Chapter- 1

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1.1: Background of the Study

The rapid growth of tourist activity in the later half of the twentieth century has been characterized with a great degree of spatio-structural inequalities, which were largely attributed to the diversification in the activity pattern of leisure-seekers. Despite such activity diversifications, tourism development have been extremely localized with the main focus getting centered on few areas such as cultural heritage centers, sea coasts, mountains, biological parks and protected areas. In addition, many theme-based attractions and entertainment complexes have been created, like Disney Land or Las Vegas, to respond to the fast changing consumer demand or creating new consumers. They are normally set up in the vicinity of major tourist regions. In India also, the diversification of leisure tourism activities could be seen largely centered in certain locations in the mountains or high altitude places, major cultural heritage centers and, from seventies in the coastal regions.

In the coastal areas in India, like other such locations in the world, hedonist tourism has been characterized by high degree of spatial concentration and seasonal fluctuation (Sutheeshna Babu 1991). A previous survey by Ministry of Tourism (cited in Planning Commission 1988) also showed that in 1987, around 31 per cent of foreign tourists have visited the beaches. Worldwide development of tourism along the coast has been concentrated mainly along beaches— the transitional zone between the land and sea. The ideal locations chosen for beach tourism activities largely were the peripheral rural areas or the urban fringes. As Miossec (1976 & 1977, cited in Pearce 1996) has theorized, the pioneer resort locations invented by the ‘drifter and explore’ tourists and were developed by the locals gradually have vacated or forced to move out to more secluded places as the number of tourists and...
‘outside’ developers begins to dominate the place. Most of these resort areas have been developed organically or independently without any proper planning or organized interventions by the regulatory bodies.

Tourism being a very sophisticated "experience industry", needs large amount of capital and functional specializations. Since the resource bases of these peripheral areas were inadequate to develop and maintain the necessary tourist infrastructure, they had to depend much on the external developers—either from outside the region or from abroad or both (Britton, 1982 and 1991; Lea 1988; Turner and Ash 1975). The interplay of these factors have resulted into, in a variety of regions, the emergence of complex spatio-structural inequalities in tourism development. This process was associated largely with geographical concentration of tourist activity; geographical location of capital and labour; nature of local entrepreneurship; high inflow of tourists with inherent seasonality; and nature of interaction between visitor culture and resident culture.

Tourism development is justified largely on the basis of economic benefits by its advocates and challenged on the ground of economic exploitation and social, cultural and environmental destruction by its critics. The advocates argued for rigorous promotion and development of tourism highlighting its potential to generate income and employment in the destination, stimulate infrastructure development, and assist the overall development of the region by increasing income levels, land values and rents (Hudman 1980). In addition, tourism development has many positive social impacts such as educational, scientific and aesthetic advantages as a result of cross-cultural contacts (Boissevain 1977). However, in 1970's itself, a host of studies revealed that such over enthusiasm about the economic benefits of tourism, particularly in the developing countries have resulted in the negation or ignorance of its various adverse effects particularly on destination economy, society, culture and environment (Ascher 1976; Britton 1982 and 1991; Lea 1988). After
reviewing major literature available, Singh (2003) succinctly comments that though tourism has contributed to economic growth in the destinations, their societal values were badly affected and ecology suffered a setback.

Despite the inflated economic benefits of tourism, Walton (1992) in his review concluded that there are a multitude of negative impacts of tourism development such as the leakage of income from destination economy, inflationary effects of tourism expenditure on prices for local goods, increased demand for land and property leading to spiraling of their prices, displacement of labour from traditional as well as other forms of economic activities like agriculture and, diverting investment towards tourism from other enterprises, development projects, and social welfare institutions. Another criticism was that bulk of tourism employment is menial, seasonal and low paying (Britton 1983). At micro-level, particularly in the rural/ countryside beach locations, heavy reliance on outside capital and labour by the industry proven to have been failed to integrate tourism ventures with local economic structure. As a result, maintaining a balance between local resource capabilities and outside investments has become difficult, thereby, pushing the local economy into a more vulnerable situation. It is because the non-local tourism business ownership arguably has the power to jeopardize local’s economic security as it rests upon the vagaries of external market forces.

The review of the literature further demonstrated that the intensity of the adverse effects of tourism at the destination varies because of many factors such as planning interventions, type of tourism promoted, and nature of development process, types of tourists and their activities and the type of destination environment– i.e. its economic, social and natural settings. During the course of debate, inadequacy of appropriate development models was also highlighted (Tefler 2002). Along with this, strong cases have been made against mass tourism development model arguing them as ‘growth-oriented’ and, therefore, deficient in
human element (Mowforth and Munt, I (1998))\textsuperscript{12}. More mass tourism does not necessarily achieve the goal of meeting the needs of the poor; instead the benefits go to the elites and the rich becomes richer (de Kadt, 1992)\textsuperscript{13}. Further, mass tourism has been linked with negative environmental impacts (Singh 2003)\textsuperscript{14}. A stronger argument has been mass tourism form tends to build a model of dependency (Britton 1982; Lea 1988; Din 1990)\textsuperscript{15}. The economic dependency often becomes the cause of cultural dependency wherein the “culture of core” displaces or modifies the indigenous cultural norms and values (Weaver, 1998)\textsuperscript{16}.

