

Notes on New Research Work

Tourism, Environment and Society

(A Comparative Sociological Study of the Interface between Tourism and Environmental Consciousness in Two Different Regions of India Garhwal and Rajasthan)

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Abstract

Tourism is a phenomenon that is closely associated especially with leisure time, in its origins and duration. Numerous theorists tend to go as far as to claim that tourism is a classical product of free time or leisure. When free time became property of the masses, modern mass tourism appeared as a form of using that time. Therefore, tourism is considered to be an extension of leisure. The analysis of tourism as a phenomenon is approached from the aspect of leisure time in this study. The cultural ethos of a society is a significant determinant of the phenomenon of leisure and tourism. The socio-cultural factors also reflect a great influence on the environmental attitudes of the people. Indian society reveals vast cultural diversity and therefore, consequent diversity in the patterns of leisure and tourism and in the ecological sensitivity might be evident as well. The present research involves a comparative analysis in a cross-regional context. It attempts to draw out an account of similarities and differences between two regions i.e. Garhwal and Rajasthan, pertaining to the phenomenon of tourism and its interface with environment. The present study is focused on the residents of two cities located in two different regions who take the roles of both, the tourists as well as the hosts at different points of time. It seeks to examine tourism from sociological standpoint. From this perspective, it is important to consider various social and cultural aspects related to the tourism and the ecosystem and to understand traditional and modern models of interaction with the environment. It is in this context, that the objectives of the study were set. Instead of testing any specific hypothesis, the following objectives were discerned:

1. The foremost objective of this study is to trace the linkage of leisure with the phenomenon of tourism. An in-depth study of urban leisure patterns and the various socio-cultural factors that influence the trends of leisure and tourism is attempted.
2. The main focus is to determine the historical as well as the contemporary touristic patterns in the universe. It is also examined whether leisure and tourism have emerged as independent processes in Indian society or they are intermingled with work culture.
3. The organic relationship between environment and tourism is the central theme running through the entire course. By comparing people from two different regions in India, the study endeavours to show how traditions, geography and other aspects of area's character influence tourism trends and environmental concerns. The study examines the touristic and ecological dimensions inherent in the cultural practices of both regions.

4. The present study attempts to find the impact that the tourism industry, also called 'smokeless industry', has on the culture and environment of the society and vice-versa. The key objective is to discover whether the common man in India is aware of socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism be it positive or negative. The study also explores public's attitude towards environment.

Universe and Methodology

Lijphart saw comparative method as one of the basic methods the others being experimental, statistical and case-study methods of establishing general empirical proportions. The present study also employs the comparative method. Therefore, in order to achieve broader generalizations, the study was conducted in two different regions of the country - Garhwal and Rajasthan. Each region has its distinguishing geographic, economic, cultural and social characteristics. Rajasthan is located in between 23°3 N to 32°12 N latitude and 69°30 E to 78°17 E longitudes and is the largest state in India. Rajasthan is vast, varied and interesting state among all where hill features mingle with plateaus, plains and deserts. Besides a picturesque natural setting, Rajasthan's attraction as a tourist's paradise is largely due to rich historical and cultural heritage going back to antiquity. The Garhwal region lies between latitudes 29°26 - 31°28 N and longitudes 77°49 - 80°6 E. The natural beauty of the region, majestic Himalayas, gushing rivers, hanging glaciers, wildlife and Chardhams have always attracted tourists of all tastes and fashion. Both these regions are hub of tourism. While Rajasthan is the legendary land of valour and chivalry, Garhwal is a land where Gods lived and saints and sages meditated. In each region the natural setting has its own peculiar qualities that necessarily affect and are affected by the social and cultural ways of the inhabitants. Since the main purpose of the study has been to shed light on the contemporary patterns of leisure and tourism and their implications; the inter-linkage between tourism, environment and society and environmental concerns of the urban community, there could not possibly be a better choice than Jaipur in Rajasthan and Dehradun in Garhwal as both are the best representative of the urban community of their respective regions.

