
UNIT 4 TOURISM AND CULTURE : SOME VIEWS

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4.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit, you will learn:

- the impact of tourism on local cultures in various countries based on some anthropological case studies; and
- the views of a few Indian writers on the relationship between culture and tourism.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The onset of mass tourism, in the nineteen eighties especially, and the institutions it has given rise to, are producing more deterministic forms of culture. In general cases there come into being new forms which are different from the earlier phase of tourism activities. The focus today is on the exotic cultures which figure as key attractions. Here the approach too differs methodologically. The effort is to satisfy the touristic demand and in the process even contrive a cultural identity. This is continually proving to be quite troublesome for the relationship between 'tourism' and 'culture'. Of late this relationship has been subjected to some important anthropological scrutiny both at the international and the national levels.

In this Unit, we shall discuss the interface between culture and tourism. For this purpose, some case studies have been selected and extensive quotations have been used from the original articles to bring to you the first hand views of the authors. A list of the articles used here is given at the end of the Unit.

4.2 SOME INTERNATIONAL CASE STUDIES

This Section contains case studies conducted from the economic- anthropological perspective to gauge the impact of mass tourism on the indigenous people and cultures.

4.2.1 Spain

The following account is derived from a study by Davydd J Greenwood given in Valene L Smith, (edited) **Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism**.

In Spain, Fuenterrabia is a town which used to celebrate a major public festival named as **Alarde**. It was celebrated to commemorate the town's victory over the French forces which had laid siege to the town in 1638 A.D. It has been celebrated for hundreds of years and involves almost all the men, women and children of the town. It was an elaborate public ritual

in which the participation was voluntary and general. But while the entire town participated in it, its symbols, rituals and meanings did not usually relate to the outsiders.

In 1989, the Spanish government threw the *Alarde* open to the tourists in an attempt to create an added tourist attraction and insisted that "the *Alarde* should be given twice in the same day to allow everyone to see it." This move, in the words of the author, caused "a great consternation among the people of Fuenterrabia and a vaulting sense of discomfort. Soon this became the mask of cynicism that prefaces their attitudes toward the motives behind all business ventures in Fuenterrabia. Little was said publicly about it. But two summers later, I found that the town was having a great deal of difficulty in getting the participants to appear for the *Alarde*. No one actively or ideologically resisted, but in an event that depends entirely on voluntary compliance, the general lack of interest created serious organizational problems. In the space of two years, what was a vital and exciting ritual had become an obligation to be avoided. Recently the municipal government was considering payments to people for their participation in the *Alarde*. I do not doubt that they ultimately will have to pay them, just as the gypsies are paid to dance and sing and the symphony orchestra is paid to make music. The ritual has become a performance for money. The meaning is gone."

This was a turning point for this festival and the intervention by the outsiders stripped the ritual of whatever meaning it held for the local people. We are reproducing below the conclusion of the author :

"As an analytical perspective has finally begun to develop with regard to the socioeconomic effects of mass tourism, it has become obvious that the increasing maldistribution of wealth and resultant social stratification are widespread results of touristic development. Various remedies are proposed as an attempt to counteract these problems. While these problems are serious and must be remedied, I am terribly concerned that the question of cultural commoditization involved in ethnic tourism has been blithely ignored, except for anecdotal accounts. The massive alterations in the distribution of wealth and power that are brought about by tourism are paralleled by equally massive and perhaps equally destructive alterations in local culture.

"The culture brokers have appropriated facets of a life-style into the tourism package to help sales in the competitive market. This sets in motion a process of its own for which no one, not even planners, seems to feel in the least responsible. Treating culture as a natural resource or a commodity over which tourists have rights is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the peoples' cultural rights. While some aspects of culture have wider ramifications than others, what must be remembered is that culture in its very essence is something that people believe in *implicitly*. By making it part of the tourism package, it is turned into an explicit and paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way it was before. Thus, commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives."

He further adds :

"Perhaps this is the final logic of the capitalist development of which tourism is an ideal example. The commoditization process does not stop with land, labor, and capital but ultimately includes the history, ethnic identity and culture of the peoples of the world. Tourism simply packages the cultural realities of a people for sale along with their other resources. We know that no people anywhere can live without the meanings culture provides; thus tourism is forcing unprecedented cultural change on people already reeling from the blows of industrialization, urbanization, and inflation. The loss of meaning through cultural commoditization is a problem atleast as serious as the unequal distribution of wealth that results from tourist development."

