. Then, as now, only one flight a day from Delhi, carrying passengers to three other destinations, serviced Khajuraho. Ground transportation has improved with links to important regional towns and railway stations, including some air conditioned coaches connecting Jhansi, where it meets the popular Taj Express, for a convenient round trip for tourists to visit Khajuraho. In spite of these improvements, and unlike the problem facing Jaisalmer and Goa, the increase in number of tourists is not a major issue in Khajuraho.

What is of concern in the context of the cultural impact of tourism in Khajuraho, is the limited and specific nature of Khajuraho's appeal to both foreign and Indian tourists. While the importance of Khajuraho in art history terms remains undisputed, only nine temples of the Western group are considered really important. The four temples of the Eastern group, almost 3 kilometers away, are far inferior in architectural quality and workmanship, and are mostly Jain, not Hindu. These Jain temples however, attract a large number of domestic pilgrims accounting for the substantial number of the domestic visitors in the statistics. There are also a few relatively insignificant temples in the Southern group, which are seldom visited except by determined tourists and conducted tour groups. Thus, it is just a few temples of the Western group which draw the tourists to Khajuraho, and it is here that one finds the famous erotic sculptures and 'sensuous' ladies in bas-relief which are the specific object of the tourist gaze. It must be noted that not more than 2-3 per cent of the hundreds of carvings on these temples are explicitly pornographic, but it is the presence of these sculptures which has become the focus of tourism in Khajuraho. As one of the foreign guide books described the sculptures:
Stone figures of *apsaras* or ‘celestial maidens’ appear on every temple. They pout and pose for all the world like Playboy models posing for the camera. In between *mithuna*, erotic figures, running through a whole Kama Sutra of positions and possibilities, some obviously require amazing athletic contortions, some just look like good fun!’ (Lonely Planet 1990:548).

It has however been observed by a more dispassionate observer:

‘... one wonders what visitors, both domestic and foreign, expect from their visit to this remote, somewhat inaccessible location. It is an expensive proposition and a long way to go for a cheap thrill!’ (Wall 1984:511-513).

Since they were discovered, several art historians have put forward theories to explain the presence of these ‘indecent’ sculptures. Some were sympathetic, others apologetic, and still others were obviously outraged. Shobita Punja has recently come forward with the fascinating explanation that the theme of these temples was simply the marriage of Shiva as narrated in an ancient text, the *Shiv Purana* (Punja 1992). Only the more serious visitors benefit from these academic debates and scholarly insights. For the average viewers, their unabashed sexuality is more fascinating than their antecedents.

The pointed focus on the sensual art at Khajuraho is implicit in Government tourism promotion literature, and made more explicit in guide books, but the descriptions of the tourist guides leave nothing to the imagination. The promotional material and the information available to the tourists, reduce Khajuraho to a single-issue destination: the candid contemplation of the erotic. Under the circumstance, these sculptures are highly charged with significance for both the visiting and host cultures. This significance combines religious, cultural and ‘sexual’ tourism with few parallels.
The Archaeological Survey of India, which is responsible for protecting the monuments do not have guides of their own to assist the tourists, but they make available some guide books. These guide books present the temples in the correct perspective, but are seldom read by foreign tourists who generally refer to their omnibus guidebooks on India or the racy information supplied by the guides. The State Tourism Department licences about 40 guides of whom only 3 or 4 are considered good. A few were trained by the Department, but this programme has been discontinued. Again, as in Jaisalmer, one notes the perfunctory interest of the Government in such matters. At the Western group of monuments tourists have to negotiate for the services of these guides who swamp them along with itinerant salesmen on arrival at the site. Foreigners being large tippers, are more aggressively solicited. Tour groups have prior arrangements with ‘good’ local guides who are with them during their entire stay at Khajuraho.

It is easy to notice that young guides are considerably influenced by the lifestyle of tourists whom they try to cultivate assiduously. While a number of group tours visit Khajuraho, most foreign visitors are FITs. As part of their ‘service’, the guides offer to teach the tourists ‘tantra’ and other esoteric practices they associate with the genesis of Khajuraho. About 5 or 6 boys, one is told, have married foreigners and at least one has done well for himself by establishing a restaurant and an export house in Japan and now runs a popular handicraft outlet and a small hotel. It was mentioned that some tourists ask for the company of local women, but most said that prostitution is hardly a problem in Khajuraho. The situation, it must be noted, is reversed in the case of foreign female tourists visiting Khajuraho who seem to be prey to the guides. It is interesting to note that in an explicitly sexual ambience like Khajuraho there is less incidence of prostitution, but at Jaisalmer and Goa it is more prevalent.

Some guides are considered ‘real scholars’, while others as ‘entertainers’, keying their performance to the interest of tourists. Thus some get quite fanciful in their explanations though they generally stress the spiritual interpretation of the sculptures ‘because foreigners must not get the wrong idea about India and Indians’. According to some, ‘almost 99 per cent of the Indian tourists are not interested in understanding or even listening to
what the guide has to say: they only come to look. Foreigners, they say, are more interested in understanding the significance of the temples, and of these, particularly the FITs.

Watching groups of the tourists being taken around by the guides is revealing. Sometimes Indian women are left outside the complex, browsing in shops or waiting in a restaurant while men go inside for a quick tour. Indian women who do venture inside, tend to cluster in groups at the periphery of groups being escorted around the temple complex, clearly uncomfortable at the proceedings. Only foreign tourists appeared to be asking questions or making a more detailed survey of the temples at their own pace. Often, one sees groups of youths going around, giggling smuttily and ogling at foreign female tourists. However, their behaviour did not appear to be aggressive or threatening. Some single women tourists when questioned, admitted that they had to be careful in their movements around the monuments as they had to be anywhere in India, but local men seldom transgressed the propriety of overt social norms.

The only functioning temple amongst the ones built by the Chandelas is the Matengeswara, adjacent to the popular Western group of temples. Those who visit the Matengeswara were local residents and few Indian tourists. By and large, foreign tourists who come to Khajuraho do not visit this ‘live’ temple. A head priest of this temple, Nanhey Mahraj, is a proud bearer of traditions (so he claims), and organizes the elaborate Shivratri festivals every year, when the rituals conducted in his temple form the central event of the festival. Tourism does not appear to have affected the authenticity of this very local ritual (Punja 1992: 65-188).

The average stay for foreign tourists is one night, for Indians two, neither being sufficient to appreciate the full significance of the architectural heritage nor taking in the other sights in the vicinity. No attempt is being made to understand the situation in this light by policy makers, so that they could offer a more realistic assessment of the temples and a diversified experience of the region. Knowledgeable local people claimed that Khajuraho and Bundelkhand region of which it is a part, could easily support
The effects of tourism on culture and the environment in India

a varied, year-long programme of tourism, but they were never consulted in such matters.

Talking to Government officials, both at the Centre and the State capital, it is clear that they were primarily concerned with the romantic image of Khajuraho: why meddle with money-spinner? The Government brochure on Khajuraho does recommend excursions to nearby sites - Panna National Park, the spectacular Pandav Falls and other picnic sites at Benisagar Dam, Ranesh Falls and Ranguan Lake, Raigarh Palace and Dhubela Museum, and further away the Bandavgarh National Park and tranquil Chitrakoot, but these recommendations notwithstanding, as the local people pointed out, there was no effort on the part of the Government or private tour operators to actively promote these destinations and integrate them into the Khajuraho sales strategy. In this manner, the Government and other promoters of tourism, only reinforced the single, distorted image of Khajuraho.

Over the years, there have been two significant contributions to the development of Khajuraho and the promotion of tourism there; first, the creation of a Master Plan to guide the growth of Khajuraho and second, the institution of the Khajuraho Dance Festival, a successful event that has, to some extent given Khajuraho a 'classical' image.

After the inception of tourism in Khajuraho in the early 60's, Khajuraho witnessed the growth of tourist infrastructure, primarily in the form of hotels and the proliferation of tourist related commercial activities near the Western group of temples. The population of the village in 1961 was 2,140 and it grew to only 2,723 by 1971. By the 70's however, the environmental problems were becoming apparent and the government declared Khajuraho a 'Special Area' for development purposes. While this action suited the development of Khajuraho as a tourist centre, it deprived the village of certain specific development funds (like IRDP, TRYSEM) which would otherwise have diversified its economy (Chopra 1991:242-244).

Implementation of IRDP and TRYSEM development schemes at Khajuraho would have enabled the local villagers to better integrate their economy into the development of tourism as well. The IRDP, for example,
helps in the development of agro-industries and allied activities (dairy, poultry, piggery, entrepreneurship training, etc.) which could have serviced the local hotels, who are now importing these goods from outside the region; TRYSEM covers vocations and crafts such as: pottery, laundry, masonry carpenter, metal work, etc. which could again have helped integrate the local economy with requirements of the tourism industry. A lot of the handicrafts now being sold in Khajuraho come from other parts of the country. This partially explains the complaints heard locally, that the fruits of economic development have largely gone to migrants. These developments have created a new economic order into which the locals have not been able to integrate. (Chopra 1991:102-121).

However, some locals have found gainful employment, albeit at a low level, in the tourism industry. Socially, this has perhaps been the most beneficial feature of tourism development in Khajuraho, because it has contributed to the erosion of the traditional caste group relationships prevalent at Khajuraho, and initiated job mobility amongst the low caste. In neighbouring villages, on the other hand, studies have found intense poverty amongst the low caste, which was not seen in Khajuraho. (Chopra 1991: 135).

These developments have had their costs. In economic terms, people point out to increased inflation. The local produce is dearer because more people need them and its quantity has not increased on account of the fact that the land being frozen for development of tourist infrastructure and the absence of IRDP programmes.

On another subject, a local guide mentioned that 20 years ago people were more friendly and close together: tourism, he said, has made the people money-minded. They no longer spontaneously dance all night during festivals, but they now do it for money.

But everyone one spoken to - rickshaw-puller, the village potter, the guard in one of the temples, the waiter and cook in a restaurant - all feel that, in balance, Khajuraho has generally improved because of tourism - it is no
The effects of tourism on culture and the environment in India

longer a sleepy, forgotten village like its neighbours continue to be even today.

A Master Plan for Khajuraho was drawn up in 1975. It is now under revision. The plan assumed an increase in the number of tourists (which has not materialized) and typically planned for large segregated functional zones. Planners seldom realize that such 'modern' practices destroy the traditional fabric of towns, the very characteristic which draws the attention of the tourist. On this basis they have acquired a lot of agricultural land for future development. This has only partially succeeded in sorting out the chaotic 'intermingling of incongruous uses' which was the initial objective of the planning exercise. Relocating certain commercial activity to the new bus stand has not worked because the new site has failed to attract new tourist business and consequently the chaos has intensified opposite the western group of temples. The chaotic activities at the time of the formulation of the Master Plan was thought to be within 'tolerable limits', and, on a relative scale compared to what is taking place in other parts of the country, it is not much worse today. The village is still predominantly agricultural.

From these observations one realizes that the Master Plan has not been put to test because of the low level of development. As a Master Plan it is merely a conventional land use plan, and it reflects the planners' concern for order rather than any understanding of the special forces operating in this town on account of the development of tourism. There was an opportunity earlier to evolve a plan sympathetic to local land-forms (the area was once full of water bodies) and use the presence of the groups of temples to generate a unique urban design, but this was not sought, by the planners and the developments that are now taking place at this site are as unimaginative as the Master Plan.

However, unlike the situation in other towns, at Khajuraho there is visible evidence of the physical development that has taken place and transformed this once sleepy village into a reasonably attractive settlement. Since all these development activities were primarily motivated on account of tourism, one could conclude that tourism has generally benefitted this village. All round improvement of infrastructure facilities and amenities are
acknowledged by the local residents. The streets are clean and paved. Drainage and water supply has been provided to all. While the villagers continue to live as before (materials of construction, layout of homes etc.) one hears the sound of TV/cassette players spilling out of homes; dish antennas are occasionally seen; curio/antique shops are operating from some houses and one sees antique looking sculptures ('new' antiques are a profitable business) strewn about as one strolls along the lanes of the village.

The immediate areas around the various groups of temples were cleared in the 1920s by the Archaeological Survey of India when they removed the vegetation, dressed the land and fenced in the temples 'to prevent the cattle and villagers from entering and damaging the sculptures'. Today the danger to the monuments is not from the cattle or villagers, but the growing interest in Indian antiquities. The Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India Museum near the western group of temples, confirmed the existence of a continuing trade in stolen/vandalized antiques. He is frequently requested by the police to identify stolen goods.