The sample size totaled three hundred, which meant that one hundred and fifty respondents each were to be surveyed in both regions i.e. Garhwal and Rajasthan. The sample selection was done by using Purposive Quota Sampling method. An attempt was made to make the sample as representative as possible. Unorganized sector workers, industrial workers, merchants and service class (clerical) people constitute the major segments of the urban working population. The elite belonging to the field of education, medical, technical, political and from the field of art and culture were also included in the sample. The data for the present study have been collected from primary as well as the secondary sources. The secondary data have been obtained from the government records, published reports, books, journals, periodicals, unpublished thesis and Internet sites. The primary data required for study was collected with the help of questionnaire cum schedule. In order to cover the vast spectrum of leisure and tourism patterns in the urban society, a comprehensive questionnaire cum schedule, consisting of open-ended as well as closed ended questions was prepared after going through lot of background literature. The questionnaire cum schedule was finally drafted after pre-testing it on some respondents. Besides this, an interview guide, which probed into tourism experiences and implications of heavy tourist influx, was administered to informed persons of the respective regions. This helped in the compilation of lot of qualitative information. The survey method was

supplemented with non-participant field observations and informal conversations with the respondents, which helped in gaining insight into the respondents' mind and also contributed in the enrichment of primary data. The responses were subsequently tabulated and the data was analyzed. The study is produced in descriptive cum analytical design.

The Study: Findings and Discussion

The present study is based on two different and important cities of India. Jaipur, a colorful cultural and historic city located in the plains and Dehradun, a scenic natural region placed within continuous mountain ranges. Both these places present two different landscapes and two different societal worldview formations, for in these cities culture as well as history is different. However, both the cities are important destinations from touristic point of view. Therefore, contrapuntal and comparative study of these two different cities situated in two different regions of India gives a significant understanding about the interface between tourism, environment and society. It is in this context that, the study approaches tourism from an emic' attitude, or one that seeks to comprehend it from within. It tries to explore how tourism is shaped and how its ramifications for society and environment are comprehended by the social actors i.e. residents of the two cities, in terms of tourist roles as well as host roles.

Leisure and tourism both are the products of western civilization, the former linked to the Industrial revolution and the latter to the age of exploration. Understanding the relationship between tourism and leisure is important, particularly if tourism is considered a special form of leisure. In common parlance and sociological research, tourism is identical to pleasure travel. From that point of view, tourism is a leisure pursuit and can be typified as a form of consumption. After the introductory chapter, the second chapter tries to understand the nature of the two cities in its relationship with the realm of leisure. The patterns of leisure and tourism in both regions are analyzed in terms of five occupational categories namely, unorganized sector; industrial workers; merchants; service class and elites. On an average, the respondents spent 3 hours 51 minutes on leisure during the weekdays and 6 hours 29 minutes during weekends. The study indicates that periodicity of leisure is 1 and 1/2 hours more during weekdays and 2 1/2 hours more during weekends among respondents of Dehradun. It is so because Dehradun still lacks fast life and mechanized work culture prevalent in big cities. Another reason responsible for more leisure time can be attributed to the small area of Dehradun that allows people to save some time which is used in commuting to far off workplaces in bigger cities like Jaipur. Barring unorganized sector and elites, an upward rise in leisure time is observed among other occupational categories strengthening the notion that leisure time increases with increasing affluence. At the same time, it reveals the dichotomy between the money-rich time-poor' elite class and time-rich money-poor' unorganized class.

Audio-visual, Intellectual and Group-oriented activities emerged as three most common leisure activities among the respondents. Each household owns a television perhaps, not surprising that watching television continues to dominate domestic free time in both regions. Quietistic, religious, excursionistic, association-oriented, games and sports are some other leisure activities. The responses suggested that social class limits leisure choice and range of leisure opportunities. Although industrialization brought more leisure time with it but the timesaving devices are not accessible to all. The lower income group people engage more in household chores, economic and self-employing activities and are unable to pursue some creative activities. Deviant activities show participation generally from lower income groups while artistic, cultural and hobby-oriented activities register participation from well-off respondents.

