
UNIT 3 TOURISM

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Learning Objectives



After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- learn about the importance of tourism in anthropological study;
- understand that tourism is an applied concern and so requires an empirical outlook which anthropology can provide;
- comprehend that with the use of anthropological methodologies, proper guidance can be given for tourism management;
- know that tourism as a subject of study allows people with anthropological training, get employment in tourism influencing jobs, like in vehicle industries, forensic labs, archaeological organisations, government bodies, private sectors etc.; and
- Learn that it also allows ample opportunity for anthropologists to practice the subject to promote tourism by designing policies and assisting in strategic development.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this lesson we will learn about how a culturally relevant topic like tourism can also become the subject of study for anthropology. This lesson will make us gather knowledge about the role of anthropology in tourism which will in return give us an idea as to how anthropologists can offer their services to its growth. Anthropology and tourism have a deep and strong relationship since both identify and attempt to make sense of culture and human dynamics. Anthropology is a field which analyses variety of human experiences and tourism is one such activity, which crosses many cultures. This very nature of tourism gives rise to a need for a deeper understanding of the consequences occurring due to interaction between generating and receiving tourism societies. Anthropology of tourism seeks first-hand experience of human beings in their natural setting. As Smith has rightfully suggested, anthropology has made significant impact on the study of tourism, especially with the study of ethnography with the use of the acculturation model and showing tourism as one element of culture change (1989).

Human interaction occurring due to tourism is the main element in the many impacts caused by it. This one statement strengthens the link between anthropology and tourism. It is only through anthropology that the systematic methodology can be developed in order to gain first hand or primary information to study the impacts of tourism. Through anthropological knowledge it becomes easier to study the variety of phenomena in different locations in order to identify common trends in tourism. Secondly, taking the holistic perspective or approach through anthropological studies the ‘native’ or local or resident perception can be juxtaposed on the outsiders/tourists. Such a study also takes into account the social, environmental and economic factors and the link between all three. Thirdly, a deep analysis on what causes tourism can be studied through anthropology. So any research on tourism cannot be done without systematic and scientific method followed in anthropology. Nash has made several observations about the credibility of tourism as a serious subject for anthropological studies. He suggests that cross cultural encounters and the consequential social transactions provide the key to anthropological understanding of tourism. He also emphasises that in such an encounter one group (the tourists) is at play while the other group (tourism employees) is at work. And therefore, the local residents or the third group may be classified as both active and passive observers (1996).

3.2 ANTHROPOLOGY OF TOURISM: ROOTS AND DEVELOPMENT

Before the recognition of anthropology of tourism as a serious field of study many sociologists and anthropologists attempted to explore the elements of this subject. Durkheim has perhaps been the most successful anthropologist to establish the relationship between the individual and the society. His works have been applied to tourism by Nelson Graburn.

In his book *The Elementary Form of Religious Life*, Emile Durkheim (1912) has said that all religious belief must have emanated as a sort of collective representation of society in the form of totemic symbols. Rituals and prayers done at the time of the periodic festivals, are devoted to the totemic spirit. At this time a collective representation of totemic clan members occur

when all the clan people come together at one place and pray. Here the feelings of the people are heightened and a mystic feeling about togetherness arises. It is in these collective ceremonies that man first experienced religious beliefs. In other words, the group is god to the individual, according to Durkheim.

In a similar classic work, *The Rites of Passage* (1909, 1960 {Eng Ed.}) in anthropology Arnold van Gennep theorised about the transition from one social category to another during the so called life cycle which usher individuals through the crucial crises of their lives such as birth, puberty, marriage, parenthood, advancement to a higher class, occupational specialisation and death. He discovered that the ceremonies for all these life cycles could be subdivided into three stages.

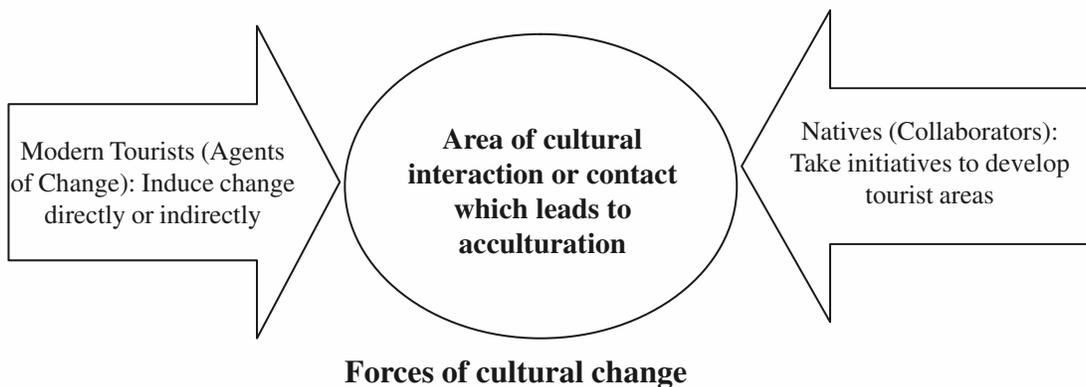
Separation: the individual would first be ritually removed from the society as a whole. This involves break of an individual from his or her old group of status. The rituals concerning this phase symbolise the loss of the old status.