4.2.2 Indonesia

In today's Indonesia there are two tourist places which are very important cultural destinations for the foreign tourists. These places are Toraja and Bali. Studies by Eric Crystal and Philip Frick McKean are used in this section extensively.

In Indonesia, the international mass tourism started in the late 1960s but rapidly picked up and by the mid 1970s, Indonesia had become an important tourist resort. While many tourists visited the country to enjoy its coastlines and beaches, its importance as a cultural destination is very marked owing to its rich, varied and syncretic traditions. In Indonesia, the fusion of

cultures exists in its richness and variety. Bali and Toraja are two of the most important places of tourist attraction. Tourists from many countries flock to these places to view the local festivals, rituals, ceremonies, dances, traditional arts and crafts and historical monuments. Initially, the influx of the tourists did not have much negative effects. But, with the passage of time and the increase in the number of tourists, many problems started emerging. In Toraja, the increase in the tourist traffic was sudden and the results more alarming. Basing on his study in 1976, Eric Crystal points out :

"Tana Toraja may be unique, and worthy of on-going careful study, because of the dramatic change within two years. The area has passed directly from the obscurity of elite, ethnic tourism to become a target for cultural, charter tourism without passing through any of the intermediary stages. It is too soon to fully assess the touristic impact, but some trends are evident. The local Torajas are bewildered, and uncertain as to the choices open to them, or their outcome :

- 1) If they open their villages, and their ceremonies, to tourism for the sake of economic gain, they are victimized by the compromise of cultural integrity;
- 2) If they exclude the tourists, they are victimized by the inflation accompanying the influx, and enterprising neighbors reap the profits. Cultural conservatism does not 'pay'. During the tourist season of 1976 it was evident that rituals were being commercialized as 'spectacles' for the foreigners, including being rescheduled at the request of foreign guides. Further, the disappearance of antiquities into the souvenir market indicated another potential cultural loss. My cautious optimism based on the 1974 data is strained, and further field research is needed. If, as anthropologists, we have the capacity to guide, our skills should be applied here and now lest this fragile mountain community, which has only its cultural traditions to attract tourism, loses both its heritage and the tourists."

On his subsequent visits to the area, the author recorded that while in 1975, the number of tourists to Toraja was only about 2500, by 1985 the number had increased to almost 40,000. This led to many changes. It has benefitted the people of the area in following ways :

- i) It has generated thousands of jobs for the locals and the infrastructural facilities in terms of roads and airstrips.
- ii) The economic and socio-political isolation of the region has now ended and the Torajan Culture, "once spoken of in derogatory terms, is now featured nationally in Indonesia as a major and important component of multicultural Indonesia."
- iii) The traditional Toraja crafts of weaving, **ikat** dyeing and headwork have found new and rich buyers and this has led to an improvement in the skills.

These are some of the positive effects brought about by the growth of tourism. But the traditional culture, life-styles and monuments have been victims of an unrestricted tourist growth. Eric Crystal says:

"One of the sadder consequences of change in Toraja has been the accelerated loss of these precious heirlooms and cultural artifacts. There is no doubt that tourism has played a significant role in this process. In 1969 beautiful strands of ancient beads were sold in each Toraja market by itinerant vendors. By 1976 villagers in the marketplace and the vendors themselves reported that such old beads were becoming increasingly scarce due to demand by visiting French tourists. By 1983 such beads were 'effectively' gone in the sense that they were out of the price range of the average village consumer. Tourists and itinerant international art dealers have demonstrated an insatiable appetite for old pieces of Toraja folk art. Newly crafted house panels, baskets, textiles, or carvings do not satisfy these most particular appetites; only the oldest, most weathered and most exotic-looking pieces will do