Professionals much likely engage more in walking, jogging, cycling, sports, club activities and shopping than semi- skilled and skilled workers. Many traditional forms of leisure play a much-diminished role. However, attending religious discourses of spiritual leaders is becoming a common leisure activity cutting across regions and occupations. The social and structural constraints of gender are reflected in the day to day leisure activities of men and women. The leisure pastures of women are family-oriented, self-employing or association-oriented. The leisure life styles of females are generally confined more within domestic sphere. Very few females engage in sports or outdoor activities.

The contemporary leisure pursuits have been influenced by two countervailing factors. On one hand, the rising standards of housing amenities have increased the focus on the home as the location of increasingly individualized and privatized consumption of leisure time activities. Houses are equipped with video-recorders, satellite receivers, CD players, computers and game machines and therefore, much time is spent around home base. Television watching, reading and self-employing activities form big part of indoor leisure activities. On the other hand, the upper class urban citizen now has access to private car. This permits them great mobility and gives access to a wide variety of local and distant places. The urban class in India is highly receptive of new leisure amenities and new leisure provisions like multiplexes, fast-food outlets, shopping malls, amusement parks and bowling alleys are gaining popularity in cities. It is true more in case of Jaipur as compared to Dehradun as many new leisure and recreational facilities have been established in Jaipur in recent years. The pace of urbanization is also faster in Jaipur. Consequently, the frequency of going to restaurants, cinema halls, concerts, amusement parks is higher among the respondents of Jaipur as it reflects dominance of metropolitan culture. Trekking and nature- appreciation as leisure pursuits were reported exclusively by respondents of Dehradun as the mountainous ranges of Shivaliks provide good opportunity for such activities.

As already mentioned, contradictory trends were represented in data on contemporary patterns. Home fosters inward-oriented usually individualized leisure activities, exerting a basically centripetal force on leisure distributions while cars encourage more centrifugal leisure momentum, since mobility enables and encourages widening leisure use of a range of more distant opportunities. Besides the routine places like temples , parks and shopping centres within the city, people travel to enjoy the countryside in rural retreat or to a non-urban landscape, or to see touristic sites and monuments in near by region or simply visit tourist resorts, fun and water parks and ethnic restaurants for holiday making. The focal places for amusement are important for contrasting breaks, holidays and day trips but they also follow hierarchical pattern which is directly proportional to the economic status. Jaipur supports full spectrum of built leisure facilities while natural settings still form leisure resource for many respondents in Dehradun. However, the emerging leisure trends are similar to great extent in both cities owing to the forces of urbanization, modernization and globalization. Access to leisure facilities and opportunities is determined by number of factors: availability, investment, suitability, mobility, awareness etc. but for most people the crucial influence is that of income. The lower income groups in both regions are limited in the amount of spending they devote to recreational activities. Whether this disadvantage is analyzed in terms of Marxist sociology through class and life-chances or through Weberian concept of status and life- style, the reality is a relatively deprived experience of leisure activities. Low income means that a larger proportion must be spent in necessities like housing, clothing and food with a restricted amount available for pleasure.

Outdoor leisure is again closely linked with income. The outside world is encountered occasionally by the lower income groups in the form of short-term diversions like picnics or fairs and festivals. Car-borne mobility has encouraged day tourism and short distance tours among the middle and upper class residents in both cities. Such diversions are fast becoming frequent episodes among the middle class respondents, whose tight work schedules leave them exhausted and in need for quick respite. Moreover, these trips are less time consuming and economic too. The study identified two patterns of leisure time activities. The first pattern focused on activities possible at familiar and common place domain. The world beyond the everyday realm, presents a different set of opportunities and facilities from our home-based action space and this may be, in large part its very attractiveness to us. This outside world is special and exciting and is encountered occasionally during picnics or short distance tours. These two divergent facets, one localized and the other, dispersed have generated a complex pattern of leisure participation among the urban folks.