Transition: He would then be isolated for a period and be in complete seclusion from the remaining society. In this stage the individual though cut off from the old status is yet to be incorporated in the new group acquiring new status.

Incorporation: He would finally be incorporated back into the tribe in his new status. The rituals and symbols of this phase are those of rebirth.

In societies where there are age sets with marked political functions, the entry and exit of the members from one age set to the other is elaborately summonalised.

On relating the work of van Gennep and Durkheim and using their ideas it becomes easy to prove the “why” of tourism. In his book Peter M. Burns (1999) has taken the example of young Australians and New Zealanders who appear to go through a sort of rite of passage when they take their long trip to Europe. If this is treated as a ritual as explained in the work of van Gennep and Durkheim it means that these youngsters are removed from their normal life. On returning back home a welcome home ceremony is given to them and they mingle in normal society, get married and settle down. In this context tourism could be seen as a totem of freedom. Thereby, metaphorically ‘worshipping’ tourism as a symbol of modern economic and social freedom, could be interpreted as ‘worshipping’ society itself.



There has been a lack of awareness of the socio- cultural significance of tourism. Until recently tourism was thought to be about economics and tourists, not about the local community or hosts on whom anthropologists focus. Tourism was viewed

as a Western phenomenon, something that happened only in industrialised or large-scale societies, and therefore was not relevant to studies of indigenous peoples or small-scale societies. Therefore the study of tourism was deemed suitable for economists, geographers, and sociologists but not anthropologists.

The association between the two fields does not have a long historic background. The first anthropological study of tourism was undertaken by Nunez in 1963, while the validation of tourism as an appropriate field of anthropological study was perhaps first undertaken by Cohen in the late 70s (2004). Although Cohen's main focus initially was how tourism is relevant to sociology, this had strong implications for later anthropological involvement.

The emergence of the anthropological study of tourism can be traced through key journals in both the fields of anthropology and tourism. *The Annals of Tourism Research* (ATR) started in 1973. It is the official journal of the Society for the Advancement of the Tourism Industry and remains one of the most important tourism journals. The first article on tourism and the social sciences was published in this journal in 1974. The first article with 'anthropology' in the title was published only in 1977. By the late 1980s Graburn, who had then been publishing in the field for 10 years, described the study of tourism as 'an entirely suitable, albeit neglected, topic for anthropologists' (1988:64), and this view has been vindicated by a gradually growing corpus of anthropological studies of tourism.

Valene Smith organised the first American Anthropological Association symposia on Tourism in 1974, the papers of which became *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1977). In the second edition of this book (1989), the original contributors reviewed their fieldwork to provide time-depth in their analysis. This work has recently been re-examined (Smith and Brent 2001) and emphasises on new issues for anthropology and tourism in the 21st century

From its beginnings as a subject suitable for academic study, tourism has been strongly associated with notions of development. The tourism industry has been, and in some cases continues to be, seen as vital for the development of small scale underdeveloped or 'less developed' (Harrison 1992) societies, and anthropologists have contributed to the tourism literature in discussions on the many theories surrounding the issue of development.

In 1993, Przeclawski proposed an interdisciplinary approach to the study of tourism, in which issues can be examined from different viewpoints. This approach stressed that tourism is a very complex phenomenon, encompassing issues that are:

- Economic (to do with supply and demand, business, and markets),
- Psychological (such as need and motivation),
- Social (roles, contacts, and ties),
- Cultural (where it can transmit knowledge, and be a factor in change)

To understand this complexity, an integrative, interdisciplinary approach seemed appropriate and important to provide a holistic view of tourism. 'Anthropologists, and other social scientists, argue that people, rather than business lie at the heart of the need to analyse tourism' (Burns 1999:88). This is evidenced by the fact that tourism is widespread in human society. There are very few places left on

our planet that have not been reached by tourists, and increasingly fewer people who have not travelled. Subsequently, tourism has the potential to affect all of humankind. In addition, tourism involves contact between cultures and subcultures as tourists travel to places outside their normal places of work and rest, to places very different from their own. One can also not deny that tourism contributes to the transformation of societies and cultures. Although tourism may not be the sole cause of such transformations in the society, but without doubt is one of the main reason, regardless of the size or location of the society or culture being transformed.