The main objective of the Archaeological Survey of India protection work appears to be beautification. This has given the monument area a manicured look appreciated by tourists who have to put up with the bustle outside the monument area. Such beautification is of course, not authentic, because these temples were never set in a garden as they are made to today. But the imperatives of conservation, as practiced by the Archaeological Survey of India, is restricted to the isolation of monuments from their immediate environment and remains more or less the same, both in the case of the 'dead' monuments of Khajuraho, or the 'live' monuments of Jaisalmer. Tourism, and indeed sensible urban development, infuses archaeology with newer meaning which has escaped the notice of the Archaeological Survey of India, who continue to follow archaic precepts. (Kirch and Kirch 1986:145-147). As in town planning, the objective of intervention is beautification.

The second important contribution to the promotion of tourism has been the institution of the Khajuraho Dance Festival in 1975. The Festival
promotes classical Indian dances for a week in February every year, by inviting well-known performers to perform against the backdrop of the temples. Initially it was held inside the protected area of the western group of temples, but the venue has now been shifted outside the compound, because it was suspected that the temples were being damaged in this process.

Again, as in the case of the Desert Festival in Jaisalmer, local people complain that the Festival is really an 'officer's festival' because Government departments book choice seats in advance for VIPs, friends and relatives. Generally few actually show up, leaving the front row of seats empty and the tourists packed in the rear. Tickets for the Festival are too expensive for local people, so, in effect the show is put on only for the benefit of outsiders. It is a Festival only in name as in reality it is an elite dance performance on a proscenium stage.

The 'Festival' has, however, established a good reputation in dance circles around the country and given a 'classical' image to this destination. It is widely publicized and reported by serious dance critics. However, the publicity posters emphasize the romantic image with amorous couples against the backdrop of the temples and there is a deliberate attempt in these images to draw an analogy with the mithuna couples on the temple walls. Of course, Indian dance themes easily lend themselves to this analogy, but the question remains: Indian dance has a variety of characteristics (like the environment around Khajuraho), so why dwell on a singular image in this remote place, especially when the dances are clearly not meant for the local populace?

The candid contemplation of the dancer in the context of the temple sculptures in an otherwise prudish society is expected to be a 'cultural' experience because it involves and justifies the past. Volli terms this phenomenon in tourism promotion as 'pornokitsch', which he distinguishes from pornography which is:
Khajuraho

'by nature crude, rough and has no pretension to philosophical or aesthetic merit. Pornokitsch, on the other hand, is a state of being uneasy with both the emotions of love and sex and the ostensible crudeness of pornography, coming to terms with both by rationalizing, euphemism, or sentimentalism...' (Volli 1969:224-250).

Ichaporia claims that Khajuraho's popularity with western tourists has given it new stature in Indian eyes: it has become a symbol of Indianess proudly proclaimed, rather than a hard-to-explain embarrassment. Large signs in English on the way into town from the airport announce that one is entering a zone dedicated to the celebration of life and love (Ichaporia mentions seeing an advertisement for a luxury hotel proclaiming: '10th century luxury in 20th century Khajuraho which has now, understandably, been modified to read: '10th century Khajuraho in 20th century luxury'). Khajuraho is also promoted as a honeymoon destination. In a way, Ichaporia conjectures, Indian culture has come back a full circle: Hindu culture became more puritanical in the 19th century under the influence of Christian education; in Khajuraho, the prudishness engendered by the west has now been breached by it in the form of tourism. She admits though that this identity is essentially limited to urban and possibly westernised elites who have the leisure and the economic power to 'go modern by going traditional'. (Ichaporia 1983:75-92).

For the common person there is the Lokranjan Festival which is held immediately following the Khajuraho Festival. This Festival is organized by the Adivasi Lok Kala Parishad (the State Government sponsored Tribal Folk Art Academy at Bhopal, the State Capital) and is hardly publicized beyond the local environment. It is a week-long festival, held in the open with no admission charge. It starts late, after dinner, and often continues late into the night, if the audience - performer rapport is established during the course of the performance. They perform in the vernacular dance/drama traditions of the region, Nautanki, Tamasha, Raslila, Swang, Nacha etc. Recently they invited folk-theatre groups from around the country to perform at Khajuraho. This is good, solid entertainment for the masses, and has no relation to the temples of Khajuraho at least, not their sexual imagery.
It is enjoyed hugely by both Foreign and Indian tourists who happen to be visiting Khajuraho during that period, and makes a case for a people-oriented diversification of the tourism product at Khajuraho instead of the present obsession with *mithuna sculptures*. Surprisingly, a number of officials in the State Capital were not familiar with this festival. Thus the cultural identity that the Government wishes to promote becomes more contentious precisely because of the lavish and overt promotion of the glamorous Khajuraho Dance Festival and the step-motherly treatment meted out to the people-oriented Lokranjan Festival.

The Lokranjan Festival was started in 1984, and involves many more performers and audience than the more famous classical Khajuraho Festival. In spite of its obvious popularity, one of the organizers pointed out, 'the Collector is more interested to ensure that Swapna Sundari (a well-known classical dance prima donna) has had her cold drink than to look into the problem of accommodating 40 performers who had just arrived after a long, tiring journey.'

Talking to the organizers of this festival, the Adivasi Lok Kala Parishad, one is impressed by their awareness of the cultural issues at stake in the area of folk-culture on account of the impact of tourism. This contrasted starkly with the general naivete displayed by the tourism officials one spoke to, both in the State and Central Governments. The organizers of the Lokranjan Festival recognized that art forms would change and evolve on account of newer stimuli that the performers encountered in their journey outside their cultural milieu, but that these could be mediated through sensitive handling and dialogue with the performers regarding the process of change.

The relative insignificance of Khajuraho village in comparison to the great significance of the temples to the tourist, obscures the impact of tourism on the local culture. However, studies have shown that tourism has largely reinforced the existing socio-economic patterns without bringing any radical alteration in the configuration of social forces which would help achieve a more egalitarian society. The lifestyle of the local populace
continue to be more or less unaltered (Chopra 1991:210). The development programmes on the other hand have been primarily concerned with the needs of the tourist and not the development of the host community.

Most tourism officials cite Khajuraho as the success story of Indian tourism because 'seats are not easy to come by' on Indian Airlines. (Bhatia 1983:194). This is typical of the limited view policy makers have on tourism. In this context the study reveals a strange reversal in the impact of tourism on culture: in Khajuraho perhaps a greater impact is perceived in the attitudes of policy makers rather than the local people. This reveals a very problematic area in the concept of cultural identity -- referred to by Ichaporia -- one that makes manifest the prevalent patriarchal attitudes of defining culture, and promoting it on the basis of the woman's body. This has implications well beyond its influence on local cultures: the question to be examined is what it signifies in terms of the Indian identity at the national level.
IV. GOA

The State of Goa on India's West Coast has an area of almost 3700 square kilometres of which 29 per cent is forest. The topography consists of the Western Ghats in the East, smaller hills in the central part and low lands along the coast. There are wild life sanctuaries, verdant agricultural land and perennial rivers which crisscross the State. It has a coast line of 110 kilometres of which almost 65 kilometres are beautiful sandy beaches bordered by thick coconut plantation.

The archaeological attractions include several forts, churches, temples and mosques besides picturesque colonial architecture of the towns. Since Goa was colonized by the Portuguese, the character of these towns is distinctly different to the colonial architectures in the rest of the sub continent. Gleaming whitewashed churches with Portuguese-style facades pepper the hillsides, rice paddy fields and dense coconut palm groves, while crumbling forts guard rocky capes and estuary entrances. The Basilica of Bom Jesus contains the embalmed body of St. Francis Xavier, the patron Saint of Goa, and is famous throughout the Roman Catholic world.

The population of 1.17 million (1991 census) is heterogenous, with an unique cultural heritage synthesized over the centuries. Historically, it was a feudatory of the Deccan rulers in the 3rd/2nd century B.C., when the tenets of Buddhism were spread in Goa. The Chalukyas ruled the territory from the 8th to the 10th century A.D., and the Kadambas during the 11th century. This period saw the establishment of Hindu culture in the State. In the middle of the 14th century Goa came under the sway of Muslim rulers. In 1510 the territory of wht is now known as Goa was captured by Alfonso de Albuquerque, and it became the first territorial possession of the Portuguese in the East. Goa was ruled by them till 1961 when it became a part of the Indian Republic. The cultural heritage of Goa has therefore been enriched by several different civilisational streams, though, roman Catholicism remains the predominant religion. Skirts far outnumber saris in towns, and the people display an easy going tropical indulgence, humour and civility. When
The typical church architecture of Goa

The "sun, sea and sand" tourism means different forms of pleasure to the Indian and the foreigner, as this photograph clearly illustrates: one enjoys the sun the other the sights!
(Left) The "Baicalo" of a small hotel near Mapusa

(Below) The new buildings — in accordance with modern building bye-laws — are changing the traditional architectural character of towns in Goa.
one considers this rich cultural heritage along with its natural scenic assets, Goa is not surprisingly, a unique destination for tourism in India, and tourism planners are set to exploit it.

Consequently its popularity as a tourist destination is increasing.

### Tourist Arrival in Goa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>198,979</td>
<td>12,494</td>
<td>211,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>332,535</td>
<td>34,288</td>
<td>366,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>682,545</td>
<td>92,667</td>
<td>775,212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>776,993</td>
<td>104,330</td>
<td>881,323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>756,786</td>
<td>78,281</td>
<td>835,067</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Government of India, Department of Tourism New Delhi.

In 1982-83 the number of foreign tourists who visited Goa was 6.72 per cent of the total visitors to India, and they stayed an average of 15.51 days in Goa (Planning Commission 1988:37). The UNDP and World Tourism Organization have proposed plans which envisage more than doubling these figures (TCPO 1987:95). On the basis of these optimistic reports the Government has justified sanctioning numerous luxury hotels in Goa. The only constraints these studies identify are the lack of infrastructure; bottleneck in transportation; and inflationary trends in Goa (TCPO 1987:98). The NAPT 1992, has also recognized the tremendous potential for tourism in places like Goa and has emphasized ‘sun, sand and sea’ tourism as the important segment of future growth. Tourism in Goa is expected to increase by about 10 per cent per annum (TCPO 1987:98). Much of this increase in
tourist arrivals will have to be in the form of direct charter flights to Goa, because one cannot see how the general infrastructure in the rest of the country can cope with this marked increase of tourism in Goa.

The massive growth of tourism will be largely concentrated along the beaches and it has already imposed a perceptible strain on local society and resources. The residents in the coastal areas have had to absorb a cultural shock with clearly discernible social and economic dimensions. There is growing resentment which is reflected in a new political consciousness based primarily on the issue of tourism which has not yet been seen in other parts of the country. In fact, the effects of tourism on the culture and environment of Goa have generated some of the most polemic and best documented literature on the subject in India.

What has been polemicized and documented in these studies is the negative impact of tourism felt at the local level. They have identified the nexus between the promoters of luxury hotels and the Government - both State and Central - to the detriment of local people. Since the early 1980's, there has been a distinct shift in official policy favouring three to five-star luxury tourism. This has been brought about through a series of wide-ranging programmes of subsidies and incentives, including the manipulation of the legal and planning framework to ensure that this form of tourism development takes place is preference to small-scale development. Studies show that this has been inimical to the interests of the local people (Equations - I).

Tourism in Goa is being promoted as an industrial activity - as it is in several other states - which justifies State intervention to ensure its development - in the 'public interest'. For example, the use of the Taj Hotel complex at Fort Aguada to host the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in 1983 was in the 'public interest', which enabled the Government of 'gift' substantial infrastructural developments and facilities besides the forcible acquisition of land on behalf of the hotel and waiving development controls. In other instances, the State has declared certain odd pockets of this small state as ‘backward’ entitling the hotel owners in those areas to
preferential treatment through grants and concessional rates of interest on financial assistance.

The incentives offered by the Government include:

1. Total tax exemption from 50 per cent of all foreign exchange earnings;

2. A further 50 per cent tax exemption upon reinvestment within the tourism industry;

3. Exemption from the applicability of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act;

4. Permitting foreign multi-national companies to have majority shareholding in hotels;

5. Permitting Non-resident Indians total shareholding in hotels;

6. Package of extremely 'soft loans'; and

7. Various grades benefits including sales-tax holiday for five years, 50 per cent reduction in stamp duty, subsidy in electricity charges etc.