"Most devastating to the people of Toraja is the rape of ancestral statuary that continue unabated at this writing. The carving of ancestral images is common in a number of relative isolated culture regions of Indonesia and, indeed, was highly developed in many parts of the ancient world. **Tau tau**, or funerary statues, in Tana Toraja are carved of extremely durable jackfruit wood. Only the largest death ceremonies are embellished with a near life-sized wooden image of the deceased. After interment of the deceased in a limestone cave vault, the statue is placed in a gallery near the burial site. In 1969, two years before the first depredations were recorded, Tana Toraja preserved literally thousands of such statues in burial sites spread over much of its 3000 square kilometers of territory. When my first article

was written in 1975 I did not realize that the first highly selective raids on Toraja statuary were already taking place. By 1985 Toraja **tau tau** were bringing US\$6000 sale prices in Los Angeles. During the past years agents with 300mm telephoto lenses have been dispatched from Western Europe to compose albums of 'available' statuary from which potential customers could select their desired piece. Working in league with local Toraja thieves, foreign agents spirited the statues from Tana Toraja, and transshipped them by air and sea from Den Pasar, Bali, to overseas destinations. So sacred are these statues within Tana Toraja that no one would dare to openly sell such artifacts within the region itself."

The other tourist destination in Indonesia, Bali, about which we made a mention at the beginning of this section, has been studied by Philip Frick McKean. He finds that the many negative effects of tourist influx which are very noticeable in Toraja have not occurred in Bali. His explanation is that the Balinese people have escaped this due to a process called "cultural involution". He explains this phenomenon in the following words:

"An ironic theme permeates this analysis : modernization in Bali is occurring; tourism introduces new ideas and is a major source of funds. Yet, the tourists expect the perpetuation of ancient traditions, especially in the performing and plastic arts, and would not visit in such numbers if Bali were to become a thoroughly modern island. Both conservation and economic necessity encourage the Balinese to maintain their skills as carvers, musicians, and dancers in order to have the funds for modernization."

The resilience of the Balinese culture and the strength of its artisan traditions have withstood the impact of cultural invasion normally associated with mass tourism. The local people have achieved it by separating the realms of tourism and their own spiritual and social identity and rendering unto each what is its own. As the author explores:

"In Bali the rush toward standardization and simplification of the souvenir arts exists without the total loss of either functional fine arts or commercial fine arts, because indigenous institutions continue to demand high quality craftsmanship as appropriate offerings for the 'divine world'. Balinese could ignore this mandate only at personal and corporate peril. In Balinese ethos, to offer inferior gifts to the divine powers, and incur their displeasure, would be silly and shortsighted. It is one thing to sell inferior goods to tourists who do not know or care about artistic expertise, but to shortchange the infinitely superior taste of the spirit realm would be foolhardy indeed. Thus, Balinese craftsmen remain responsive to the marketplace in their willingness to alter the themes of their carvings from **wayang** (shadow puppet) figures to animal figures - and even to busts of Sophia Loren and Raquel Welch - and also responsive to the 'market' of the 'divine world' whose tastes and expectations are believed to remain infinitely more exquisite. Graburn reported that in other non-Balinese cases, craftsmanship has suffered a loss in quality, because the quality of the spiritual realm evidently suffered from degradation, and the spiritual 'audience' was no longer significantly viable. This is not true in Bali, at least not yet."

But the author says by way of caution:

"Certainly there are dangers for the Balinese in embracing tourism, and as in Toraja, the misuse of scarce resources, increased stratification with the 'rich getting richer', or environmental and ritual erosion may be so damaging to the indigenous way of life that tourism could eventually be evaluated by both social scientists and local villager as a profound and disastrous blight. The results will depend to considerable degree on actions within the political structures."

4.2.3 Greece

E. Wickens studies a village in Greece which has been providing "services" to both the domestic and foreign tourists who come in search of "sun, sea and sand". The participation of the villagers in this quest has been almost total. They have willingly made available all the facilities and created ambiances which various types of tourists may desire.

To start with, the name of the village was changed from Kapsochora (meaning a 'burning place') to Pefkochori (meaning 'pinewoods'), "a name thought to be more appropriate to its scenic location and therefore more attractive to tourists."