Anthropology offers a valuable approach to the critical analysis of tourism through its holistic and comparative framework; that is, the ability to bring the local and the global together by recognising the interconnectedness of social, cultural, environmental, religious, political and economic domains (Burns 1999: 88)

Burns (1999: cover) claims that anthropology is the ‘window through which tourism dynamics may be properly analysed and evaluated.’ Burns further suggests that anthropology and tourism, as a combined field of knowledge, have obvious synergy (Burns 1999:72). Tourism has become a set of global activities crossing many cultures, and in doing this has forced itself into the traditional domain of anthropological study.

As Sofield observes the challenge for anthropology is not to shy away from tourism as a legitimate area of research (as appears to be the case with many conservative faculties of anthropology, at least in Australia) but to ... help us better understand the complexities of the tourism system (Sofield 2000:11).

Tourism is essentially an applied topic. It involves real people in real situations. To satisfy the needs of tourism studies anthropological contributions need to become more applied both in its theoretical orientation and its practical reality Gardner and Lewis (1996: 158-160) discuss the application of anthropological methodology, skills and expertise in the development context, arguing a place for anthropologists to ‘work within’ the large industries that impact on the lives of indigenous people. Anthropology needs to meet this challenge in the tourism arena. The future challenge for anthropology is to increase its contribution; to expand its analytical work on tourism. As the practice of tourism becomes more focused on hosts (Burns and Sofield 2001), not just as objects or commodities but as active participants, the demand grows for anthropology to apply its specialised knowledge and generate new theoretical frameworks. Such application can assist not only the host communities, but also the tourists and the tourism operators that comprise the whole tourism system. In anthropology, the wide range of possibilities for the study of tourism is only being realised. Ultimately, anthropology is about people and so is tourism.

3.3 SCOPE AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN TOURISM STUDIES

Conducting studies through fieldwork is an integral part of an anthropologist’s work profile. As a discipline anthropology has contributed invaluable information about the nature of human beings and what governs it. On the other hand tourism is relatively a very recent addition as a serious discipline of study. Apart from having a major economic impact tourism has been also considered as a major

factor that brings about cultural exchanges when tourists interact with the local population. Over a period of time this definitely causes changes in the behavioural patterns of the host population. Unplanned tourism activities can have serious consequences in that the authenticity of the destination or the very factor that made the place a 'must travel' for the tourist may be lost. Strategic tourism management requires a clear understanding not only about the way of life of the host population but also about that of the visitors and how the meeting between the two could influence each other. Anthropological studies and records come in extremely handy in such assessments. Anthropologists the world over are recognising the possibility of tourism as being a specialised sub discipline of anthropology. At the same time the planners of tourism are giving due respect to anthropological studies. The scope is unlimited. Let us now have a better understanding of the various avenues and possibilities of anthropology and tourism.

3.3.1 Cultural Anthropology and Tourism Studies

As mentioned in the previous chapters early armchair anthropologists mainly belonged to Europe. Curiosity to understand completely different cultures compelled them to gather information about these. The source of information was mainly based on the accounts of travelers, missionaries and administrators.

It was only in the 20th century that anthropologists ventured to travel themselves in order to study new cultures. This method is known as fieldwork, which is the first hand systematic exploration of a variety of human cultures. This involves direct interaction between the fieldworker and his subject.

One of the key elements in the study of tourism is to analyse its impact not only on the native culture but also the behaviour of the tourists. In studying such impacts anthropology has invaluable contributions to make. Smith says that human interaction and not business and marketing is the key factor in tourism's many paradoxes. This statement makes the link between anthropology and tourism all the more important. Anthropology makes it possible to gather first hand information, which provides the primary data for studies in tourism. The information gathered in anthropological studies is extremely authentic though sometimes it becomes difficult to make completely objective studies of another culture. The various techniques used by anthropologists are observation, interviews, case studies and genealogy. The best approach to develop and study a cross-cultural perspective is the case study approach. While studying tourism impacts the most important point is to analyse the effect of tourism on the culture of the society. For this it is essential to have information and relevant data about the society before the tourists pour in and 'pollute', the host communities. The work of early anthropologists comes handy in such situations.

The first step is to learn about the society as it exists or had existed without any outside interference or influence. The second step is to study the subtle changes that occur or had occurred when tourism is/was introduced in it. This may not be visible but anthropological studies along the way aid in identifying and analysing these changes. The third step is to study all the changes in the host community since the development of tourism. This is the study of the visible changes in the host community due to tourism. Such information can be gathered only from detailed and often tedious fieldworks.

By comparing each of these stages a sound judgment on what the host community had been and what positive or negative impact tourism has had on it can be made. This goes a long way in helping all involved in the tourism industry be it the government or the private sector to formulate sound and logical policies in tourism.

3.3.2 Physical Anthropology and Tourism Studies

This branch of anthropology apart from studying man as a product of evolutionary process also involves an analysis of human population. Both approaches revolve around a common theme of human variation and adaptation. This is important because men do not live in a vacuum. They are constantly interacting with the environment. This field considers such issues as how the environment has affected and continues to affect man's structure.