The State Governor's address to the Goa Assembly on 23 January 1990 clearly articulated the Government policy:

"Our policy has been to encourage the growth of (luxury) tourism. We are in the process of making available additional accommodation by way of construction of new hotels (in order to accommodate) by the end of the century a total tourist influx of 1.62 million as against the present influx of 1.0 million per annum. The possibility of obtaining foreign assistance in the matter of development of infrastructural facilities along identified travel circuits is also being (agressively) explored" (Equations - I).
An attempt was made in 1987 to assess the Tourism potential in the State in relation to existing resources and its environmental impact (TCPO 1987). This was followed by a study of the tourism carrying capacity of the coastal areas of Goa by World Tourism Organization consultants.

These studies revealed that the development along the coastal areas of Goa had taken the form of piecemeal development scattered at various beaches. As a follow-up of these findings, the State Government started identifying specific areas and zones for integrated development of tourist facilities. This they found would require large tracts of land instead of the pattern of smaller plots of earlier developments.

In the meantime, the Central Government had enacted the Environmental Protection Act in 1986, and the rules and regulation under the Act were notified in 1991. This notification regulated activities in the Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) for various types of activities including the development of beach resorts/hotels. The coastal land under this notification was classified into four categories: CRZ-I, included ecologically sensitive and important areas such as natural parks and sanctuaries, and 'areas likely to be inundated due to rise in sea level consequent upon global warming'; CRZ-II, referred to those areas which had already been developed upto or close to the short line; CRZ-III, included areas which were not ecologically disturbed, and did not belong to CRZ-I or CRZ-II; and finally, CRZ-IV were the coastal stretches in the islands off the Indian coast. Obviously, CRZ-II is the most development - friendly classification, and consequently, there has been a concerted effort on the part of planners, to the point of stretching credibility, to define large stretches of beach land as CRZ-II. Thus, the Government of Goa designated 69 kilometres of Goa's total coastline of 110 kilometres and the entire riverine stretch as CRZ-II, suitable for construction purposes. Inevitably, critics, including some members of the Ministry of Environment and Forests' Coastal Zone Task Force, whose brief was to review the Coastal Zone Management Plans prepared by the State Governments, have contested this classification and strongly objected to the criteria applied in most instances.
The criteria for CRZ-II classification is defined as:

'The areas that have already been developed upto or close to the short-line. For this purpose, 'developed area' is referred to as that area within the municipal limits or in other legally designated urban areas which is already substantially built up and which has been provided with drainage and approach roads and other infrastructural facilities, such as water supply and sewerage mains'.

One of the members of this Task Force has personally surveyed and documented the current status of the areas proposed to be designated as CRZ-II by the Government of Goa, and has shown that most of these areas are not 'substantially built-up with sewerage mains and other infrastructural facilities'. He has complained about the constant prevarications on the part of the Goa Government to supply adequate information to facilitate the review process, and stated that 'the Goa Government is trying to mislead the Central Government'. According to his survey 'the bulk of the areas designated by them as CRZ-II should be redesignated as CRZ-III'.

This example, using privileged information made accessible to the author of this study, is being cited only to illustrate the strong lobbies at work at the administrative and political level, to promote luxury, beach-oriented tourism. The nature of interface between luxury tourism and Third World societies in general is being decisively influenced by the power of money that the promoters of luxury tourism are able to direct to gain their objectives and is in line with Krippendorf's analysis cited in the Introduction. This type of lobbying is obviously at work in Goa as well. As a critic of Goa's tourism policy cynically pointed out to drive home the point: only the Chief Minister of Goa reserves for himself, what in other States would be considered the minor portfolio dealing with the allocation of land for luxury hotels. What he was implying was that the forces promoting luxury tourism are present at all levels of decision-making, and their interests are safeguarded at the very top.
With such political patronage at their command, the hotel promoters have often been known to resort to extra-constitutional means to acquire land allocated for their projects. Absentee landlords have been persuaded to sell agricultural land even when there were tenants on the land who are legally protected under the State Governments' tenancy laws to continue cultivation. Such instances of land grabbing have been well documented by the critics of luxury tourism in Goa, and reports on the Village of Agonda Case have had important bearing on the course of the tourism debate (Equations - II). The anti-tourism sentiments have coalesced and resulted in the formation of organizations like the Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz (Vigilant Goans Army), who have been known to physically disrupt tourist activity by attacking tourist buses and distributing propaganda leaflets with the blunt message that tourists were not welcome in Goa.

Incipient protest movements like the Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fauz must be seen in contrast to the fact that the tourism industry has already co-opted the influential segment of society as its advocates. One finds that hotel projects are either promoted by such influential people or these people are taken on as Directors and sleeping-partners in the management of these projects. Some hotels even sponsor candidates for the State Assembly or local elections to hedge future options. Therefore, few in the upper circle of society, who are the ones who patronize, or are patronized by the hotel industry, talk critically about tourism. By and large, as economic elites they benefit from the promotion of luxury tourism. Consequently, the influential segments of society subscribe to the policy of economic literalization which has placed the imperatives of economic growth over all other social objectives in the expectations that the benefits would 'trickle down'. The critics of economic laissez faire, however, point out that it seldom does, notwithstanding elaborate 'multiplier' effect predictions accompanying luxury tourism proposals. The Catholic Church has, of late, sided with the critics and taken a pro-local people stand on the issue, thus giving the debate, what some people consider, a religious colour.

The Catholic Church of Goa recently produced a report on tourism in the State, which was published in 'Renovacao', the pastoral bulletin of the Archdiocese of Goa. This report said that 'elitist' tourism was degrading the
Goan economy, culture and life style, and was eroding its value systems. It specifically linked tourism with prostitution and drugs. It described (luxury) tourism as 'basically exploitative in nature' and having so much money power that is operators 'will take no opposition to its profit-making goal'. It must be clarified at this juncture, that notwithstanding the great concern of the critics, the situation in Goa is far from becoming like the 'sex tourism' destinations in South-East Asia (Lea 1988: 66-69 and Mitter 1986:65-7). However, the concerns are timely and well founded and commonly perceived by the people at large.

While the debate rages between the promoters of luxury tourism and their critics, what is the common person saying?

Talking to people at the village level one comes across routine comments on the increasing cost of the local staples - fish and vegetables: prosperity has priced these staples out of the common person's diet. There is frank admission regarding the prevalence of drugs - it is estimated that nearly 20 per cent of school and college going students take drugs. They also mentioned prostitution, and pointed at the noticeable promiscuity amongst the younger generation and attributed it to 'hippy tourism', that was widely prevalent in the 60s and 70s, and lingers to a great extent even today. In such discussions, 'hippy' and 'tourism' are recurrent and synonymous images, perhaps because the hippy is very visible and mingles with the crowds, hence giving tourism in Goa a negative inflection. Much of luxury tourism which takes place in well guarded compounds is largely out of the public eye.

The Church's stand against tourism reflects such perceptions of the public, and is, perhaps, less enlightened than moralistic, because it views tourism only in terms of AIDS, Drugs and nudism. The Goan society, it must be noted, is generally more cosmopolitan and westernized than the rest of the country, and western-style social dancing and mingling between the sexes is a common feature in the society. Foreign tourists are able to participate freely in the local dance parties arranged by local youth clubs, and one sees the very latest dance fads - break-dancing, reggae, rap etc., being performed with familiarity and skill. Perhaps this affinity to western social practices amongst the youth in Goa encourages greater intermingling with foreign tourists and
leads to increased promiscuity, especially with the 'hippy' variety, and accounts for the perceptions of Church authorities and the real incidence of AIDS and Drugs in Goa.

In fact, it is this social affinity between the foreign tourist and the host society in Goa which accounts for part of its attractiveness as a destination for foreign tourism. In a curious reversal, it is the domestic tourist from other parts of the country who finds Goa and Goan society, equally attractive for tourism because it is culturally exotic. The beaches, the churches, the Carnival, the music, the cuisine, and the townscape are subtly marketed in the Indian media as 'foreign' experiences on Indian soil. The beaches are 'Carribean', the town scape 'almost Mexican', and the Carnival promotes beauty queens in the manner of beauty pageants in western countries. The luxury hotels are, of course, luxuriously western in style, and appear in advertisements - and in reality - as oasis in the local environment. Not surprisingly, such media strategy reinforces the common perception amongst Indians that Goa, and Goans, are peripheral to the mainstream of Indian society and polity.

The smaller hotels present an entirely different experience of Goa. They are usually family enterprises - the wife managing the kitchen while the husband sees to guest relations and material procurement. Often, the hosts join the guests over a drink in the evening and an easy sociability prevails in these establishments which is enhanced by the fact that neighbours drop in for a chat or watch television. In these smaller establishments in Goa, there was less evidence of the exploitative and predatory characteristics in the relation between the host and the guest which was noted in the tourist lodges in Jaisalmer, and even to some extent in the private lodges in Khajuraho. Perhaps, this was on account of social and cultural congruence or affinity between the owners of the numerous small hotels and the type of tourist who patronized the smaller hotels in Goa. This would partly justify the almost virulent opposition to large, luxury hotels in social terms: it is antithetical to the prevalent way of life in Goa.

In the small hotels in Goa, the visitor is easily drawn into the local social space. The characteristic feature of a Goan house is the 'balcao', the
equivalent of the stoop, where the owner sits to while away time, greet
neighbours passing by, and in turn, be acknowledged by them. The only
verbal exchange that needs to take place, translates as ‘OK?’. The concept of
the stoop is a common feature in most traditional residential buildings in
India, and is an extension of the plinth, sometimes covered, to form a
verandah. While in other parts of the country, this semi-public space is a
male preserve (though there are temporal rhythms in its occupancy by
women), in Goa, there is no gendered differentiation to its use. The visitor
on a holiday in Goa is often a family unit, and this encourages the use of this
social space by both the visitor and the guest: it promotes ‘communitas’ not
often observed at other tourist destinations. This ‘communitas’ is a very
positive dimension to the tourist experience in Goa, one that commonly exists
in the smaller hotels but not in the larger, luxury hotels. One suspects that
this is on account of the fact the smaller hotels offer a more holistic
experience of Goa and do not overtly emphasize the experience of ‘sun, sea
and sand’ as part of the tourist ritual.

At any rate, it must be noted that the ‘communitas’ experienced in
the smaller hotels in Goa is not experienced in the small establishments in
Jaisalmer or Khajuraho. At Goa such establishments have evolved out of the
local cultural traditions, but at the other places, they were merely the
contemporary economic responses to the tourism phenomenon, and
culturally speaking, transplanted on to the local milieu. The question this
raises is: can an obviously appropriate solution to the problem of
accommodating tourists in one culture, be transplanted on to another, in the
expectation that it will yield equally felicitous results? Further, one is led to
speculate: is the ‘environmental bubble’ the appropriate form of tourist
accommodation at Jaisalmer and Khajuraho?

However, it is generally accepted as an act of faith amongst policy
makers, that small establishments are economically appropriate for
distributing the benefits of tourism to the local society. The promotion of
lodges and paying guest accommodation was therefore, endorsed in the
Planning Commission study on tourism (Planning commission 1988:54, 60),
but this intent has not been effectively translated into practice. Part of the
problem is on account of procedural problems associated with the
sanctioning of loans and construction permission. While a number of small hoteliers at Jaisalmer and Khajuraho admitted that they were aware of the incentive schemes offered by the Government, they said that they preferred not to avail of them because of the ‘hassles’ involved in obtaining the assistance. Only the large hoteliers are equipped to tackle the soul-destroying problems of red-tape involved in processing the application for Government assistance. Another part of the problem one suspects, is social: the European tradition of *pensions* and paying guest accommodation is alien to Indian culture. However, in Goa one comes across several instances of tourist lodges being set up with Government assistance: is this because it is *culturally* more appropriate? A detailed study on this aspect could not be carried out, but indications are that this is possibly true.

The level or standard of luxury tourism in Goa was not seen in Jaisalmer or Khajuraho. In fact, after Delhi, Bombay and Madras, Goa has the largest number of approved hotels in the country (Planning Commission 1988:49). The situation in Goa particularly conforms to Boorstin’s analysis of the ‘pseudo-event’: the tourist is isolated from the strangeness of the host environment and the local people within the ‘environmental bubble’ of the familiar western-style hotel (Boorstin 1964). The hotel provides all the experiences the tourist seeks - sun, sea, sand, sumptuous buffets, entertainment - without the responsibility to deal with the harsh reality of the local culture and customs which are presented in superficial, small modules of ethnic entertainment packages, shopping and restricted sight seeing trips. In this ‘liminoid’ situation, everyday obligations are suspended or inverted. There is licence for permissive and playful ‘non-serious’ behaviour and the encouragement of a ‘communitas’ or social togetherness amongst the guests (Turner and Turner 1978). This contrasts with the larger ‘communitas’ between the host and the guest seen in the smaller hotels in Goa.