Secondly, a local colour is sought to be given by serving local cuisines, traditional dances or, for that matter, whatever was thought to be enjoyable to that variety of tourist out to seek an encounter with the local culture. The author comments :

"Intended mainly for foreign consumption, the taverna evening is transformed from a mundane social event into a spectacle, designed to make the evening exciting and memorable for the tourist. The taverna serves a hybrid cuisine - the traditional **mezedes** (a variety of salads and appetisers) being structured into a Western-style three-course meal with everyone having the same. The meal itself is a combination of Greek and Western European dishes. The rationale for the standardization of the content of these meals is that it allows for the efficient processing of large numbers of coach parties, i.e. a taverna can predict the number of meals it needs to prepare and so maximise its profit.

"In addition, it offers staged performances of Greek traditional dances, which have been hybridised, i.e. simplified and modernised, especially for tourists. For example the **khasapiko** (a butcher's dance), and its popularized version the **syrtaki**, and the **zembetico** (a man's solo dance expressing a mood of melancholy and suffering) are mass-produced, to be consumed by the tourists, just like any other product. These hybrid Greek dances are performed by a small group of men and women, dressed in traditional native costumes. These groups are instructed to encourage tourists to participate in these dances, which end with the traditional smashing of plaster plates. The sound of bouzouki music played in the taverna has also been modified, in order to appeal to the tastes of Western European visitors. Tourists then consume what I call a 'hybrid playful experience' of a traditional evening entertainment which has been modified to appeal to the international consumer.

"What is quite apparent about these type of pseudo-events is that they appeal to foreign cash-customers. The 'expectation of pleasure' from a game of 'going native' seems to motivate particularly 'the touristic consciousness' of the Cultural Heritage, the Lord Byron and the Heliolatrous visitors. They are willing to play this game of being a tourist by day and a native by night, because it is fun and exciting. At the same time, they are aware that these sites and performances are staged, and that what they are consuming is not authentic but rather, a hybrid product."

In addition to this "staged authenticity", we find that the western-style comforts are also provided to those tourists who do not want to abandon their familiar home ambience and yet want to enjoy their holidays, in a foreign land.

The economic benefits derived from the tourist influx have induced the locals to stretch over backwards to satisfy all the needs and wants of the various kinds of foreign tourists. The consequences of this has been disastrous for the local cultural tradition, although the local people are quite unmindful of these effects in their pursuit of wealth. In the words of the author:

"What has emerged in Pefkochori is a hybrid culture which neither reflects the normal culture of tourists, nor the traditional culture of a Greek village. It is a cross between a heritage museum and a pleasure-seeker's paradise. ...

"In Pefkochori the concentrated presence of tourists over a 20- year period has led to the assimilation of the hedonistic consumer-oriented behaviour of tourists into the behaviour and value system of the local inhabitants. Pefkochori is a paradigm- case of a farming/fishing community which has been undergoing a process of cultural hybridisation, of loss of traditional cultural identity. This hybridisation has led to changes in the attitudes, values and the behaviour of the indigenous population, particularly that of the younger generation. It is in effect, a process of 'acculturation'."

4.2.4 Mexico

G Evan's study of coastal tourism in Mexico is focussed around a very important issue : the erosion of the culture, life-styles and values of the indigenous Red Indian communities due largely to the promotion of state-sponsored mass tourism. The state is controlled by the white communities who have little or no regard for the tradition and culture of the native Indian communities who were the original inhabitants of the land. The Spanish conquests and colonisation from 16th century onwards led to the extermination and marginalisation of the indigenous people. Their lands were confiscated in the rulers' quest for "modernisation",

particularly during the 19th century. Their traditions and values were eroded and their history, because it was based on oral tradition and had no written records, was disregarded.

The coming of mass tourism into the country during the 1950s and 1960s further intensified these trends. The Indian lands were confiscated for building hotels and developing tourist resorts. All the benefits derived from the tourist influx, however, went into the coffers of the outsiders who owned hotels and shops. The local people virtually have no control over the tourism business at any level. The suggestions made by the author in this case are given below:

"The choice to participate in tourism should be available and where intermediaries are still desirable, economic benefits must be retained, not just locally, but by the generators ('owners') of ethnic tourism, whether led by craft, performance or other visitor experience.

"As a corollary, tour promotion by national and international operators can ensure greater pre-tour information and guide-training (especially of indigenous representatives), consistently throughout the tour-hospitality system.