Because this field deals with studying how the human physical form undergoes change this branch of anthropology has had more inputs for the tourism industry than any other. It is seen from various research conducted that people relatively isolated from others apparently change very slowly in physical form while populations having constant contacts with many structurally diverse people may change rapidly in bodily structure in a relatively short time.

Physical anthropology answers such questions as what happens when people of different variety interbreed or is there any relationship between man's physical type and his temperament, intelligence, special attitudes or behaviour in general. The answers to these questions are the prime concern for tourism policy makers, since this plays a significant role in the monitoring of tourism borne diseases like AIDS. In many countries like Thailand where sex tourism is practiced these studies contribute towards formulating therapies for educating high-risk groups like sex workers. Another interesting contribution of physical anthropological studies to tourism is to improve various facilities especially in transportation. Let us see how.

Somatometry a division of anthropology may be defined as systematised technique to measure living body including hand and face. Different types of instruments have been designed specially to measure different parts of the human body. Apart from classical anthropological studies which deals with comparing the somatometric measurements of different populations of the world. These studies can go a long way in designing the different objects related to the tourism industry. For example designing of seats in cars, buses and aero-planes can be based on these studies, to provide maximum comfort to tourists specifically those who travel long distances. This enables in improving the quality of service the tourism industry provides to tourists. Such studies also contribute in designing first aid and insurance services. Once again, keeping in mind the physical condition of the tourist and the probable, pathological or physiological changes that can occur when the tourist visits different places with a different environment.

It is important here to mention another increasingly relevant branch of physical anthropology and how it can help in monitoring and controlling crimes due to tourism. This interesting field is known as forensic anthropology. It primarily aids in detecting criminals who operate under the guise of tourists. This science has unparalleled contribution since through somatometric measurements it is possible to detect people under suspicion. This becomes all the more relevant in

the new millennium where tourism will emerge as one of the top industries of the world so that no one could blame crime to tourism.

You may find it amazing and for that matter even find it unimaginable to know that through somatoscopic observations it is even possible to detect any such criminal posing as tourists during which he might have changed his physical appearance. This becomes possible even after the advanced techniques of disguise like plastic surgery because though it may be possible to change one, two or more features it is almost impossible to change the entire human structure. This field of anthropology detects even the minutest similarities, which go a long way in establishing the link between the criminal and a few of his available descriptions to the crime branch. This itself offers an interesting opportunity for those who wish to be linked to both anthropology and tourism.

3.3.3 Archaeological Anthropology and Tourism Studies

Archaeological anthropology attempts to trace the origin, growth and development of the culture in the past. It attempts to reconstruct the forms of the past and to trace their growth and development in time. These studies play the role of detectives in uncovering the past be it pre or post history.

The archaeologists in most cases reconstruct the culture of the past from the material remains alone. Items like buried utensils, weapons, rubber sheets, stone carvings, figures of baked clay, ruins describe something of ancient culture and to relate it to the environment in which it occurred. We can say that archeologists make a major contribution to our knowledge of cultural history and development.

Through many studies archaeologists have decided that cultural evolution has not been equally rapid in different parts of the world. These records by archaeologists give us many clues as to the ways in which cultures change. Even complex factors that give rise to these changes are included in the extensive work. Since archaeological anthropologists mainly deal with excavations to discover artifacts they attempt to build the cultural history of man's past through physical evidences.

Coming down to tourism we have already seen that in modern world people like to take small breaks and during this period many either visit spots with a different culture or visit spots which have historical evidences of the past culture though the prime motive is entertainment especially in complex societies. Authenticity is what people look for today in everything. People who are driven towards past cultures look for this very feature of authenticity so one alternative for entertainment and amusement is to exploit and explore tourism related with lost cultures.

Archaeological anthropology does just this. It reconstructs past and tries to keep it as authentic as possible. Reconstruction or revival of ruins of temples, palaces, forts is the prime concern not only to those studying history, archeology, or anthropology but also for lay people who wish to, even though for a short time, experience the slow pace of life and the abundant luxuries of the past.

Archaeological anthropologists contribute immensely to tourism. We can say that reconstruction of historical sites and tourism has always been closely associated. Anthropology of tourism calls for "culturally appropriate" ways of preserving sites.

One problem that arises due to such archaeological studies is the effect these will have on communities living in and around such sites, as they will have to shift to a new location. To counter this problem the governments around the world look to exploit such resources as tourism products. It is essential here to integrate archeological expeditions with economic benefits of tourism. Materials discovered become national and cultural property, which are displayed in other countries. Such displays motivate the people to travel to the respective country and this further encourages tourism. It is important not to transform such displays into mere artifacts meant for amusement and entertainment but to value these as invaluable properties of the past.