The physical development of towns in Goa has been the subject of many studies conducted by Schools of Architecture in the country. The School of Planning and Architecture in New Delhi has conducted several major studies of Panjim and Old Goa. The TVB School of Habitat Studies in New Delhi has also recently made a study of Mapusa and an adjacent village,
Assagoa in which the author participated, and derived insights into the phenomenon of small hotels in Goa.

These studies have brought out the fact that the structure and character of the colonial towns in Goa are changing largely on account of urbanization. The effect of tourism in this process of change is through the forces of urbanization rather than as an independent variable. This has made the Government sensitive to the issues of conservation. A detailed report was submitted by a committee appointed by the Government in 1987 (Goa Conservation Report 1987:5). The report states:

‘Mention may also here be made of tourism; it is not suggested that conservation efforts should be oriented towards tourism, but the potential of tourism should be regarded as a valuable economic asset’.

The Report recommended that the Tourism Department should work out a detailed scheme of guided tours to view the heritage of Goa, but this has only been partially implemented. It also recommended that houses having heritage value should be upgraded as paying guest accommodation. This would have required incentives from the Government which has not materialised in any significant manner. It is only in the case of the development of beaches that the Government has demonstrated its intention to promote tourism.

The study of Goan architecture and towns has attempted to define the ‘heritage zone’ of towns and incorporate conservation proposals for these zones in the statutory Master Plan. Old Goa is an area which was recommended for preservation. This area measures about 100 hectares and includes about 50 important sites and buildings. Certain parts of Panjim (Fontainhas and Portais, St. Tome, Campal and Ribandar), certain parts of Margao (Holy Spirit Church Square, Borda area, Abade Faria Road, Padre Miranda Road) and certain parts in Salate and Bardez were also to be conserved as ‘heritage zones’. It was expected that these areas would receive
tourist publicity, which would indirectly contribute to their upgradation and foster local pride. But this has not taken place because of problems of implementation. This is similar to the situation in Jaisalmer where the Government makes statements of intent - perhaps to blunt criticism - but fails to follow through and implement them.

One finds that quite unintentionally, the traditional urban environment of Goa is not under the threat of tourism though it is transforming on account of urbanisation. We have already noted the effects this has on the environment, especially the sea-front land. Currently, a new form of environmental problem is being posed by the Government's proposal to construct golf courses to attract international tourists mainly from Japan. The Government is soliciting proposals from the private sector to build golfing resorts and then assisting the promoters to acquire the land from village collectives. Contracts for constructing golf courses at Verna and Betul have already been awarded, while Amthane, Morjim, Mandrem and Aramboli are on the cards. Aramboli will be part of a Japanese holiday village stated to cover 320 hectares. This will be the new dimension of tourism in Goa (The Times of India 6 June 1993).

As was noted at Khajuraho, in Goa also there appears to be an emphasis on the singular characteristics of the destination - the sun, sea and sand. Such emphasis may be an effective marketing strategy because it does not dilute the image being projected, but on the other hand, it distorts the holistic character of the destination, often beyond recognition. Such commercialization and vulgarization of culture for marketing purposes can be seen in the instance of the Carnival in Goa.

The origins of the Carnival are obscure, but it is believed that it was introduced by the Portuguese. It is held prior to Lent and has some things in common with the Hindu festival of Holi, which also occurs around that time. Youngsters in masks and fancy dresses pelted each other with coloured water and wheat flour. The opportunity to defy social norms acted as a safety valve in the Goan society.
Till the mid-sixties the Carnival revelry was a spontaneous affair, though the Church only tolerated it. However, once the Government recognized its tourism potentials, the Carnival lost its spontaneity. It became a big show with sponsored floats, live bands, scantily clad women and cardboard cut-outs of sponsor's products. The Carnival was appropriated by the Government and private companies for their own ends and, of course, to cater to the entertainment of the tourist.

Critics maintain that the Carnival is detrimental to Goan interests since the made-for-tourist event encourages them to misbehave. The Church and many youth and womens' groups were so agitated that it was not celebrated for two years. But in 1988 a tamer version emerged, though it is doubtful whether it will ever become the festival it was to the Goans before tourism corrupted it.

In sum, the most significant fact to be highlighted in the Goa case study is the emergence of the strong anti-tourism lobby. Several local groups have emerged like the Jagrati Goenkaranchi Fauz, People's Welfare Action committees and womens' groups like Baliancho Saad. If the controversy surrounding the construction of the Konkan Railway through Goa is an indication of the ability of these groups to mobilize themselves politically, then the development of 'sun, sand, and sea' variety of luxury tourism in Goa is set to be dogged by controversy in future.
V. TRAVEL AGENTS/TOUR OPERATORS

Travel agents or tour operators is a broad term that includes people involved in the vital role in motivating tourists, preparing itineraries, making reservations and ensuring that the promised services are duly delivered to the traveller's satisfaction. They contribute to product identification and packaging which have wide cultural ramifications. These agencies could be operating on a global arena or one that is national or sub-regional.

In India global agencies like Thomas Cook have operated since before independence, but today the tour agency business is a mushrooming local/national phenomenon. The business is very competitive and fragile. Most agencies are not approved - as required - by the Department of Tourism (Bhatia 1982:277) yet they operate freely because of the great demand for their service. They claim to work on profit margins that are less than 5 per cent so there is little incentive in such a situation for long-term development. Most agencies are owned by individuals who recruit relatives in managerial positions and this blocks the avenues for developing professional careers. This may be on account of the high ratio of credit accounts requiring a high rate of working capital to the total capital employed. Some of the larger agencies are attempting to professionalize their service, but in a competitive and expanding market, the industry is characterized by the desperate search for the next sale. It is estimated that only 10-15 per cent of the total foreign tourist traffic is channelized through travel agents/tour operators, and the remaining make their own arrangements for travel and stay, and underscores the weakness that afflict this sector of the tourism industry (Planning Commission 1988:65).

To make the sale in today's environment, travel agencies are looking for better qualified staff with MBAs and specialists in marketing. A decade ago the staff was considered to be merely cheap labour expected to undertake mechanical ticketing and routine administrative jobs while the owners themselves used their personal network to solicit business. Today the offices are expensively appointed and the personnel attractive and articulate and are expected to meet tough sales targets as in other corporate firms.
Travel agents/tour operators

The agency's attitude towards the tourist is often ambivalent. Since sales is the primary objective the senior staff remain in the office, while the junior-most staff is deputed to the less glamorous duty of assisting tour groups at airports. This is often considered a 'punishment post'. International flights are usually scheduled in the middle of the night in India, and the agent's representatives who are by now sleepy, tired and often badly dressed, gives a poor first impression to the visitors. The smart officer who makes the sale is not the person who meets the group at the airport in the middle of the night or accompanies it on tour. Thus, the 'cultural broker' is usually a bored, ill-informed youngster on the watch-out for better opportunities elsewhere.

The Customer Relations work in travel agencies mainly entails sorting out reservation and scheduling problems and nothing more. The problems inherent in the cultural interface between the host and the visitor is not even imagined by the travel agency, let alone addressed. In discussion with various agents, no one thought there was need to employ an anthropologist or social scientist in their line of work to improve the interface between the tourist and their Indian experience. 'Profit-margins are too low' was the usual response, after it was clarified that no chemical analysis was involved in the work of the social scientist.

The marketing of tourism has been dominated by the private operators because of the inherent weakness in the approach followed by the Government. Thus different agencies are selling their product independently. The marketing strategy has remained more or less static in terms of spread, innovation, imagination, new techniques and co-ordination. It consists mainly of disseminating tourist information to the public in response to inquiries, (Planning Commission 1988:69-72). Culturally speaking, only cliche images are projected in the tourist literature. Travel-related literature produced by travel agents describes their service as being exotic and reliable. Typically, one comes across a copy like this:
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‘In the choice of a direction, it is the less travelled road that offers more. Because exclusivity is part of its charm. Like the Travel House trail. A travel agency that has taken the different path in the world of travel, to offer the different experience. Where exclusivity personalized service and a high degree of reliability only serve to underline the differences. The differences that is Travel House.’

Such sales language is often the ‘creative’ contribution of advertisement agencies and the descriptions in the attractive brochures have little to do with the actual service that is offered (‘Travel House is guided by a unique Preneurial philosophy’. - Preneurial?).

Destinations are given unreal qualities. Thus, about Goa:

‘The last bastion of the Portugese empire has inherited a varied legacy that is apparent in the carefree spirit that has been imbibed by the people of Goa. A place that literally breathes with joie de vivre, music, fun, frolic, feni, and festivals’.

Or about Khajuraho:

‘These world renowned temples were built by the Chandela dynasty who claim their descent from the Moon God and a mortal Hemawati with whom the God fell in love. Each temple is an outstanding example of architecture representing man’s aspirations towards spiritual goals and the depiction of woman in all her glory.’

Tourists who choose destinations on the basis of such hyperbole obviously do not get the true picture of the place. They visit these destinations without the slightest knowledge about, or preparation for, the new environment, and nothing about the effects of their travels on the people or the environments of those destinations. Their preparation consists in ‘buying suntan lotion and malaria tablets’. No one learns to travel as they
Travel agents/tour operators

learn to drive, obey laws or etiquette of their own societies. On the other hand, the travel agent in India is not equipped, either in fact or by inclination, to teach the tourist how to travel within the fragile cultures and environments which is the characteristics of their sales product.

Of course, travel agencies cannot be expected to see to the education of their customers as their primary task, but as cultural brokers they do have an important role to play in promoting a more 'human' travel experience. Modest efforts have already been made in Germany, for instance, where the commercial agencies co-finances country magazines - called 'Sympathie magazine' in Germany - which provide a great deal of objective information on travel destinations. They also subsidize documentaries dealing with the problems of Third World travel, amongst other things, which are shown to travellers during flights to these destinations. No evidence of such sensitivity was noticed amongst even the large travel agents in Delhi or, for that matter, amongst the smaller agencies located at the destination themselves. One suspects that this has less to do with the availability of financial resources, as the lack of an appreciation of the problem.

How are destination identified ('the path not taken' in the words of the Travel House brochure)? Surprisingly, it turns out, by the buyer or someone's gut feeling. There is no systematic study to develop new destinations by travel agents. The biggest lacuna they said was the paucity of data, and the Government's data was unreliable. They follow trends determined by foreign travel agents. These are communicated to the local agents at the frequent travel sales conferences held around the world. For example, foreign travel agents enquire about certain new locales about which they would have known through itinerant travellers, and the local agent then organizes and packages these destinations as a tour at subsequent sales meetings.

The packaging includes the development of the image of the site to be projected. As it turns out, the Government - or local people - have no role to play in defining this image. Thus Goa is 'fun, frolic, feni and festivals' whatever else are its other attributes. Travel agents employ
advertising agencies who by and large, are only able to address the clients' brief requiring an attractive copy rather than engage themselves in independent research to establish truer attributes of a destination. Consequently familiar, exotic and simplistic images are projected ('keep the message simple, direct') which reinforce the distorted opinions travellers acquire about exotic cultures and environments, especially in the Third World.

The travel agents also do not carry out studies of the carrying capacity of destinations they market. The only response one gets while discussing this subject is reference to the potential to balance the 'peak, trough and shoulder' seasons. The entire business is reduced to a matter of demand and supply; if there is a room available for sale, then the destination still has adequate carrying capacity. The concern of the travel agent it appears is to make the best of the situation while they can, and then move on to the next destination.

There was no training of personnel until a few years ago when training institutes started in Gwalior and Delhi. It is still too early to assess the role of these institutes in the development of the tourism industry. But the fact remains that today, in the travel business as a whole, there is little investment in training of personnel to make them aware of their important role as cultural brokers in the tourism business. Talking to the various travel agents one realized that familiar concepts discussed in academic circles such as 'sustainable development', 'effect of tourism on culture', etc. evoke only sales oriented responses from them. For example, sustainable development' is where tourism can be spread through the year instead of being restricted to the present 7-8 months peak and shoulder season; and, the 'effect of tourism on culture' is noticed when the local destination cannot handle larger number of tourists and the agents begins to get negative feed back from the foreign travel agents.