Tourism, thus, appears as one end of broad leisure spectrum. Tourism activities are an extension of leisure life-styles which are the product of industrialization and reflection of the level of affluence of a society. The third chapter aims at understanding present day tourism in the light of the history of travel and tourism and, therefore, focuses on the traditional and contemporary tourists and particularly on the nature of their travel and the quality of their experiences at the destinations. It can be excerpted from the travel experiences of grandparents and parents that tourism just for the sake of recreation and entertainment was privilege of affluent people two generations back. Hunting expeditions and hill retreats were common among royals who explored different areas during their pass time. Another segment of people who participated in leisure tourism were government officials, who by virtue of their positions got opportunity to visit many places in course of their service. Due to improved living and working conditions, better communication and growing awareness leisure tourism brought more people into its fold during the parents' generation. The study showed more participation of Rajasthani folks in leisure tourism as compared to Garhwal, which might be true considering the social, economic and climatic constraints of people and the lack of proper roads and transport in Garhwal region.

Social and cultural obligations were prime motivators for travel in traditional societies. Journey was undertaken to participate in the weddings or any other function pertaining to the rites de passage. Touristic dimensions were inherent in some traditions in both regions. There were certain occasions which enjoined upon the people to pay obeisance to family deity. According to particular beliefs, people visited specific centres for performing rituals relating to rites de passage like tonsure, sacred thread ceremony, ear-piercing and post- death rites. Such traditions were common to both regions. However, the performance was more elaborate in Jaipur. Pilgrimage was considered the most socially valuable journey and therefore, it was mandatory. Pilgrimage was undertaken more in Rajasthan, where people among all sections somehow managed to fulfill their desire of taking a dip in holy Ganges, if not of visiting the Chardhams'. Pilgrimage was valued in Garhwal but the participation was low. The observations suggest that undertaking pilgrimage was happy episode for a fortunate few. While majority were satisfied with the fact that they resided in devbhoomi', the land of Gods, and hence, were a part of it. The findings show that although modern tourism is recent development, the classic tradition of domestic travel for fulfilling social and religious obligations was embedded in both the regions. The religious tourism in the past was marked by its stoic and ascetic character which was evident from the life-time endurance among pilgrims, who slept in makeshift tents,

serais, dharmasalas and trekked on foot to reach the holy destination. The hosts considered it a sacred duty to provide hospitable treatment to pilgrims by offering them shelter and other forms of assistance. Marked with geo-piety - reverence for the environment, such yatras bore a resemblance to the present day so-called green tourism' or eco-tourism.

Elaborating this further, the fourth chapter offered a brief account of the traditions, specially focussing on the aspects which seemed to have an ecological and eco-touristic significance. The findings reveal that both societies are deeply sensitive to some or the other aspects of environment. Whether one looks at traditions from the perspective of people of Dehradun or Jaipur, considerable closeness exists between humans, the natural world and transcendent reality - so much so, that trees are considered to be pervaded by atman' or divine spirits. Trees, shrubs, animals, rivers, mountains were manifestations of the one and therefore, nature worship was reflected in variety of religious customs, eco-rites and festivals. The belief of people centred around spirits, gods and demons which inhabited trees, rocks, birds and mountains. This habitat wisdom' ordained folks to worship and occasionally placate natural forces. The protection and propagation of forests is deeply ingrained civilizational characteristic, as is evident from the existence of sacred grooves in both regions. Deification' or demonification' of various aspects of environment provided a means for inculcation of reverential or fearful attitudes towards them. Thus, people of both the regions devised some indigenous sanctifying or proscriptive methods and rationalities in defense of the eco-system, which have a continuing ecological relevance. There are certain festivals or rituals peculiar to each region which highlight the eco-touristic features. In Rajasthan, such festivals or customs relate to the celebration of various colours of nature by Gods and humans alike. Festivals like Jaljhaulni Gyaras', Van Somvars' and Teej' are manifestations of this urge and reveal harmony of the human heart with nature. Whereas, in Garhwal processional journeys (jaat) are held for several deities that emphasize on the mystical properties of land and can be therefore, understood as a form of ecological spirituality. These festivals featured not only geo-piety that is an intrinsic part of deep ecology but also communion with nature.