"The political and economic forces that will require both resistance and change, are substantial in the case of Mexico. Indigenous populations risk being overridden by economic imperatives and resource-exploitation, including mass and invasive tourism. The adaptation and survival of the Indian socio-cultures to date is all the more remarkable for this, and therefore tourism must learn from and mitigate these effects, and render meeting grounds places of mutual respect and experience."

4.2.5 Summing Up

In the foregoing account we have basically analysed four situations brought about by the interaction of the tourists with the local population.

- i) In case of Spain, faced with the tourist onslaught on their most cherished and popular festival, the **Alarde**, the people of Fuenterrabia withdrew and the festival lost its charm and meaning and became a purely staged event for the purpose of tourism.
- ii) In Indonesia, two tourist sites have been discussed. In the case of Toraja, we find that although the local people made and still make efforts to save their culture, they have, in effect, been completely swamped by the tourist invasion. They have definitely derived economic benefits and socio-political recognition; but they are very much in danger of losing their cultural identity and traditions.

In Bali, however, the local culture has proved more resilient. It has saved itself by the process of "cultural involution" which has reinforced the tradition just because that is what the tourists like. Moreover, the Balinese people distinguish between the demands of the tourists and those of their gods and have institutionalised this separation by making different objects for the tourists (which may involve making of some compromises in their traditional arts and crafts) from what they make for their ritual offerings.

- iii) In the case of a village in Greece we see that the lure of money has been so overpowering that the local population is willing to compromise on all aspects of their culture and values. However, they have been the beneficiary of the economic boom brought about by tourism.
- iv) The red Indians of Mexico have benefitted neither economically nor culturally by the tourist encounter. They have been the losers on all counts. In their case, it is a phenomenon of internal and external colonialism ushered in by the state-sponsored tourism. Their example can be true of many oppressed and marginalised communities in the third world countries.

Check Your Progress-1

1) In what way has tourism affected the local communities in Toraja (Indonesia) and Pefkochori (Greece) ? Write in 100 words.

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2) Discuss "cultural involution" in the case of Bali. What significance can it have in India's case?

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3) What is the significance of the experience of the Mexican Indians ? Write your own suggestions in this regard.

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4.3 SOME INDIAN EXAMPLES

India is being promoted as a major tourist destination by the planners and policy-makers. As a spokesman of the tourism industry would say, it has everything to offer - mountains and seas, forests and wildlife, an ancient culture and modern facilities, a variety of festivals, fairs, dresses and costumes, aboriginal cave-age tribals and 21st century elite; you just name it and you have got it here.

But human beings learn by experiences - of their own and of others. So before unrestricted and unmanaged tourism is given the green signal we must stop and critically examine its influences and repercussions, especially on our culture.

To begin with, we can take the example of Kovalam in Kerala. The following account is based on a study by T G Jacob.

About three decades ago Kovalam was a small coastal village growing coconuts and, on a small scale, catching fishes. The economy was mostly sustained by selling copra, oil and coir yarn products.

The development of Kovalam as a tourist resort led to the construction of hotels and influx of tourists whose number has now reached 65,000 per season. The arrival of the foreign tourists has caused an increase in the number of the domestic tourists also many of whom come just to observe the half-dressed or undressed white tourists on the beach.

Prostitution - both female and male - has accompanied the tourists and so have the drugs. Many local youths can be seen on and around the beach peddling drugs. Smack addiction has also risen among the youth as a result of this. The traditional occupations have declined and the land prices have increased phenomenally. As a result the land ownership has shifted to the outsiders who mainly use the land for speculation and not for anything productive. This has pushed hundreds of families out of their traditional occupations. The benefits of tourism in terms of jobs and wealth have gone mostly to the outsiders and mostly the menial and low-paid jobs are left to the Kovalams. Many unemployed youths have found 'employment' in peddling the drugs. The only traditional occupation thriving "under these circumstances is stone quarrying. Land that once provided a steady and continuous income from agriculture has been permanently lost to quarrying which gives quick and high returns. Deep, ugly pits scar the earth. With the growing demand for high quality **Krishna shila** stone, a large number of women and children, displaced from their agricultural occupations, now work in stone quarries, breaking rocks in scorching sun or rain. They are paid a pittance for their labour, as compared to agricultural wages. Their poverty, it would seem, is yet another sightseeing 'attraction' for tourists."