However, several tour operators agreed on one aspect of sustainability, and that was India cannot be marketed as a mass-tourism destination. The reasons cited were the usual problems of lack of
infrastructural linkages and frequent political disruptions which militates against reliable long-term planning necessary for mass-tourism. They said that the main problem they confronted in their jobs was not selling the destination - which was easy considering the tourism potential of India - as much as sorting out the break-down in the meticulously planned itineraries which inevitably cropped up once the group arrived in India, confirming Murphy's law: if things can go wrong, they will. They saw a future for charter business bringing in individual tourists, characterized by Poon as involving the shift from 'old tourism' which involved packaging and standardization, to 'new tourism', which is segmented, flexible and customized (Poon 1989:99-102).

Will the implication of such shifts in tourism trends on the culture and environment of destinations be evaluated before the destination is promoted? Since they were unaware of the implication of the present trends, what most tour operators replied in effect was: 'Don't hold your breath'. The business is, and will remain in the foreseeable future, demand led. A travel agent characterized the situation by quoting a foreign travel agent with whom they were doing business: 'We are here to tell you how to make money, so we can make money'. The devil, under the circumstance, usually takes the hindmost, and the residents of the local destination, who bear the brunt of the tourism hardly benefit in this process.

A rough poll amongst travel agents indicated that about 60 per cent of the tourist's money goes to foreign airlines and agents, about 10 per cent to the Indian agent and Indian Airlines, and 30 per cent to the hotel and local travel. If the tourist does local shopping or as an FIT makes local arrangements for food and board, then there is a direct impact on the local economy. Otherwise, only a small percentage of the tourist dollar trickles into the local economy through local employment and services. The travel agents interviewed admitted as much that tourism generally benefitted the entrepreneur and not the local economy. This confirms the findings from several studies, that the economic benefits from tourism for the hosts are often less than anticipated (Lea 1988:13 and de Kadt 1979)
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One can conclude from this study of tour operators/agents that the business in India is an entirely market-oriented, market-determined. They are not aware or even concerned about their simultaneous role as cultural brokers. A tourism resource in this situation, is something to be exploited, not nurtured. The policy of the Government to promote the role of the tour agent in the future tourism strategy is motivated solely by the need to increase the number of tourists, and hence, tourism revenue.
VI. GOVERNMENT'S TOURISM POLICY

The NAPT, 1992, is only the latest statement of the Government's tourism policy. It attempts a purposeful shift in priorities towards a 'leisure' oriented tourism strategy, but it does not abandon the earlier emphasis on cultural tourism whose antecedents can be traced back to the Sargent Committee report of 1946. Cultural tourism remains the central plank of India's tourism strategy for obvious reasons. However, less understandable is the neglect so far of other equally strong reasons or attractions to visit India. India has a diverse range of tourist destinations, and as a foreign guide book puts it:

Basically India is what you make of it and what you want it to be. If you want to see temples, there are temples in profusion with enough styles and types to confuse anybody. If it is history you want India has plenty of it; forts, abandoned cities, ruins, battlefields and monuments all have tales to tell. If you simply want to lie on the beach there are enough of these to satisfy the most avid sun worshipper. If walking and the open air is your thing then head for the trekking routes of the Himalayas, some of which are as wild and deserted as you could ask for. If you simply want to meet the real India you 'll come face to face with it all the time - a trip on Indian trains and buses may not always be fun, but it certainly is an experience. India is not a place you simply and clinically 'see'; it's a total experience, an assault on the senses, a place you'll never forget (Lonely Planet 1990:8).

Earlier strategies to exploit this varied potential had relied on the recommendations of surveys that only focused on the historic and archaeological monumental aspects of India's tourist potential. These surveys showed that heritage was the biggest draw in attracting foreign tourists to India (Bhatia 1983:304). One of these surveys was conducted by a
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UNESCO expert Dr. F.R. Allchin in 1968 established a much broader definition to the cultural heritage.

Dr. Allchin’s report broke down the various aspects of India’s cultural attractions and reviewed them in the light of the then prevailing conditions. He divided the monumental heritage into four principal subject groups: a) Buddhist monuments; b) Hindu monuments; c) Indo-Islamic monuments; and d) Monuments of European and British association with India. He advised that each deserved to be exploited for purposes of cultural tourism. The same classifications continue to be identified in today’s strategies.

He went on to identify as a separate category, the ‘religious heritage’, and subdivided this into the types of visitors each category attracted: a) visits of Indians domiciled abroad; b) the Buddhists from Japan, Thailand, Sri Lanka and other countries with a Buddhist heritage; and c) the smaller, but growing number of Americans and Europeans who were interested in Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism and Islam. Pilgrimage tourism is now recognized as an important segment of the tourism market, especially the Buddhist circuit.

Besides these obvious categories, Dr. Allchin’s report also identified the ‘natural heritage’ as part of the cultural heritage because of ‘the educational character of the interests involved’. Then the report went in to define the importance of the traditional arts and crafts and the potential for ‘cultural shopping’ of the different types of Indian handicrafts and handloom works; the performance of music and dance to make it accessible to the tourist; and finally, quite interestingly, ‘gastronomy’ as a ‘cultural heritage’ for the tourist who is ‘strong minded and persistent enough to overcome the values of what we may call the hygiene barrier and to break through the prevailing Indian ‘stew and cornflakes’ barrier (Bhatia 1983:305-306).

Some of these suggestions were translated in time, into policy, like for example, the development of Khajuraho into an important tourist destination, and the concept of tourist circuits to promote more varied tourism. It also justified, and firmly established, the role of cultural tourism.
in future tourism strategies. Surveys and reports such as the one prepared by Dr. Allchin reinforced the commonly held perception of India as a cultural destination. An attempt at a more inclusive tourism policy was made in the Tourism Policy document of 1982 which tried to relate tourism to larger social objectives like 'natural integration'. This was a theme that concerned even Jawaharlal Nehru, who said,

'We must welcome the friendly visitor from abroad not only for economic reason, but even more because this leads to greater understanding and mutual appreciation. There is nothing the world needs today more than mutual understanding' (Planning Commission 1988:3).

In practical terms the 1982 Policy document correlated tourism policy to the trends in world tourism, a principle that finds explicit expression in the 1992 Policy document. Thus tourism policy is seen to be the resultant of and determined by the demand side of the tourism equation, and not the supply side. This is not different from the understanding of tour operators regarding the determinants of tourism development. The implications of this bias in understanding the tourism phenomenon must be appreciated to understand some of the problems that have been noted at the local level in the respective case studies. The Government's policy is dependent on external patterns and forces of tourism development which it tries to influence (through publicity) but cannot entirely control to align such patterns and forces with the country's own needs or priorities of development. In any case the attempt at influencing trends though publicity is pathetic, considering the budget allocated for this purpose. This dependency on international trends in tourism to establish the Government's policy, is now an article of faith, and when specifically questioned on this aspect of the tourism policy, no official could even imagine an alternate model for formulating tourism policy: 'How do we know that the tourist will go where we want them to go?' was the stock reply. But the need for such a reversal of policy objectives is precisely the concern of several recent studies of tourism in the third world (Krippendorf 1987, Urry 1990 and MacCannell 1992).
The demand led tourism policy and the macro-economic rationale noted earlier, are the twin pillars of the country’s tourism policy. This is clearly spelt out in the Report of the National Committee on Tourism prepared by the Planning Commission of the Government of India in 1988 (Planning Commission 1988). Its terms of reference were:

1. Evaluate the economic and social relevance of international and domestic tourism in India;

2. Define the tourism product, its present and future variation keeping in view the market needs and demands;

3. Determine the requirements of a balanced, integrated infrastructure and facilitation measures to achieve the maximum consumer satisfaction;

4. Develop a planned market strategy based on scientific research and consistent with on-going responses of the market needs through a realistic communication strategy;

5. Determine and define the role of the Central Ministries, State governments, Public and Private Institutions in the promotion of tourism and suggest a mechanism for monitoring the performance of these agencies against the well defined economic yardstick;

6. Assess the manpower needs for development of tourism sector and to recommend appropriate training programmes for manpower development; and,

7. Recommend organizational and institutional measures to systemize long-term planning for tourism sector on a sound, technical and economic basis.

The members of the Committee were senior bureaucrats and heads of the large hotel chains and travel agencies. Basically their objectives and ideals were in consonance with each other. Both in its terms of reference
and the composition of its members, the conclusions of the Committee were pre-determined and predictable: there was need for more tourism and the problem was to find the means to fulfill the ends. The recommendations included a wide range of fiscal incentives and administrative proposals which have subsequently found place in the NAPT, 1992. The timing of these proposals also coincided with the country's tilt towards a 'market' economy. Thus, the Report states:

Hence, the time has come for a reappraisal of the future role of the State in tourism development and the extent of its participation. We consider that it is neither necessary nor feasible for the State to continue with large investments in the sector as before. The time is both ripe and opportune for private entrepreneurs and market men to take over. The State can best contribute to tourism by concentrating on planning broad strategies of development, provision of fiscal and monetary incentives to catalyze private sector investment and devising an effective regulatory and supervisory mechanism to protect the interests of the industry and the consumer (Planning Commission 1988:7).

In line with this recommendation, the 8th Five-year Plan proposed that no direct investment from the Government funds should be made for tourism development and the Government would confine its role to defining policy and developing strategy. The 'thrust areas' it identified for future development were:

1. Development of selected tourist circuits/centres which are popular with the tourists instead of spreading limited resources thinly over a large number of circuits/centres.

2. Diversification of tourism to India from the traditional sight-seeing tours centred primarily in places of cultural tourism interest towards the more rapidly growing holiday tourism market within the
framework of the country's milieu with a conscious attention to the aesthetic, environmental and socio-cultural implications of tourism projects.

3. Development of non-traditional areas such as a) Trekking, b) winter sports, c) wildlife tourism, and d) beach resort tourism to exploit the tourism resources of the Himalayas, the vast coastline with sandy beaches and abundant sunshine, and wildlife, to attract more tourists and to lengthen their period of stay in the country.

4. Restoration and balanced development of national heritage projects of cultural, historical and touristic importance to exploit India's unique position as a cultural tourism destination and to utilize tourism as a major force in support of conservation of national heritage.

5. Exploration of new tourist generating markets particularly ... to attract quite a large number of foreign tourists of Indian origin.

6. Focusing on high spenders and to provide abundant opportunities for excellent shopping in the country.

7. Spreading the net wide to attract female tourists and tourists of the older age group. India provides the necessary security and attractions for this category of tourists. Increase in longevity and availability of disposable income could be the motivating force for attracting this class of tourists (Planning Commission 1988:35-36).

Seen in a critical light, there is a wide disparity between the statements of intent and their implementation in the field. These proposals are quite oblivious to the cultural implications of the proposed growth strategy, notwithstanding the brief chapter on the potential environmental and social problems (Planning Commission 1988:5, 117-129), where it makes general statements of intent to mitigate the problems of tourism development which contrasts starkly with the very specific proposals it recommends for tourism development. By and large it remains sanguine that 'there is
complementarity, not conflict, between the genuine requirements of tourism and the imperatives of cultural preservation and ecological balance' (Planning Commission 1988:133). While this may be true in theory, there is little evidence that in practice this complementarity exists.

Thus, it is apparent that the tourist industry - with Government support - is primarily concerned with the welfare of the tourist and not the host society: what the policy implies is that what is good for the tourist is good for India. Typically P.R.S. Oberoi, Vice-Chairman of the Oberoi Group of Hotels speaks on behalf of the tourist industry in general, when he says that he wants India to get things geared up for the pleasure of the tourist (emphasis added). ‘We have ‘archaic’ notions he says, that gambling and cabarets are unnecessary ... hence the (tourist) goes to Las Vegas and not India!’ He is upset at everything - no infrastructure, high taxes, step-motherly treatment etc., and wants the private sector completely involved to set things right since the Government is unable to do so (Business India, 15th Anniversary Issue 1993). The new Government tourism policy it would appear, is indeed inching closer to Oberoi's point of view, though, for some unfathomable reason to people like Oberoi, it continues to cling to the ‘archaic’ notions Oberoi deplores. This recalcitrance on part of the Government to fully ‘privatize’ tourism, may however, only be a matter of time.

No studies have been conducted to evaluate the consequences of Oberoi’s market-regulated tourism strategy. Evidence of development of tourism along these lines in Thailand, Philippines, Taiwan and South Korea are of course, known to policy makers, but are nevertheless ignored in order to increase the short-term gains of revenue from tourism. There is an implicit belief (the ‘sanguine’ faith in complementarity) that such a turn of event cannot happen in India because ‘it's too large', or ‘too diverse'. The evidence from the case studies however, does not support this optimistic position.