The fifth chapter discusses contemporary patterns of tourism. Ascertaining whether travel was for pure vacation or a visit for fulfilling an obligation was a tough job. The respondents themselves mixed up the two aspects. Among various destinations visited for leisure tourism, pilgrim places surpassed all other destinations followed by hill-stations. The next favourite destinations among holiday-goers were the sea-shore and the historical places. Only 4% respondents had been to foreign destinations for pure vacation whereas, 3% respondents had chosen wildlife sanctuaries. In India, social obligations play a big part in society as society provides the social and moral support in times of crisis. It also suggests that destination is less important in such cases. When attending any social function, respondents stayed with their relatives and for shorter duration. Those visiting their native places naturally stayed for longer period. It was seen that people travelled during the school vacations of their children to hometowns or native places to connect with the older parents or relatives back home. The desire to travel, the financial ability to travel and time to travel are three factors needed for tourism to take place but these factors are unevenly distributed among the residents. Service class and industrial workers are entitled to various kinds of leave which they generally utilize for personal purposes. The government employees also get leave travel concession but very few people cared to avail it. Most of them said that it just provided for the tickets and not for other expenditure which was incurred at the destination. So at best, tourism in India can be called an urban, upper class phenomenon. Therefore, the process of touristification' in true sense is

evident among small section of the society, who takes up tourist roles' for self- growth, fun, relaxation or for status enhancement. The patterns of tourism discussed are more reflective of the trends popular among merchants, service class and elites.

The tourism experiences of the respondents revealed that people traveled for business, official, educational or familial purposes. The data suggested a dramatic increase in new patterns of tourism in both regions. Thus, tourism can be analyzed as a symptom of qualitative social-structural changes in the modern society. Pleasure tourism was not encouraged earlier but is growing in present times. One can observe a growing tendency among urban folks to go for honeymoon. Travel outside national boundaries is also increasing in frequency and distance from home. Conferences, seminars, medical treatment, official and business assignments are various reasons cited for outbound tourism. In developing countries, the professional degrees have empowered youth to take up corporate jobs where it is increasingly becoming an option to spend large parts of their lives on trips away from home for work or for pleasure. Most of the professionals seek jobs abroad. This generational empowerment has promoted mobility of their parents. With children staying abroad, most people in mid- fifties frequently visited their children there, who in most cases sponsored the visit of their parents. Travel to various places in general and foreign destinations in particular, certainly boosted one's ego both at the destination and on one's return. Thus, tourism was seen as one way to raise self- esteem and enhance social status by many. Tours to neighbouring countries like Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore have become quite popular among businessmen in Jaipur. To use Sorokin's terminology, it can be said that tourism acts as an elevator' for social mobility.