3.3.4 Linguistic Anthropology and Tourism Studies

The branch of cultural anthropology which studies human beings' language is called linguistics. Languages of all people, past and present interest anthropologists because it is the chief vehicle through which humans' preserves and transmits their culture from generation to generation. Linguistic anthropologists apart from studying the description of the structure of the language (historical linguistics) compare and contrast the languages of different people (comparative linguistics) and study how language is used in actual speech and cognition (social linguistics or ethno linguistics). Both comparative and social linguistics throw light on universal properties of the language. Thus language is a vital component of human cultural knowledge.

Apart from this, the expert also compares languages with one another to determine the features common to language everywhere. Human language is a remarkably universal aspect of human culture and is intimately related to everything man is, man does and man thinks. Above all, a relatively new field of linguistic anthropology is to study its many interrelations between the language of a people and the changes it undergoes when it comes in contact with a group of culturally different people. This is especially significant while studying the socio cultural impact of tourism because through tourism people of host community interact with tourists. This contact has had tremendous impact on the spoken language especially on the natives. We now attempt to see how this occurs. Since tourism is also a business activity in which the natives offer their services to the tourists. During such interactions two people speaking different languages come in contact. They in the process attempt to pick up certain dialects and key phrases from each other's language. However major contents of message are communicated through non verbal language. This makes it possible for a better understanding between the two. In this effort the native tries harder because for whatever service he provides to the tourist can be offered only if he understands the requirements of the tourist. This is also important since the native competes with his own people to gain the business brought in by the tourist. It goes without saying that the tourist would prefer and feel comfortable with the native who speaks his language. This interesting interaction in the modern world becomes relevant to linguistic anthropologists since the cross-cultural inter mingling causes certain unique changes not only in the speech but also effects the behaviour to some extent.

3.4 EFFECT OF TOURISM ON EXPRESSIVE CULTURE AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES

Culture consists of the learned ways of behaving, accumulated by many humans over many generations. Accumulation of learned ways of behaving is made possible by recreation and use of symbols. Without this facility learning is static or non progressive as among the animals. Culture in essence is an accumulation of learned patterns of behaviour originated and developed by means of symbols came into being when humans learned to symbolise. To understand the role-played by symbolic behaviour in the origin and perpetuation of culture it is necessary to be clear about the nature of symbols.

Briefly a symbol may be defined as a physical phenomenon that has a meaning bestowed upon it by those who use it for example objects, artifacts, sequence of sounds (language and music) and sequence of movements (body language, drama dance etc.)

One of the prime motives of tourism is to experience a different culture and in the process gather souvenirs or mementoes, unique artifacts or crafts. Apart from this because tourists seek something different from the sequence of sound presented in the form of music or the sequence of movements presented in the form of drama or dance by the natives, these become the highlight of entertainment for the tourists. Anthropologists have become interested in tourism and its symbolic qualities. In a world that is completely inclined towards technological innovations and globalisation these counter culture based on the arts, crafts, play and ritual become escape routes for many.

Traditionally field workers have always been collectors of ethnic arts and crafts. Mass tourists who exploited new cultures looked for these forms of artistic expressions as souvenirs. This may have led to a number of changes in the artifacts so that it could be constructed as per the taste of the tourist. This becomes an important issue for study by the field workers.

Another interesting area of study is how tourism has led the cross cultural changes in traditional games and sports. Tourism to a large extent has also provided an ample opportunity to study the religions and ritualistic services. This is so because most of the times these are presented as performances for the sake of the tourists. Now the days such display of rituals of folk culture has become or is on the verge of becoming merely a form of entertainment performed primarily for business gains. This is not a healthy signal especially where original and deep meaning cultures are concerned since these traditions lose their spiritual values.

But on the positive side tourism has been one main reason where many lost forms of expressive culture have been able to revive and gain momentum. Once again civil festivals, religions, rituals and public performances become inputs into the symbolic qualities of tourism. The touristic experiences are often seen as the approximation of life of people that are marked at significant movements by rituals and ceremonies like birth, adolescence, marriage, birth of a child, middle age, old age and death. Just to cite a few examples the carnival in Goa, boat races in Kerela, the traditional welcome of Maharajas in Rajasthan, the Gujarati dandia, Ganga mahotsav of Uttar Pradesh etc. have gained tremendous momentum through tourism.

Therefore in the advent of the 21st century the study of tourism in anthropology is increasing in importance but appears to have settled between the symbolic and materialistic school of thought. Let us now take a quiet look at the focus of anthropology of tourism. In studies conducted in Asia concentration is upon the various revivals of expressive culture in Japan, Thailand, China and India. In these countries anthropology of tourism focuses on festivals, rituals, pilgrimages, performances, arts and crafts.