However, no studies on these lines have been conducted. A visit to the Department of Tourism's Market Research unit only confirmed the poor
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statistical and analytical base on which policy is formulated. The statistical data that it possessed was culled from various departments and State Governments, and no significant issue it appeared during the discussion, was studied or analyzed by this unit ('lack of funds', 'lack of staff'). Ideologically speaking the department is rudderless, and its work is reactive, not pro-active.

The Government itself has no resources to undertake 'carrying capacity' studies it recommends in its own policy statements to establish the parameters of development at tourists sites. When such studies are undertaken, they are often contracted to 'foreign' experts. The use of 'foreign' expert is endemic and represents to the policy-maker advice of higher credibility than what they would receive employing Indian experts. The services of foreign experts are usually made available for example, through bilateral arrangements with UNESCO or the US Parks Service, and moreover, often do not entail any cost to the Government. These foreign experts have little time or inclination to take into account the nuances of local cultural and environmental conditions and therefore turn a predictable trick: their response is akin to a man with only a hammer, to such a person the whole world is a nail. Their predisposition towards measures which would substantially increase tourism only confirms the circular logic involved in such a situation and the reason why they are employed in the first place. This priori characteristic of their studies flaws the objectives of determining the 'carrying capacity' of a destination. It leads them to primarily examine the physical capacity of the destination to accommodate more tourists and not its perceptual carrying capacity (Walter 1982). The distinction between the physical carrying capacity of a tourist site, and its perceptual capacity is important if one is to proceed with the concern about the impact of tourism on culture. It would be difficult for a 'foreign' expert to establish the difference. There is no evidence that the people who formulate policy in the Government are even aware of this distinction. Under the circumstance, one can only expect greater conflict of interest between the visitors and the host community in future, because the new Government policy will now allow the market to develop tourism without social audit.
VII. CONCLUSIONS

In his book, 'The Predicament of Culture', James Clifford (Clifford 1988) argues that culture is now less a site of origins and rootings than translations and transplantings. This conceptual shift is strikingly evident in the study of the effect of tourism and culture. The study has not come across evidence of sites populated by 'endangered authenticites' but by societies in transformation, making specific paths through the forces generated by modernity, industrialization and tourism. Our world is seeing a drastic expansion of mobility, resulting in massive migration of population: foreign populations have come to stay, mixing with the local population. Tourism has also come to stay and eroded mental boundaries: there are no distant places left - at least, the sites of the case studies were not such places - where the presence of 'modern' products, media and power cannot be felt. Yet, the paradox of the tourism enterprise in this process of apparent homogenisation, is that one leaves home to find something new, another time or space, yet differences are encountered in the adjoining neighbourhood, and the familiar turns up at the ends of the earth. How does one account for such significant encounters? The researcher is forced into the questionable, Eurocentric position, of viewing such encounters from a culturally privileged perspective: Clifford persuasively explicates the dilemma of modern ethnography when he says:

In the last decades of the twentieth century, ethnography begins from the inescapable fact that Westerners are not the only ones going places in the modern world (Clifford 1988:17).

Under the circumstance, it becomes problematic to take a position or even adopt the perspective recommended in the background paper for this study by UNESCO: inevitably it becomes politically charged. There can be no final smoothing over of the discrepancies in this discourse, since it is increasingly difficult to maintain a position of cultural and political neutrality. Thus, the study has taken different stances, different sites, and 'told the story
in pieces, as it is’ (Said 1986:150). As an Igbo saying has it, ‘You do not stand in one place to watch a masquerade’ (Clifford 1988:15). In this concluding section, an attempt is being made to bring together these different pieces.

Tourism has so far not had a strong impact on the culture of the local population - not in Jaisalmer, Khajuraho or even Goa. The role of tourism as an agent of change must be evaluated in the context of other societal forces at work in these societies. In comparison to its role in other developing societies, tourism in India is at an incipient stage. Some sites have been exploited for decades, but most are only now being developed. This does not mean that in future the influence of tourism on local culture will remain as marginal as it is now; it will not, because, the tourist influx is expected to greatly increase - either on account of planning or due to market forces, especially since the country’s economic policies have now opened up: the study has found evidence of both possibilities. However, there is much reason for concern at a tourism policy that is predicated on the objective of economic growth without simultaneous concern for the built heritage at Jaisalmer, gender sensibilities in Khajuraho, and the social and ecological factors at Goa.

In the beginning of this report, reference was made to Krippendorf’s analytic framework for understanding the issues raised by the development of tourism in this country. It was pointed out that too often these issues focus on isolated phenomenon - both at the policy level and in critical studies. While such analyses are true within their perspective, unfortunately they do not take into account the total picture: like the blind men they are unable to describe the whole elephant.

There are few studies on tourism available in India in the first place, and those that are available usually discuss the issues in pecuniary terms, based on the assumption that economic benefits were synonymous with social benefits. Equally misleading in these studies is the assumption that economic growth at macro levels - in terms of foreign exchange earning and increased national income - also implied similar order of benefits at the micro-levels; this fallacy has been exposed in several studies. The fact that surfaced repeatedly during the course of this study was that the wider implications of
tourism development in India have not been sufficiently studied by either the critics or policy makers. Assessment of tourism impact has followed conventional methods of monitoring commonly applied in other economic development projects: this has obscured the distinctive features of tourism based development, particularly the socio-cultural implications of tourism on the host community. This is a serious shortcoming because, it has been observed:

"Unlike other economic activities, tourism demands that the consumer come physically to the product and not vice versa. The physical presence of tourists who come from higher productive zones and with differing cultural backgrounds revive old themes related to acculturation, cultural shock and modernization. In a caste-based society, it rejuvenates the discussion on social mobility within the contrasting process of Sanskritisation and Westernisation. Also since tourism comes to the community, out-migration is replaced by migration-turn around and associated problems of mobility in an environment which grants no anonymity" (Chopra 1991: 10-11).

These themes surfaced regularly during the course of the three case studies undertaken. At one level one found that only a limited interaction took place between the host and the visitor at the social level, and beyond this necessary interaction to conduct business, it did not create wider ripples or have an impact on the society at large. Similar conclusions have also been observed in other Asian and African countries as well (Hoivik and Heiberg 1980:83-86 and Nettekoven 1979:137). At another level, it was noticed that the nature of the limited interaction that does take place between the tourist and the local people, is largely predatory and exploitative. Both the host and visitor appeared to be similarly oriented in this respect, and each sought the immediate gratification of their objective: one to maximize profit, and the other, not be cheated. Here one notices the phenomenon of ‘structural differentiation’, or the separate development of the institution of tourism,
developing its own conventions and mode of valuation, what Weeber called *Eigengesetzzlichkeit*, or self-legislation (Lash 1990:8-9).

The problematic effects of such tourist developments are fairly well known. They result from the relatively large number of tourists and their seasonal demand for services, the deleterious social effects resulting from the cultural differences between hosts and guests, and the lack of concerted policy response from the Government (Urry 1990:56-63).

The probability of friction and misunderstanding, under the circumstance, is high and was found to be dependent on the type of tourist: the organized mass tourist; individual mass tourist; the explorer; and the drifter (Cohen 1972:164-182). The impact of the organized mass tourist and the individual mass tourist on the host community was found to be stronger in terms of the fact that their presence as tourists forced a division of labour in the host society to service their needs, put a strain on the ecology and land-use pattern, while the impact of the explorer and the drifter was less strong, primarily because they were fewer in numbers, but their impact was of a more subtle nature, because of their more intimate contact with the host population.

To cater to both the organized and individual mass tourist required the construction of the 'environmental bubble' of western amenities and services. Jaisalmer was in the process of transformation in terms of the type of service being provided to the tourist: the profile of the tourist was beginning to change from the explorer/drifter type of the earlier years to the organized/individual mass tourist of today. Land use in the fortified city was consequently changing to accommodate mass tourism, and land for new hotels was being earmarked in the Master Plan to create the requisite condition for the 'environmental bubble'.

Until recently only rudimentary accommodation in converted homes or hostel like lodging houses was available to the tourist who undertook the long, uncomfortable journey to Jaisalmer. The only luxury tourist group that regularly visits Jaisalmer comes in its own mobile 'environmental bubble' - the Palace on Wheels. The Palace on Wheels is a special super-luxury train,
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with old coaches belonging to the erstwhile princely families, that takes a
group of well-heeled tourists on a round trip from Delhi through Rajasthan.
They visit tourist sites by day and travel through the night and touch
Jaisalmer once a week. The Palace on Wheels type of tourism service has
captured the imagination of tourism promoters in other States as well and is
indicative of the aspiration of the tourism planner in the Indian context.

A few chartered buses operate on the Jaisalmer route, but until now,
most tourists who visited Jaisalmer, used local public transport, in the
manner of the explorer/drifter. There is even talk of an airport for
Jaisalmer, and if this proposal does materialize, then it will have a similar
impact on Jaisalmer as the construction of the airport had on Khajuraho: it
will change the dimensions of tourism by bringing in more
organized/individual organized/individual mass tourist to Jaisalmer. The
Government is acutely aware of the fact that the standards of locally available
modes of travel and accommodation are inadequate according to
international standards, and much of the investment in tourism development
is in this area of improving tourism infrastructure for the benefit of the
tourist. It is often difficult to dovetail such development priority with the
larger imperatives of socio-economic development: this distortion has been
noted in all these sites.

However at current levels, the number of tourists are still not so
large as to make a significant impact on local culture even when, as in
Khajuraho, tourism looms large in the local scene. But at Khajuraho the
local habitation is a separate and distinct entity from the tourist circuit which
mitigates the impact of tourism. According to Smith, the most crucial factor
in determining tourism impact is their numbers (Smith 1978:11), and in the
case studies, this has been found to be generally true in the Indian situation
as well. The strongest impact of tourism in the local culture was noted where
the most intimate interaction between the host and the visitor took place: in
the several, small lodging houses, restaurants and during the Desert Safaris.
Only the local people working in these areas of tourist activity were found to
be affected by tourism because of their close contact with the tourists, but
their relationship was still distanced, and predatory in nature, and others,
including those in less direct contact with tourists, continued to hold on to

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their traditional cultural base in all social matters. At Jaisalmer, the local people who interacted with the tourist were moreover, still a small segment of the total society and one found that to the society at large, it was not the tourist, but the Government bureaucracy, the army, and the successful business entrepreneur (including, unfortunately, the drug smuggler) who provided the stronger role model.

The people interviewed almost universally gave the impression that the foreigners were a necessary evil, and they maintained contacts with them merely to exploit the economic opportunity that resulted with the arrival of tourists in their society.

Because the tourism phenomenon had taken place so fast, a matter of only a couple of decades, the older people were obviously found to be more secure in their traditions, but the young, while confused, or ambivalent in their outward appearances and references, were clearly offering their opinions from the same traditional base as their elders. The level of inculturation on account of tourism was superficial because its impact had not penetrated into the deeper levels of meaning in their lives. One suspects however, as has been pointed out, that this is only on account of the number of tourists involved, and that the situation may well change if the Government's proposal to greatly increase the flow of tourists to Jaisalmer materializes in the near future.

An interesting aspect of the drive to increase tourism relates to the number of female tourists. Statistics indicate that almost 72 per cent of the foreign tourists who visit India are male, therefore the Government has targeted the increase in number of female tourists as a new thrust area (Planning Commission 1988:29, 36). Since most of the complaints articulated by the local people in the case studies concerned the deportment of the relatively fewer number of female tourists, one can only speculate that complaints of such nature will increase in future, when their numbers increase.

The tourism experience at Jaisalmer was not the same in Khajuraho. In Khajuraho one came across instances of local men marrying foreign
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women, or establishing strong commercial links with foreigners, which changed their personal life styles. Many local people cited these examples of interaction between the tourist and the local people with a mixture of pride and envy, an emotion one did not come across in Jaisalmer. Interestingly such instances of close personal and commercial fraternizing were reported amongst tourist guides who were, by and large, from the local elite community. These guides maintained close contact with the tour groups, not only to show them the monuments, but also to assist them in other matters during their short stay. The sons of the head priest of the Matangerwara temple, for example, were often cited by respondents as those who held their own in their dealing with foreigners by becoming successful entrepreneurs. These events, concerning the lives of the local elite, provided a strong role model for the people of this very small community, but once again, one suspects, that one is confronting the numbers game of a different kind: unlike Jaisalmer, the population of Khajuraho is relatively smaller and less diverse in the context of the number of tourists involved. So the few examples of successful fraternizing with foreigners appear to have a stronger impact on the perceptions of the local people. In surveys, the local people give the impression that they consider the impact of tourism to be positive, and therefore, planners constantly cite Khajuraho as an example of 'successful' tourism development.