People of both regions show strong religious orientations. To wish is man's prerogative and people undertook pilgrimage to make a wish or to thank god after wish-fulfillment or to earn religious merit. This is a typical Indian trait and devotees cutting across regions and occupational categories throng various pilgrim sites in multitude. More than three-fourth of the respondents have been to pilgrimage, thus, affirming that even today travel, in the guise of pilgrimage enables the masses to captivate the essences of nature and culture. Economy governs the patterns of pilgrimage going also. Due to economic pressures, people of lower income groups visit regional pilgrim places, for short duration and that experience is also once or twice in their life. While for upper class the frequency of undertaking pilgrimages is more. The study traced the continuity of role between pilgrim and tourist in the modern age. The general trend in tourism showed a gradual shift in consumer preferences from the spiritually fulfilling travel to more hedonistic pursuits. The profile of pilgrims has changed from people of enduring faith to jet-set pilgrims, who opt to stay in star-rated air conditioned rooms. At the same time, there is a corresponding growth in religious tourism which is likely to continue to assume a greater prominence than previous situation. One important factor that supports such optimism is that the religious authorities world-wide have begun to preach on the spiritual virtues of travel. Many new secular pilgrim centres have also risen in popularity. New Tourism has clubbed faith and pleasure that give new meaning to pilgrimage and tourist sites. Possibly, the findings come close to Giddens' generalized coinage denaturalization of tradition', where tradition and pilgrimage essences are shaped through market rational which makes modern tourism a package-oriented commodity.

Tourism planning in India is in its nascent stage. Obligatory trips hardly needed serious planning. The findings show that planning generally pertains to reservation of tickets, booking of hotels or informing the relatives. However, it is interesting to note that role of travel agents and

tour operators is becoming important as many respondents among elites felt that package tours provided an holistic and stress-free vacation. Tour operators were increasingly hired for inbound as well as outbound tourism by elites. What came as an interesting revelation was that while trying new destinations, the socially valued trends or destinations are also taken care of. For majority of the respondents, there is no separate budget for travel and tourism. Money is spent as and when need arises for it. Tourism budgeting is also confined to the educated and affluent people who consider tourism as an important item of consumption.

The patterns of tourism more or less followed a similar trend in both the regions. However, it was observed that propensity to travel was higher among the residents of Jaipur. In comparison to people of Dehradun, they slipped into tourist roles more frequently. The nature of urban hierarchy is likely to exert a significant influence not only on total demand but on the distribution of that demand. It is important to assert that the tourism experience was much broad based in Jaipur where many people although from unorganized sector have domestic as well as international touristic experiences. This was due to the linkage of these skilled and unskilled workers with the tourist industry. The research reaffirms that there is a positive relationship between propensity to travel and income and occupation. The findings reveal that an average Indian does not go for pure holiday. Tourism is only for the rich and the curious. Money is often invested in education, property and family functions rather than excursion, travel and tourism. However, pilgrimage is a vital and living experience for Indian masses.

Today, tourism is among the biggest foreign currency earners. While this sounds good, it also has numerous socio-cultural and ecological implications. In certain places, the quality of environment has been eroded to such an extent that long-term viability of tourism is threatened. The last two chapters dealt with the perception of residents regarding various impacts of tourism. The respondents gave account of the changes witnessed in certain destinations frequented by them during their repeat visitations. Along with pilgrims the profile of pilgrim centres has also transformed. Religious places have become centres of commerce. These destinations with their own congeries of cultural as well as infrastructural attractions have become appealing even to the non-believers. It was inferred that high concentration of pilgrims-cum-tourists in such places entailed development of amenities, which resulted in negative externalities. This was also true in other segments of tourism. The loss of popularity of hill-stations, sea-beaches, historical places and wildlife sanctuaries among tourists was directly proportional to deforestation, overcrowding and excessive commercialization. The respondents appreciated certain positive changes like better roads, green belts, infrastructural facilities and planned development in many tourist places. Scenic beauty and pleasant climate were major factors, which ensured tourist satisfaction. On the other hand, exorbitant pricing system, overcrowding and pollution caused dissatisfaction among the visitors who failed to gain a complete experience. It was repeatedly stressed that religious sites and nature-enriched places qualified to be the most liked destinations, while highly congested with haphazard growth created a very bad impression on the tourists.