In Latin America beach tourism has been the focus of study particularly to analyse regional developments. In many parts of the Caribbean, anthropology of tourism has specifically paid attention to the guest host conflict. In Pacific Islands too specifically in the Polynesian cultural center in Hawaii, which has transformed its traditional rituals into mere stage performances, which are superficial in nature, becomes the focus of the field workers. In Africa the subject of research is the impact of tourism on native population especially on linguistic stratification and cultural adaptation.

Anthropology of tourism in all its studies has to face problems and difficulties in order to overcome limitations. It is also necessary to understand whom such kind of studies may benefit. It may be the tourist, the tour operators, the host population, the industry or all. Definitely this new area will play an increasingly important role in the future of investigating tourism through anthropology.

3.5 NATURE OF TOURISM IMPACTS: A CONCERN FOR ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND TOURISM PLANNERS

By impact we essentially mean the effect that one environment can have when it comes in contact with a different one. When we relate to tourism the movement of tourists (one environment) to the destination, which, consists of, the host (second environment) will have an impact, which can be of different kinds. The kind of effect could be some form of social changes, behavioural changes, cultural changes, not to forget the environmental changes and most important of all the economic changes. Since impact could be both positive as well as negative, it is of great significance to the tourism planners in order to control the negative impacts and promote the positive ones.

From the point of view of anthropology such impacts are of deep concern to all those studying social change. A symbiosis between anthropological studies and tourism planning can be of immense advantage in those areas where tourism is thriving and causing changes in the society. Such mutual help between the two fields is therefore of great relevance. The efforts in this chapter is to understand the various impacts of tourism and realise the importance of incorporating all these aspects while planning for tourism as a practitioner so that a balance between the tourists and host communities can be maintained.

3.5.1 Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism

Culture is the medium through which the human species adapts to its physical and social environment because this system is adaptive, it is fairly stable and remains so unless the conditions to which it is adapted change. Prospects of change are often viewed with dismay by outside observers who bemoan the

modifications in the traditional life styles of indigenous people. In this process one forgets that such people may themselves want change especially when exposed to an alternative lifestyle. It should also not be assumed that these societies have existed largely unchanged for centuries and are in harmony with their environment. Such people also look for a better way of living. All these reasons and many more contribute towards socio cultural changes.

The impact on tourism can be viewed as arising from the types of tourism involved and the characteristics of the communities in which it is taking place and the nature of resident visitor encounters. Investigations of tourism cycles suggest that impacts in a destination area are likely to change with time as the nature of tourists; the residents and their interactions also change. Many of the changes linked with tourism are cumulative. Cumulative impact assessment is a challenging topic for those conducting studies on and preparing impact assessment reports.

3.5.2 Changes in Settlements

One of the most important and obvious effects due to tourism has been on settlements. Tourism has been responsible for the creation of many settlements, which previously did not exist. For e.g., the tiny coastal settlements in Spain have today grown into flourishing resorts. Due to tourism a number of hotels are built and such constructions are of threat to culture since colonisation by semi permanent tourists who stay in such hotels may demand changes in the lifestyles of the localities near the hotels. According to Cosgrove and Jackson “Since such settlements are leisured rather than agricultural communities as their inhabitants, so their sites, situations, aspect layout and overall form must inevitably differ from pre-existing forms. Such settlements seldom seem to improve all the existing forms” (1987).

3.5.3 Changes in Structure and Values of Society

Let us now take a look at changes in values and behaviour. Such changes may not be solely due to tourism but tourism may accelerate these changes in the society. The ‘demonstration effect’ of tourists is assumed to be a major influence for change. In this effect tourists are perceived as demonstrators. This is so because in the phenomenon of tourism the tourist is always economically more advanced than the host. How they act, what they wear, eat and buy is an instant eye catcher mainly for the younger generation of the host community. The older generation with a firmer belief in traditions, customs and values are less prone to change. Sometimes the power and influence of the older generation get eroded and the younger generations for whom the tourists demonstrate an alternate way of living become more influential. These groups of youngsters copy the behaviour and adopt the values of the more modern and western tourist. This phenomenon is known as the demonstration effect. Sometimes such an effect may lead to changes in family relationships and the evolution of new criteria for social status. In short we can sum that the tourists visit a destination to explore the social life in such places, where as the host population attempts to imitate the lifestyle of the tourist. Such symptoms are visible in short run but the impact is felt in the long run.

3.5.4 Changes in the Performance of Artistic, Religious and Traditional Practices

The meaning of demonstration effect has already been explained in the previous topic. The same effect can be seen in the cultural activities, traditions and religious beliefs of the host community. We shall now analyse these impacts.

Tourism is a demand led phenomenon i.e. the supply for tourism depends mainly on the requirement of the tourists. Since most countries are promoting their culture as a tourism product it is extremely essential to understand what tourism can do to the culture of the host society. Religious activities and traditions depend on the values and beliefs of a society. Any performance or ritual activity is conducted within the society ensuring that each individual of the society understands the deeper meaning of such performances.