What is pertinent in this regard, is the fact that the society in Jaisalmer is more traditional and insular on account of their relative isolation from the mainstream of the country, and even within the State of Rajasthan, both in socio-economic and in physical terms. Most of the migrants in Jaisalmer were moreover, from the same region and therefore, the phenomenon of migration did not dilute the insular identity of the local people as it happens in the normal process of urbanization in the country. The people of Khajuraho, on the other hand, did not have the same strong sense of identity as in Jaisalmer, and migration had made their culture more syncretic, and perhaps, less xenophobic.

At Jaisalmer moreover, people who had done well through tourism, like the guest house owners, were usually from the trading community - provision merchants, for example - who did not provide a strong role model
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in the eyes of the community, because it was an accepted fact that traders did well in any business and the ones in the tourism business, had only done better. In spite of venturing into the tourism business, the local entrepreneurs continued to hold on to their original trades, because of the uncertainty associated with the tourism. Tourism, they have found, not only varies seasonally, but can often dry up altogether due to events beyond their reckoning, like political upheavals and transportation strikes.

The few local people associated with the setting up of larger hotels at Jaisalmer were clearly politically and socially well connected, and had a more professional commitment to tourism. They moved in an elite social circuit and their lifestyles showed the difference: they did not influence the society at large. The situation in Goa was similar as regards the luxury tourism segment.

However, at Goa, one found a higher level of 'communitas' is attributable solely to the greater affinity between the host and the visitor in Goa. Then it must be recognized that there is need in the tourism enterprise to create such affinities elsewhere. This will require positive efforts in the area of host and visitor education which should be attempted simultaneously with the development of physical infrastructural development. But this 'communitas' may also be on account of the intimate scale of the small hotels, and the presence of architectural elements like the 'balcao'. This evidence, therefore, points to the need for more sensitive architecture and urban design in the Master Planning of sites for tourism. Such a need for sensitivity in architectural and urban planning design would also meet the imperatives of 'humane' tourism as opposed to 'mass' tourism. There is need in Indian tourism development to recognize the distinction between the two types of tourism activity in future, because, as one has found in the case studies, one is creative, and the other destructive. At Goa, 'mass' tourism was creating ecological problems and beginning to affect the well-being of the society at large.

Another conclusion that one can derive from the three sites, is that three different types of tourists were encountered at the three sites. The
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same tourist may indeed, have visited all three sites, but their expectations, and therefore their behaviour varied in relation to the particular site.

At Jaisalmer, the characteristic of the tourist conformed to MacCannell’s view that tourists embody a quest for authenticity, the modern version of the universal concern with the sacred. The tourist was a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other ‘times’ and other ‘places’ away from their everyday experiences (MacCannell 1976:107). Thus, particular fascination was shown by tourists in the ‘real lives’ of these desert people. This fascination for the authentic involved an obvious intrusion into the local people’s lives and living space, and constituted an unacceptable proposition. Perhaps, this would explain why, an otherwise honourable people should behave in an exploitative and predatory manner with the tourists.

At Khajuraho, the tourist was basically a voyeur, gazing, of course, at what they were invited to gaze at, and leaving soon thereafter, without another interest in the local scene. This gaze was clearly signposted, both in the tourism literature and in the development strategy. Not surprisingly, it was found that most of the crude plaster-cast models available for sale in the local curio shops were of the ‘erotic’ or ‘sensuous’ variety, as were about a third of the picture post cards.

In conclusion to the Khajuraho case study, one can highlight the fact that the nature of promotion of tourism in Khajuraho raises complex gender issues well worth examining, but beyond the scope of this study. The type of tourist visiting Goa was the classical ‘holiday’ tourist, who were seeking the ‘liminoid’ social environment available in concentrations of those services specifically organized for the provision of pleasure and the recuperative powers of the sea and the sun (Urry 1990:37). At Goa they were further seeking a resort which was distinctive in comparison to the more familiar resorts around the Mediterranean. the semiotics of tourism development in Goa must be viewed in this light. The tourist here is a contemporary consumerist, involved in a dialectic of novelty and insatiability, which clearly translates into the nature of capitalist production, a process that was so evident in Goa (Campbell 1987:88-95).
The Government policy was found to be, by and large, demand led, and unfamiliar with the larger social, cultural and even economic issues at stake in the development of tourism in a traditional society. These policies suffered typically from biases of macro-economists, and their ambitions to be ‘scientific’, which made them naively innocent of the related social forces involved in the process of economic change. These policies further reflected the planners’ view of reality, in a way that suited their convenience and the entrenched vested interests in society with whom they were aligned. Thus, the strong ideology of planning that exists in the Government is of the ‘top-down’ variety (Myrdal 1968:709-712). During the course of this study, the people at Jaisalmer, Khajuraho and Goa presented useful ideas for the development of tourism in their areas, which were not inconsistent with the objectives stated in NAPT, 1992. Some of the ideas have been articulated in this study: the need to simultaneously control physical development along with the promotion of tourism at Jaisalmer; the possibility of local diversification of the tourism market at Khajuraho; and, the viability of smaller, environment and people-friendly development at Goa.

The question of the effects of tourism on local cultures is a serious one and manifests itself in different manners at different sites. There is need to ‘educate’ both the host community and the tourist on the effects of tourism on local cultures. Today, this concept of educating people to mitigate the negative effects of tourism appears to be alien to the purposes of tourism: a century ago universal education and suffrage too, were considered to be alien to the well being of society, but they are now considered to be necessary condition for a free, democratic society.

As regards the subject of educating the host community for creating conditions of more ‘humane tourism’ Krippendorf suggests:

By supplying the host population with comprehensive information about tourists and tourism, many misunderstandings could be eliminated, feelings of aggression prevented, more sympathetic attitudes developed and a better basis for hospitality and contact with tourists created.
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Such information should aim at introducing the host population—initially, all those who come into direct contact with tourists, but also the public at large—to the tourists’ background: their country, their daily life (working and housing condition, etc.), their reasons for travelling and their behaviour patterns. This also includes the presentation of both the advantages and the disadvantages and danger brought about by tourism’ (Krippendorf 1987: 139-148).

He cites the example of the curriculum of the hotel school in Nairobi, Kenya, which includes a course requiring students to find answers to four questions: Who am I? - my country, our culture, our problems, our will; who are they? - the tourists, their everyday life, how hard some of them have to work for their holidays, their desires, their behaviour; What am I in the eyes of the tourist? - the local, the black, the servant, etc.; How can the problems created by various preconceived ideas be solved? - behaviour vis-a-vis tourists, etc.

With the same sensitivity and the objective of achieving ‘humane tourism’, the visitor, too, must learn how to travel. This is a comprehensive educational activity that must take place in the home country of the tourist, but as a first step, it should be possible to include appropriate messages in guide books and tourism literature disseminated by the Government and travel agents. Guide books typically warn the tourist coming to India to be careful about pick-pockets, malaria or drinking contaminated water; along with such precautionary advice, it should be possible to give equally informative tips to the prospective traveller on the need to respect the cultural sensibilities of the host community.

As Nehru so perceptively pointed out, the objective of tourism, both domestic and international, is to foster better understanding among people. The Government of India should recognize this important culture imperative in formulation of their tourism policy.
VIII. SUMMARY

The study has found that in India, the importance of tourism is seen primarily from the economic angle: earning much needed foreign exchange and providing employment. This is evident in the objectives stated in the National Action Plan for Tourism prepared by the Government of India in May 1992, and in the recommendations of the Planning Commission's Report of the National Committee on Tourism of May 1988 which are two important documents on the Government's tourism policy.

The Government is aware of problems related to the development of tourism sites and imposes certain restrictions amongst which, to safeguard the environment, the Government requires that tourism projects obtain clearance from the Ministry of Environment and Forests. Such clearances are however, not necessary for safeguarding the cultural and social well-being of society. This is not surprising, because the very raison d'être of Government action is to transform the traditional society into a modern one. The present study on the effects of tourism on culture and environment nevertheless has identified cautionary evidence to indicate that a less benign view be taken of tourism generated social and cultural change.

In the first place, tourism brings about more complex changes than other economic development projects, because it necessarily juxtaposes people of different cultures and economic attributes. Secondly, the changes imposed by tourism will be more massive because it is one of the fastest growing segments of the Indian economy. Considering India's fantastic tourism potential, and the opportunities opened up by the newly liberalized economy, many feel that the sky is the limit for the development of tourism in India. Such economic dominance - if it should materialize - is dangerous, as seen in other tourism dominated economies. Thirdly, tourism reinforces cultural stereotypes and social structures: while some social mobility is observed in host societies, it generally occurs amongst the lower strata of society, and even then, it is revealing that few want their children to follow their professions.
Nevertheless, tourism as a development strategy, does have a powerful allure to cash-starved economies of the Third World, and not surprisingly, the power of the tourism lobby in these societies is getting stronger. It counts amongst its advocates, the elite of the society, the bureaucrat and the politician. Such power has all means at its disposal to achieve its objectives, and it was found in Goa, to subvert even the Government's own environmental protection guidelines. Similar subversion through analytic or statistical manipulations, generate exceptionally favourable 'multiplier effect' economic models to justify investment in tourism, which seldom materializes as intended in reality: at the local level, the Third World economies, are rarely structured to benefit from the kind of investments required for particular tourism projects. This was evident in Khajuraho, where the real economic benefits had gone outside that region.

Naturally, such self-serving ends are seen by some to be inimical to local interests. The study has identified incipient antipathy developing into powerful grass-root coalitions protesting luxury tourism in Goa. Even in a relatively remote destination like Jaisalmer, social activists were concerned at the growth of inflation, AIDS, and the predatory materialism taking hold amongst the youth of that traditional society. This antipathy towards tourism is expected to grow in future with the rise in awareness of the social and cultural problems associated with tourism development.

A major reason for social and cultural problems following in the wake of tourism, is because the tourism industry in India operates in a disjointed manner. The study has found that there was excessive concern with fiscal and administrative control at the policy level, but a laissez faire attitude to its implementation at the field level. Power and responsibility are administratively and hierarchically separated between the Central and State Governments on the one hand, and between the Government and private sector of the economy on the other. Thus, one finds only perfunctory regulatory mechanism (often ignored in practice) to monitor the activities of the important 'cultural brokers' like tour operators, travel agents, guides, managers of small hotels and restaurants and the transport agents who interact actively with tourists and could mitigate the social and cultural
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problems. Even the perceptions of what is good for tourism were found to widely vary, from the brash, private sector executives ideal of the 'Las Vegas type tourism', to 'the sadistic socialism of planners, for whom what was good for India has to be derived from what is bad for business' (Business India, Anniversary Issue 1993). While such stereotypes - at the Government end of the scale at least - were found to be crumbling the mandarins of tourism policy (National Action Plan for Tourism 1992) are like the newly converted, both in their missionary zeal to rescue tourism from the effects of past indifference and their naivete regarding the social and cultural implications of their pro-active initiatives.

Such zeal is often characterized by a desire to emulate 'foreign' models, and a marked preference for international consultants. The 'pro-active' tourism strategy is not surprisingly, 'demand led', and the interest of the foreign tourist is paramount. This overt bias to pamper the foreign tourist often recreates old colonial structures in the relationship between the visitor and the host community, and reinforces in the minds of the tourist, the 'timeless' imagery from which the Government and people of India are trying to escape through social and economic development.

An important element in the definition of identities is the advertisement message. Advertising imagery is like a Rorscharch test, because it reveals the policy maker's cultural psyche, which not surprisingly, is gender biased. In fairness it must be stated that the Government tries to be scrupulously 'neutral' in this regard, but this neutrality is obviously rooted in familiar cultural stereotypes of patriarchal antecedents. Thus, Jaisalmer continues to be 'martial', Khajuraho 'romantic', and in Goa, the advertisement encourages a liminal behaviour for tourists suggesting promiscuity in its 'fun, frolic, festivals and feni' characterization of Goan society. Such stereotypes unfortunately, distort the identity of the host society and the implications of such promotional literature needs to be fathomed before the Government can claim to be truly 'neutral'.