Tourism can and does bring about socio-economic changes and is usually developed to generate economic benefits and through them social betterment. Garhwal and Rajasthan, undoubtedly, have an immense tourism potential. This potential is increasingly being tapped with great success in Rajasthan, where 84% respondents suggested growth of tourism in their area. Conversely, tourism has not grown much in Garhwal due to its unsafe and fragile terrain and shortage of basic tourist amenities. However, tourism has become a thrust area in the

economic development of the region. Therefore, the whole region is geared up to present itself as a viable tourism product. So far, it has been a main centre for domestic tourism. Efforts are on way to offer different forms of tourism catering to the varied needs of different types of tourists. In the process, various changes have overtaken the two cities. In Jaipur, all the alterations are directed towards projecting it as a 'heritage city' with a treasure of royal experiences to offer to the domestic as well as international travellers. The case of Dehradun represented a sad transformation of small service class town into an unplanned and unregulated urban sprawl. The residents of Jaipur (63.3%) perceived these recent changes to be more positive as compared to those of Dehradun (42.7%). The residents of Dehradun (52%) expressed helplessness and a sense of despair at the present developments, which according to them entail serious social and environmental ramifications.

The findings reinforce that there is no example of tourist use that is completely without impact. The study reaffirmed that tourism leads to direct economic benefits which include provision of employment, increase in income of locals which leads to the improved living standards of local community and overall national and regional development. This employment and income provided by tourism may help to stem out migration from these areas. Tourism serves as a catalyst in expansion of other economic sectors such as hotels and handicrafts. However, ambiguity surrounds the quality of economic benefits generated by tourism. Respondents pointed out the seasonal nature of employment generated by tourism. Moreover, locals were engaged in menial jobs while the profits accrued to outsiders. Tourism development also entailed competition among hosts and guests for resource use that led to social tension. Inflation and loss of amenities for residents was listed as a major loss due to increased tourist influx.

It was found that not only does the community benefit economically from an active tourism industry, but community pride is also enhanced. It was more so in Jaipur, where 94% respondents agreed that local residents exhibit pride in showcasing their culture for visitors. Tourism was recognized as instrumental in encouraging cultural exchange and reduction of prejudices. Tourism also serves as a major stimulus for conservation of important elements of the cultural heritage of an area that might otherwise be allowed to deteriorate or disappear. Revitalization of traditional arts, handicrafts, dance, music, fairs and festivals and various aspects of traditional life-styles were considered a positive impact of tourism by many respondents. It was also believed that tourism promoted protection of wildlife and ensured conservation of forests and water bodies.

Tourism inevitably has a price. It can generate great wealth but it also has a potential to damage and destroy the very resource on which it depends. The study reveals that negative changes essentially follow tourism development. Many residents in Dehradun opined that honesty and simplicity among the hill folks seemed to be declining. Overcrowding, water shortage, congestion, pollution and ecological degradation were some consequences of heavy tourist influx. Some residents in Jaipur recognized that 'commoditization', and loss of authenticity' results if the indigenous culture is over modified to suit tourist demands. Degeneration of historic sites and erosion of cultural values results from uncontrolled use and misuse by tourists were also mentioned by many respondents. They agreed that tourism has indirectly contributed in increasing crime, begging and spread of AIDS. Pollution was cited as a major problem. In addition to it, over-construction and indiscriminate felling of trees and loss of habitat caused disturbance in the ecological cycle. Increased visitor influx not only disturbed the animals but

also had an adverse effect on their feeding and reproductive behaviour. There is justifiable concern about the deleterious outcomes of tourism. Tourism is a capital-intensive industry and no local involvement is ensured at this level. This leads to loss of potential economic benefits. The respondents felt that tourism is an activity that is insensitive to local ecology, environment and community sentiments.

The findings revealed that impact assessment of tourism is a complex matter and contains both positive and negative elements. It is especially where tourism development has been either rapid or largely unplanned and uncontrolled that adverse socio-cultural and environmental impacts have occurred. This highlights the dilemma of conservation and development. Tourism must not be regarded only as a threat to environment. Tourist dollars should be expected to help refund rehabilitation and conservation programmes. It is in this context, the individuals, communities, governments and NGOs play a significant role in fostering concern for unique relationship between tourism and environment. Majority of respondents asserted that it is time for marriage between ecology and economy. New and responsible forms of tourism such as ecotourism and alternative tourism should be adopted to improve ecology and economy and to ensure sustainability. An essential message, therefore, is that all tourism be it heritage and cultural tourism or ecotourism, should be sustainable.