It, therefore, becomes quite clear that tourism is not such an unmixed blessing as it is made out to be by many who plan and profit by it. The pursuit of money has led to degradation of culture and environment. It has not helped the local people much even in terms of their acquiring wealth by "serving" the tourists at various levels. A meaningful development of the traditional occupations and industries might probably have done more in terms of generating employment. In another study, A. G. Krishna Menon has addressed the problems and dilemma faced by cultural tourism in India today. We are reproducing extracts here :

"The other part of the mindset is clearly evident in the obsession the policymakers display for increasing foreign exchange earnings through the promotion of tourism. All the pious concerns for 'socio-economic development' notwithstanding, the tourism policy of the government is almost entirely predicated on this criteria. Thus, we find in practice, tourism in India is more considerate to the welfare of the foreign tourist than the well-being of the local population. Not surprisingly therefore, there is increasing evidence in tourism literature that the general social and economic well-being of society deteriorates with increasing tourism. Effects of this phenomenon can also be gauged by the protest movements mounted by grass-root organisations, for instance, in Goa to actively campaign against tourism development. Thus, we are confronted with the great dilemma of cultural tourism in our country: the most abundant tourism resource may be unexploitable. Why is this so? There could be several readings of this situation but one reading concerns the right of the collective - the government - to arrogate to itself the power to exploit local cultures. This backlash of popular sentiment is, of course, part of a world-wide trend towards local self-expression and promotion of local cultural identities. Any policy which is perceived to threaten or compromise these local identities is fiercely resisted. Inevitably, cultural tourism is perceived to be such a threat by local societies."

The author continues:

"With this background, the position of culture in the process of cultural tourism can be viewed as both protagonist and victim, at once so strong and pervasive as to have survived millennia and yet so vulnerable to encroaching alien forces unleashed through modern tourism. The greater tragedy of this situation is that tourism in a developing society such as ours is really the thin edge of the wedge of modernism. Indian society and culture need to develop and modernise, and must indeed reconcile with the forces of modernity. In the absence of other development initiatives, tourism is often - in places like Jaisalmer and Goa, Shimla and Ooty - the prime agent for economic, social and cultural change. It becomes a matter of great concern, therefore, if tourism were to accomplish this adjustment by transforming the essence of 'Indianness' in order to achieve any degree of success. Obviously, there is need to rethink the proposition and make the imperatives of local cultures determine the parameters of tourism strategy, rather than the other way around as it is done at present.

"Seen in this light, the formulation of the tourism policy becomes a daunting challenge, one that cannot be accomplished by marketing one's cultural asset at the whim and will of a marketing strategist (quite often an advertising agency) or calibrating its success on the basis

of economic parameters such as the quantum of foreign exchange earned. Tourism policy must be developed with greater consideration for ground realities and its impact on local cultures. It needs to be formulated by interdisciplinary teams of social scientists - including economists and marketing strategists, rather than the present team of generalist administrators relying on 'foreign' expertise.

"It is on account of such 'foreign' expertise that India's tourism policy reacts to foreign demand rather than cater to indigenous needs. It is 'demanded', and strategists seek to emulate 'foreign' models to meet this demand. The models they have in mind are such 'successes' like the beach resorts of Bali or Thailand, and of course, Disneyland. Unfortunately, this overt bias to follow foreign models substitutes as tourism policy.

"This process of servicing foreign needs on their terms recreates old colonial structures in the relationship between the visitor and the host community. ... Culturally loaded images are casually used in tourism promotion literature to entice foreign tourists: Rajasthan is 'martial', Khajuraho is 'romantic' and Goa is 'fun, frolic, festivals and feni'. The tragedy that such insensitivity can result in is evident in the state of the tourism industry of South East Asia - a 'success' at a financial level, but an unmitigated disaster at the social and cultural level."

Check Your Progress-2

1) How has tourism affected the life of the local people of Kovalam ?

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2) What is the basic dilemma faced by cultural tourism in India?