On the other hand tourists are seldom well prepared for an international encounter, which is vastly different from their own. Their knowledge depends on the glamorous images from glossy travel brochures, movies, documentaries and so on. Whereas the tourists travel in luxury, stay in luxury and belong to the richer class, an artificial barrier is needed between the tourists and the hosts. During their trip the tourists expect a glimpse of native culture. Most often the tourists join in such traditional activities without really understanding the meaning of ceremonies. The activities of the host, sacred, full of spiritual meaning lose their very soul when these performances become a source of income for the host. They become an item open for bargains. These causes the ceremonies to be performed merely as cultural shows devoid of intrinsic meaning and they become purely customised. A complete ethnic reconstruction takes place which is combined with ethnic stereotype media and brochures. Such ceremonies become meaningless even to the hosts.

Another effect on culture is the cultural erosion that takes place in functional, which then turns into a pop tradition because the natives who consider tourists to be 'modern' or 'progressive' adopt the dress styles and, manners of the tourists. The entire phenomenon that has been described is known as 'staged authenticity'. This is considered a harmless exercise by many but to those concerned with anthropological and tourism studies the danger line is crossed when such rituals, ceremonies and traditions become artificial. Tourism instead of contributing to international understanding and harmony does just the opposite. When local people who no longer want to remain objects for tourist's gapes challenge such actions, they become hostile towards tourists. Tourism policy makers, professionals and anthropological researchers have to take these implications into account for the systematic and healthy development of tourism.

3.5.5 Impact of Tourism on Economy

Traditionally tourism has been viewed as a great force in promoting understanding amongst nations. It is only in recent years particularly in the late 20th century that tourism has been accepted as an important catalyst for economic development. Evaluating the economic impact of this phenomenon provides valuable information that aid in the formulation of tourism development policies. These policies are the forces that determine the type of infrastructure or super structure a country needs to encourage effective and appropriate supplies for tourism. Not only this, the analysis of the economic effect of tourism is vital to analyse the

global economies. It has earlier been explained how tourism flows take place from industrialised to developing countries. Many backward or closed societies have opened up and become more in line with the development taking place in our world today. The influences of tourism particularly on economy apart from helping policy makers provide a completely unexplored virgin area of study for anthropologists. The metamorphosis of closed society to a more liberalised one has always offered valuable scope for research but perhaps the contributions of tourism in such processes have been ignored. In fact, such economic changes that may have taken several years when no tourism activities existed here takes place within a span of one or two visits by the tourists.

Let us see what influence and how much influence tourism extends to several fields of economic activities, which can be grouped into four main themes:

- 1) Employment
- 2) Development
- 3) The Tourism Multiplier
- 4) Balance of Payment

Let us take a quick look into these aspects:

- **Employment**

The tourist industry is a labour intensive service industry and so it is a valuable source of employment: it employs large number of people and provides a wide range of jobs, which extend from the unskilled to semi skilled to highly specialised. The growth of tourism in both industrialised and developing countries has created many jobs, which are directly linked to tourism (hospitality, transport, entertainment, travel agencies, tour operators, finance etc.). On the other hand since tourism is a combination of the contributions made by the allied industries many indirect jobs are also created specially in terms of the third world or developing countries. The impact of tourism on employment is quite considerable. Even in the industrialised countries tourism has created avenues. The government of India's National Action Plan for tourism mentions that during 1989- 90 the tourism industry in India generated direct employment to 5.5 million persons and another 8 million were employed indirectly.

- **Development**

For most countries production, consumption and employment resulting from tourism are important contributions to the economic development. However, development should not be associated with just economic and social perspective but environmental aspects must also be taken into account. Any tourism development plan should be based on an overall policy, which links it with both social and economic development plans.

- **The Tourism Multiplier**

A multiplier is the total effects (direct, indirect and/or induced) divided by the direct effects of tourism. This concept is based on the recirculation of income: recipients use some of their income for consumption spending, which then results in further income and employment (Frechtling, 1994). Thus defined in its simplest form multiplier effect is the number of times money spent by a tourist that circulates through a country's economy.

Multiplier effect of tourism tracks money spent by tourists as it filters through the economy. Tourism is said to have the highest multipliers. It has been proved that money spent by a single tourist multiplies and reaches the lowest class of people in the society. The money filters through the economy in such a way that the revenue decreases in a geometric proportion at each round as a result of leakages in form of savings.

The multiplier is a tool used to analyse the economic effects of increases in tourism expenditure and its influence on the other sectors of the economy. In particular economic composition of an area determines the size of multipliers. The greater the range of economic activities in the area, the greater the chance of a high number of exchanges between them and therefore the greater the size of multiplier. But a high number of imports brought into the area reduces the value of multipliers as in the case of many developing countries.