Conclusion

The most significant finding that emerged in the study is that the perceptions of residents in the role of tourists were more or less similar regarding the tourism patterns. However, as hosts the residents of both cities expressed divergent views. The residents of Jaipur had a more optimistic perspective regarding the various impacts of tourism. While Jaipur is pruning itself regularly to attract as many tourists as it can, the residents of Dehradun feel that the touristic potential of their region is not being harnessed in a proper way. Their common complains was that heavy concentration of visitors in specific sites caused problems to the locals and entailed serious damage to the environment. Host societies reacted differently to tourism development and consequently, differed with respect to environmental consciousness also. The respondents of Jaipur are more positive towards tourists and strongly favour tourism growth. On the other hand, the residents of Dehradun showed certain reservations regarding excessive tourism.

Here, it may be noted that the opposing viewpoints towards tourism and the varying degree of environmental concern among the residents of Jaipur and Dehradun can be attributed to four factors: tourism product; tourist types; tourist-host interaction and tourism impact. This serves to reinforce the product-resource relationship that has wider applications. Jaipur depicts the relation between historic and cultural resources of the built environment and one type of tourism activity, namely heritage or cultural tourism. Dehradun, on the other hand, represents relationship between natural environment and ecotourism. Thus, mystification of culture' in Jaipur and mythologization of nature' in Dehradun form the resource base for tourism product. The tourist product of Jaipur is created while it is given in Dehradun. The former mystifies culture while the latter depends on mythologizing nature and faith. Tourism acts in both these places, more in Jaipur as the symbolic language' and the deep structures' of Rajasthani culture depicting past with the newness of present give ample chance to its people and tourists of varied shades. Dehradun mainly caters to domestic tourists, who are either pilgrims or adventurers. The tourist visit is culture-oriented in Rajasthan whereas, in Garhwal it is religion

and nature-oriented. The tourist-host interaction is direct and freer in Rajasthan, whereas, in Garhwal it is of restricted nature, where the visitors generally remain in a specific environment bubble' and therefore, the tourist- host encounter is very superficial.

Different types of tourism have different effects on different societies. In Doxey's terminology, it can be said that Jaipur evidences either the euphoric' stage or the apathetic' stage. It seems that in Jaipur, level of tourism has reached a point where novelty of arriving visitors gives way to the acceptance of tourism as a part of community's economic base. The responses in Dehradun reflect that a stage of irritation is likely to occur. Although tourism was not to be blamed solely for the adverse consequences of development, still residents showed concern towards unplanned tourism that has spread to environmentally sensitive areas. It can be deduced from the observations that the involvement of Jaipur with tourism is holistic. It is on increase linking the populace of the city. Since the city itself is tourism-oriented city, the lower classes mainly the artisan class forms a powerful linkage between the rich and poor that gives the entire city of Jaipur a nomenclature of tourism-homogeneity'. This homogeneity, despite class and caste contradictions is well engaged in creating economic and social capital in tune with the process of globalization. The city is still in process of exploration of its social capital, significantly related to ethnic inventiveness. Whereas, tourism in Dehradun is also in the process of exploration but its manifestation sare unlike Jaipur. The new social forces have created a powerful middleman class, who owes its allegiance to the rich elites. This class is deeply involved and participatory in this scrappy economic enterprise that associates religion with tourism. Since the overwhelming majority of the city remains distanced from such involvement, it feels estranged and in fact, faces over increasing consumerism, pollution, congestion and high cost of living requirements. This in turn has created a denaturalization syndrome' there. Tourism is, thus, in case of Dehradun a fractured process.