This was highlighted in the study in the promotion strategy for Khajuraho. Khajuraho is a destination with diverse attractions for tourists, and some of them are indeed identified in the Government brochures. But,
Summary

merely mentioning them in a brochure and promoting them effectively in the field, reflects two different attitudes to the significance of Khajuraho. What is promoted aggressively is the sexual theme of the temples in Khajuraho. The theme of Khajuraho's erotic sculptures is only a small (perhaps insignificant) part of the total tourism potential of Khajuraho, but it appears to overpower the imagination of the promoters of tourism in Khajuraho - sitting in Bhopal and New Delhi - more than it does the local citizen. Paradoxically, there was less complaint of sexual harassment or prostitution in Khajuraho than in Jaisalmer or Goa but this may be on account of the local circumstance. The issue is therefore, not whether such promotional strategy provokes the tourist to misbehave - as it appears to be in the case of Goa - but that in pandering to the sexual proclivities of the tourist, it reveals the patriarchal gender bias amongst planners: in a society seeking to correct past cultural inequities, it is worth examining if the voyeuristic depiction of the woman's body should continue to symbolize Indian culture. Tourism promotional literature and the images they use are deeply implicated in this culturally debilitating process. These broad concerns were examined by focusing on the three major agents of change - the physical presence of the tourist (intercultural interactions), changes introduced by new economic activities, and changes in the physical environment - at three different sites selected because each of them represented a facet of Indian tourism. The three case studies selected were: Jaisalmer, an isolated medieval town set in the deserts of Rajasthan; Khajuraho, a World Heritage Site in Madhya Pradesh; and Goa, a fast growing, international 'sun, sand and sea' mass tourism destination on India's west coast.

The city of Jaisalmer is a living fortress, with exquisite palaces, ornately decorated merchant's homes, dramatic fort walls with bastions, temples, and a palpable medieval aura. Urbanization and the growth of tourism - consisting mainly of FITs and pilgrims - have begun a process of attrition of this remarkable patrimony. The Government of Rajasthan was found to be unable to effectively protect this heritage, and it is only at the initiative of the Collector of Jaisalmer (the chief executive officer of the district) that preliminary conservation work has started. Central agencies like the Department of Tourism and HUDCO (Housing and Urban
Development Corporation) are coming forward with financial assistance, but clearly these are crisis-management efforts which begs the larger question: why the Government and local people are found to be generally indifferent to the conservation needs of their cultural heritage? Non-Government organizations like INTACH have mobilized efforts during the last decade, but even this may be too little, too late, if the Government and the people do not change their attitudes towards their cultural heritage. To the extent that tourism increases awareness for conservation, it should be viewed as a catalyst for positive action.

The second area of concern at Jaisalmer is the effects of tourism on the local ethnographic character of the region. This has remained insular and strongly traditional even after two decades of urbanization but tourism appears to be making a noticeable dent. This is most evident in the exploitative and predatory attitudes in the relationship between the visitor and the host society. The negative impact of tourism was also observed in the loss of authenticity in the local music, incidence of AIDS, the 'touristy' Desert Festival organized by the Government and generally, in the treatment of the tourist as an economic commodity to be exploited at every opportunity. The tourist, nevertheless, carried back a positive image of Jaisalmer, which reflects the enormous goodwill that this destination still generates rather than any positive initiative on the part of the Government.

A third area of concern which emerged at Jaisalmer was regarding the deterioration of the desert ecology due to increased tourist activities in the desert. This was caused by the Desert Safaris and the sight-seeing activities in the desert, which were being promoted to diversify the attraction of this destination.

At Khajuraho, the almost insignificant original village continues to be largely agricultural, and stands in stark contrast - and at a physical and social distance - to the imposing temples and the area designated for tourist activity. The Master Plan is predicated on this separation and declaring the town a 'Special Area' for development purposes has been a mixed blessing: the village has been 'improved' and a semblance of order pervades the area - though this has not prevented the proliferation of commercial activity.
adjacent to the temples - it has also deprived the village of the normal development funds which would have enabled to better integrate with the tourism infrastructure. The lesson to be learned under the circumstance is to understand to what extent should the tourism activity be isolated from the day-to-day life of the village. Whether it is isolated as at Khajuraho, or it is integrated, as at Jaisalmer, there is danger of anomalies developing on both counts.

Much of the tourism in Khajuraho operates in an 'environmental bubble' which isolates the tourist from experiencing anything more than the temples. Two contrasting aspects of the tourist experience were seen in two dance festivals promoted at Khajuraho. The more famous of the two is the well regarded Khajuraho Dance Festival, which has given a 'classical' image to this tourist destination: it is however, an elite festival for outsiders and draws heavily on the 'sensuous' image of this site. The other is the Lokranjan Festival of folk music and theatre, which is hardly promoted by the tourism agency, but is greatly enjoyed by local people and those tourists who happen to be present. The two festivals represent the two faces of tourism in Khajuraho: one the hackneyed, culturally bankrupt practice of promoting sexual exotica under a cultural guise - 'pornokitsch' according to a commentator (Volli 1969), and the other, an alternative, barely recognized by policy makers, but one that is culturally sustainable, and draws upon the diverse cultural qualities of the region.

Thus, the second major issue that emerged during the study at Khajuraho was not so much the effects of tourism on the local culture, but the meaning these extraordinary group of temples held for the policy makers sitting in Bhopal and New Delhi, and refers to the gender issue highlighted earlier.

At Goa the emphasis on the 'environmental bubble' of luxury 'leisure' tourism is more evident than at Jaisalmer or Khajuraho. The nexus between economic power and political patronage which is a natural concomitant of this form of tourism raises serious pragmatic and ethical questions, and has resulted in several self-serving developments at the cost of the environment and the well-being of society at large. It brings to the fore
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the difference in perception between policy makers and the local people in the implementation of tourism projects.

These differences have been well articulated by several activist-groups who have conducted some of the best research into Indian tourism. The evidence of this research is in marked contrast to the optimistic prognostications of international consultants on whom the policy-makers tend to rely for developing the country's tourism strategy.

Evidence shows that in the pursuit of luxury tourism, environmental guidelines, fiscal and planning norms have been egregiously manipulated. Large sections of the fragile coastline have been earmarked for 'concentrated' tourism development depriving local people the traditional access to the sea. Tourism projects get priority funding on concessional terms not available for much needed local development works. The local economy does not benefit from such investments: they have taken away productive village land, monopolized local resources, increased inflation and only provided a few menial jobs for the local people. Unlike other destinations, viable alternatives to luxury tourism exists in Goa in the form of small, family run hotels or pensions.

In socio-cultural terms, there has been a rise in the use of drugs, prostitution and tourist behaviour hurting local sensibilities. There could be a correlation between this and the promotional campaign inviting tourists in which the local people are depicted as fun-loving lay-abouts only interested in music and the local liquor, feni. The Carnival is now a 'touristy' spectacle like similar Government sponsored initiatives at Jaisalmer and Khajuraho.

There has been greater effort in Goa to conserve the architectural heritage. However, the lack of substantive gains in this area as was noted in Jaisalmer, may point to the lack of effective administrative and control mechanisms. Town planning laws in India are based on archaic British antecedents which do not necessarily inhibit conservation efforts - as seen at Jaisalmer - but also do not enable it to be undertaken in a positive manner like other development works.
The study finally looked at two important areas of tourism development: the tour agent and the Government's tourism policy.

The tour agent is an untrained, unrestrained 'cultural broker', more interested in making a sale, than in providing better service or husbanding the cultural resource on which their future business is dependent. This short term, economic perspective reflects a fragile, highly competitive business environment feeding on hyperbole rather than being derived from socially responsible action. The Government is in the process of setting up institutions to train personnel for the tourism industry, and in time, this may alleviate the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

The Government tourism policy, it has already been noted, is predicated on the economic rational and is largely 'demand led'. It is hierarchically and segmentally fragmented making effective co-ordination or control difficult to conceive or implement. Consequently, at the field level market-determined, adhocism prevails which were found to be detrimental to the long-term well being of society. No meaningful research is undertaken by the Government (which is 'restricted to collecting and collating unreliable statistics) to inform policy initiatives, and studies are generally farmed out to international consultants with a priori objective to increase tourism. Typically, such studies define physical carrying capacities far exceeding the perceptual carrying capacity of local destinations.

The concern of the Government is in the numbers of tourist visiting the country and the gross foreign exchange inflow. It is implied that these figures also indicate the flow of local benefits through a process of downward filtration or 'economic multiplier effect' process. However, there is no economic audit of this process, and there was certainly no social audit of its consequences.

The tourism industry in India is still at a nascent stage of development. Its effects on the culture and environment have so far been marginal in relation to other forces of change - urbanization, industrialization and modernization - which are operating simultaneously in the society. However, its effects in certain pockets - as seen in the case studies - can be significant, and need to be taken into account if tourism is to become a beneficial agent of change in future.
IX. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Conceptual Framework

The objectives of the Government Tourism Policy should look beyond increasing the numbers of tourist arrivals and gross foreign exchange earnings to the effects of the increased tourism activity on the socio-cultural well being of society at large. This will require a conceptual shift at the policy-making level: viewing tourism as a multi-disciplinary activity. Under the circumstances, it will be necessary to include experts from other disciplines like social anthropology, ethnography, cultural administrators and social workers in the policy making team.

2. The Material Heritage

The material heritage is in danger of being lost through attrition and neglect. Tourist revenue and compatible tourist activities (e.g. heritage hotels, reuse of historic buildings, area conservancy, etc.) should be used to conserve this heritage. This task will have to be undertaken by new, administratively flexible agencies such as The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) who are able to focus on the specific imperatives of conserving the material heritage and also cut across horizontal and vertical administrative boundaries that restrict agencies like the Town and Country Planning Organization (TCPO) and the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI).

3. The Non-material Heritage

At present there is no auditing of the effects of tourism on the social and cultural well being of society. In a traditional society this neglect leads to the manifestation of unintended and negative social forms and practices. The views of anthropologists, ethnographers and social workers must be sought and a watch-dog, research-oriented agency should be created to establish the perceptual carrying capacity of the host society.
4. The Natural Environment

The concerns for protecting the natural environment have been backed by legislation in India. However, these initiatives are seen in negative terms and more effort is expended in trying to get around the Environment Guidelines than in attempting to confirm to its objectives. It is necessary to develop these guidelines in positive terms. Recent studies on 'endemic' tourism could be applied to the Indian context. The positive role of the Government and industry is necessary in this regard.

5. Education

Education of both the host community and the visitor is essential and the Government must initiate steps in this direction to mitigate the negative effects of tourism. In the host society, education must begin with policy makers and administrators themselves to familiarize them with the critical issues in tourism development. Institutes should be established to train 'cultural brokers' such as tour operators, travel agents, guides, transporters, the hotel industry and tourism related entrepreneurs.

6. Management

Tourism in India is managed in a functionally and culturally disjointed manner. The Government should consider the establishment of a National Tourism Agency and placing Tourism in the Concurrent List of the Constitution. The Government should also establish standards of service and codes of conduct in the tourism industry.

7. Cultural Brokers

The tour operators, travel agents, guides, hotel and restaurant personnel must be viewed as 'cultural brokers' who have an important role in making tourism a success. They must be appropriately trained and motivated to discharge their duties with sensitivity and dignity. Only trained manpower should be employed in the tourism industry.
8. Advertisement

Advertisement is an important element of image building and must be guided by a realistic appraisal of the potentials of the destination, social and gender sensibility, of course, and the commercial imperatives. Advertising codes of conduct and guidelines must be formulated to guide future development in this field.

9. People's Participation/NGOs

The present top-down approach in the development of tourism is leading to great social stress at the local level. This could be mitigated by involving local NGOs in the decision-making process which could lead to the formulation of more appropriate strategy for tourism development.

10. Humane Tourism

The ideals of humane tourism offers an equitable and dignified option to the development of tourism in India and must replace the current obsession with the economic parameters of tourism. Tourism must be viewed as an appropriate agent of change in a developing society.
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The significant fact that emerged from the interviews is the role of personal initiative and rapport with the authorities in implementing conservation projects.


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Purohit, Rameshwari, Secretary, Congress Party Zilla Parishad Committee. Interview with author, February 7, 1993. She provided good evidence that the host population is not indifferent to the phenomenon of tourism even in remote places like Jaisalmer. This must be viewed in conjunction with the grass-root resistance to Luxury tourism in Goa.

Rao, Nina. College of Vocational Studies, Delhi University, New Delhi. Interview with author, January - April, 1993. The author is indebted to Nina Rao for insightful discussions and critical advice during the course of this study.


TCPO (Town and Country Planning Organization). Government of Madhya Pradesh, *Development Plan for Khajuraho*, 1975. This document is under revision. Talking to the authorities in Bhopal who are undertaking the revision, it is clear that it will continue to be another standard land use control of plan.


The selection of what the tourist chooses to gaze at, determines the nature of tourism that takes place, not what policy makers in the host country state are their objectives.