Let us take an example of a hotel. Money spent in a hotel helps to create jobs directly in it, but it also creates jobs indirectly elsewhere in the economy. The hotel, for example, has to buy food from local farmers, who may spend some of this money on fertilizer or clothes. The demand for local products increases as tourists often buy souvenirs, which increases secondary employment.

The multiplier effect continues until the money eventually 'leaks' from the economy through imports - the purchase of goods from other countries.

3.5.6 Balance of Payments

The balance of payments shows the relationship between the countries total payment to all other countries and its total receipts from them. Tourism plays a vital role in stabilising the balance of payment of many countries. We can also define BOP (balance of payments) as a statistical account of all transactions that have taken place between residents of a country and the rest of the world. It records monetary flows, which generally represent the flow of goods and services.

3.5.7 Impact of Tourism on Environment

In recent years people have come to realise that their home, planet earth has limited resources and each person has a right to live in a protected environment and a duty to preserve the same for the coming generations. Preservation of the past is a big challenge to archaeological anthropologists, government officials and the concerned publics alike as the archaeological sites are being destroyed at an alarming rate. Tourism as an economic activity has an inevitable effect on the environment specially at the destination. Other than culture, environment is also one of the most important contributors to the attractiveness of a destination and it is wrong on our part to ignore the consequences between tourism and the environment. Besides, archaeological study of modern garbage has provided important insights into waste management procedures like marketing, food wastage and recycling. This also covers the study of refuse of modern society. Broadly there are five kinds of impacts of tourism on the environment. Given below is a list of the impacts of tourism on environment:

- a) Effect of pollution.
- b) Loss of natural landscape, agricultural and pastoral land.
- c) Destruction of flora and fauna.

- d) Degradation of landscape, historic sites and monuments.
- e) Effects of congestion.

3.5.8 Carrying Capacity

An important issue for assuring quality tourism in terms of all the above three impacts (cultural, economic and environmental) is to have well planned and regulated management of tourism programmes. Carrying capacity is the notion which recognises that both natural and human attractions have an upper limit in their capacities to absorb visitors, a capacity above which a deterioration of the resource itself takes place. Many factors like (a) climate and topography, flora and fauna, (b) the level of economic development of the area, (c) the sophistication of its social and political organisation, (d) the scale of infrastructure development, all together govern the capacity of a destination to absorb the demands placed on it by tourism.

Very often the concept of carrying capacity is never incorporated in legislation and policies, never regularly monitored or evaluated by governments and policy planners. This is extremely harmful for the destination as well as the society. It is high time that techniques like environmental impact assessment (EIA) and social impact assessment (SIA) should be applied along with analysing it in the milieu of socio- economic and cost benefit analysis. India has taken steps through the new tourism policy of 1992 in opening up of protected areas as special tourism areas. The consequences of such steps may have major implications on such protected areas. May be this is one case where if carrying capacity of EIA and SIA are ignored the impacts (negative) may be irreversible. It is here that anthropologists can play significant roles by offering their assistance to government and other bodies involved in legal and policy making aspects in tourism.

3.6 SUMMARY

To summarise, we can see that this lesson on tourism and anthropology's role in it helped us in learning many new things. Tourism is important to anthropology as it involves issues like economic, psychological, social and cultural. We cannot deny that tourism is an applied subject as it deals with realities and calls for an interdisciplinary approach of study. Tourism brings about slow but drastic changes in society and culture due to various impacts. It is here that an anthropologist with the methodologies available can offer guidance and service by contributing to strategic tourism management. S/he can make use of somatometry in vehicle making industries and help build comfortable seats for aircrafts to cars or help reduce tourism crimes by providing forensic skills in government run forensic labs to identify criminals or work with archaeological organisations, like the Archaeological Survey of India, and restore the beauty of historical sites. These will help in bringing about profitable transformations to both the hosts and the tourists. To end an individual with anthropological training, is well equipped to work hand in hand with government agencies, private sectors, policy makers, management professionals, industry or simply work as anthropological researchers to promote tourism in a positive way i.e., without causing damage to the lives of the local people. With the application of proper anthropological tools, skills and expertise, s/he can assist in planned development, design meaningful policies to build an organised and strong growth in tourism.

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Suggested Reading

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Sample Questions

- 1) Write in detail the development of anthropology of tourism as a sub-discipline of anthropology.
- 2) Give a brief description on the following:
 - Socio-cultural anthropology and tourism
 - Linguistic anthropology and tourism
- 3) Impact of tourism activities is a major concern for anthropologists. Justify
- 4) What are economic impacts of tourism? Write your views on whether it is a positive or a negative sign of development for the society.
- 5) Write an essay on the impact of tourism on environment.
- 6) Write how anthropologists can assist bodies involved in tourism by offering their services.