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4.4 LET US SUM UP

The process of cultural exchange supposed to occur with the tourist interaction with the host communities has failed to take off. This failure is now being clearly recognised the world over. Reasons for this are many. Firstly, the lack of sufficient time at the disposal of the tourists hardly provides them the opportunity for an in-depth knowledge of the local culture. Nor can the locals interact with them fruitfully and understand them. Secondly, the economic consideration creates a misunderstanding. The locals may think that the tourist is a miser while the tourists may find the locals too greedy. Such a misunderstanding rules out any effective cultural interaction. Thirdly, the marketing of imitation cultural products in the form of tourist- oriented staged festivals etc. effectively debar the tourists from the knowledge of genuine local cultures. The locals, in any case, have no means by which they can get to know the authentic culture of the tourists. Fourthly, the intervention of the middlemen at various levels creates barriers between the tourists and the locals. The lack of knowledge of each other's language also contributes to this.

The more important thing now is to devise ways to save the local culture from the tourist invasion. The resilience which many cultures display saves them from being overwhelmed by this mixed cross-cultural influences. But those which are more receptive very soon face the danger of gross distortion. In a country like India with dense population and varied cultures the tourism cannot really solve the problem of unemployment and may instead create severe pressures at the social and cultural levels thereby increasing tension in many areas. The policymakers and planners, therefore, must be wary of uncritically and unrestrainedly extending tourism to all regions of the country. That is the only way by which the economic benefits can co-exist with cultural conservation.

4.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress-1

- 1) See Sub-sec. 4.2.2 & 4.2.3.
- 2) See Sub-sec. 4.2.2.
- 3) See Sub-sec 4.2.4

Check Your Progress-2

- 1) See Sec. 4.3.
- 2) See Sec. 4.3.

We gratefully acknowledge our debt to the following authors and their articles :

- For our discussion on the Spanish town - **Davydd J Greenwood**, 'Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization' in **Hosts and Guests : The Anthropology of Tourism**, edited by Valene L Smith, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.
- For the accounts of the Indonesian tourist resorts the following two articles from the Valene L Smith's (ed.) aforementioned book have been used: **Eric Crystal**, 'Tourism in Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)', and **Philip Frick McKean**, 'Towards a Theoretical Analysis of Tourism: Economic Dualism and Cultural Involution in Bali'.
- For an account of the impact of tourism on a Greek Village: **E Wickens**, 'Consumption of the Authentic : The Hedonistic Tourist in Greece' in Khan et.al.(ed.) **VNR's Encyclopaedia on Hospitality and Tourism, New York, 1993.**
- The discussion of the plight of the Mexican Indians by the colonial policies of the government and the touristic invasion has been taken from: **G Evans**, 'Whose Culture is it anyway ? Tourism in Greater Mexico and the Indigena', in **Khan et.al., ibid.**
- The impact of tourism on the people of Kovalam in Kerala has been discussed by: **T. G. Jacob**, 'From Madrigal to Dirge - The Story of Kovalam' in **The Eye**, Vol. II, No.4.
- For the other part of the discussion relating to cultural tourism in India in the Sec.4.3, we have quoted from: **A G Krishna Menon**, 'The Dilemma of Cultural Tourism in India', **The Eye**, Vol. II, No.4.

Apart from these articles, the Valene L Smith's (edited) book and the relevant issue of the magazine **The Eye** can be very fruitfully scanned by those desirous to know more about the cultural interaction between the tourists and the hosts.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS FOR THIS BLOCK

A.L. Basham	The Wonder that was India
S.A.A. Rizvi	The Wonder that was India, Vol. II
Tara Chand	Influence of Islam on Indian Culture
Yusuf Husain	Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture

ACTIVITIES FOR THIS BLOCK

Activity 1

- 1) Make a list of historical ruins or monuments in your city/locality/region.

Activity 2

- 2) Visit these places or gather information and write few lines on each. Pay attention to the following aspects.
 - i) Whether they are declared as protected monuments?
 - ii) Historical period to which they belong.
 - iii) State of preservation.
 - iv) Does they attract tourists?

Activity 3

Make a list of ten important literary works written from earliest times to the present available in your mother tongue.

Activity 4

List major wildlife/bird sanctuaries and National Parks/protected forests in your region. Also gather information on their importance as places of tourist interest.

Activity 5

Do you have information on prominent Sufi/Bhakti saints in your region? Write a note on their contribution to society.