Indeed, search for alternate development models for tourism has begun in the late 1970’s itself after witnessing the marauding effects of mass tourism, particularly in the pleasure peripheries of the developing countries manifested in the form ‘enclave tourism’ (economic enclaves) development. Such development forms arguably perpetuated a ‘cowboy economy’ and were primarily focused on growth centered approach. Korten (1990)\textsuperscript{17} observed that very often, unplanned and rapid growth of mass tourism forms failed to achieve authentic development based on justice, sustainability and inclusiveness. A church-based network called Ecumenical Coalition of the Third World Tourism (ECTWT) took the lead in promoting what has now become popularly known as ‘alternative tourism’ after its Chiangmai International Workshop on Alternative Tourism took place in 1984. It has been juxtaposed as alternative to mass tourism practices; a war against bad and ugly tourism and claims to promote just and responsible tourism. Subsequently, arguments have also been advanced to portray alternative tourism as synonym to sustainable tourism, which is still being debated. Since the focus of the author here was different, it deemed not necessary to advance further the discussion on this aspect.

Indeed, the eclectic nature of tourism development modeling is very reflective in the observation of Singh (2003)\textsuperscript{18} to whom “benign tourism
The critical tourism impact studies continue to remain by and large an understudied area in the developing economies. However, few studies that have been successfully conducted in these countries have revealed that unplanned or poorly planned tourism tends to create unbalanced development and weaken the resource bases (Singh 2003). However, accurately analyzing the magnitude of tourism's impacts on various components of the destination is challenging because of two reasons: firstly, the complex nature of tourism and its varied levels of linkages across industry segments and with the destination economy and society in general. Secondly, major actors involved, both directly and indirectly- i.e. from the tourist of a different socio-cultural origin to destination communities belonging to the other spectrum such as service providers and the residents- are many and they are characteristically and functionally different and often having contradicting objectives. The varying interaction and engagements of tourists who represent a
different culture with the stakeholders of destination produce very complex impacts—often hierarchical—both at the tourist level and destination level. This further accentuates the problem of studying tourism impacts.

While attempting to study tourism impacts at the destination community level, one often encounters with the problem of delineating the factors having relationships with the outcomes of tourism development. Lea (1988)\textsuperscript{24}, after reviewing the existing studies on tourism development has suggested that there can be two major approaches representing different schools of thoughts namely political economy and functional. Political economy approach seeks to explain present conditions in terms of evolving global relationships between the rich and poor countries. Whereas, the functional view aims to describe and classify separately the elements of tourism development process. Hence, he argued that both approaches have its own inherent limitations and therefore, bringing together both perspectives depending on the situation would provide a comprehensive perspective to understand tourism development process. In another study, Mathieson and Wall (1982)\textsuperscript{25} conceptualized that the outcome of tourism development varies depending on the factors like tourist volumes and their characteristics, destination characteristics and the manner in which tourism is developed and managed. And, the relationships between these elements vary from destination to destination leading to varying outcomes. Then, how do such vagaries of the nature and organization of tourist industry and development processes affect the socio-cultural and environmental fabric of destination? To what extent does the tourist interaction with the local population and other destination elements influence in shaping the socio-cultural and environmental impacts?

To begin with, it can be theorized that the nature of impacts of tourism vary with the scale and form of tourism development, which are manifested in terms of volume of tourist arrivals, type of accommodation, duration of stay and spending
pattern of tourists, intensity of tourist activity, stage of tourism development, nature of interaction between the host and guest, origin and ethnic background of tourists and level of integration of tourism industry with destination’s socio-economic structure. The distributional pattern of socio-economic benefits of tourism, in turn, can act as a source of new social class formation, which this in the process will lead to political conflicts (Preister 1992; Hitchcock et. al. 1993)\textsuperscript{26}. Hence, it is logical to hypothesise that higher the economic development at the destination, less the adverse economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Further, high intensity of tourist activities at those destinations undergone unplanned, uncontrolled, haphazard growth and poorly integrated with the local economy will have more negative impacts on economic and socio-cultural systems of the destination.

Indisputably, much of the concern regarding the environmental issues of tourism is related to physical environment. As seen above, tourism, which initially began as positive economic movement, has in the course of time become a major environmental concern. This was manifested in many forms like mounting pressure on the use of scarce resources such as land and waters, eventually leading to the deterioration of their quality (Romeril 1988)\textsuperscript{27}. Fragile coastal ecosystem has been threatened through lack of or inadequate land-use plans, absence of/or inefficient waste treatment mechanism, over built environment leading to overcrowding resultant congestion. The problems get further accentuated with little or no planning and control, and financial and technical inability to provide adequate infrastructure (Pearce and Butler 1992)\textsuperscript{28}. Though the magnitude of the adverse impacts of tourism on environment may be reflected at a wider geographical scale, the immediate reaction normally emerges from the local residents though it may be of varying degrees. Analyzing the perception of destination community towards such impacts would be a meaningful approach to capture the magnitude of such impacts, though their perceptions could differ depending on the factors such as education,
involvement in tourism or related businesses, income levels and often religious background (Ap 1990 & 1992; Mansfeld 1992)\textsuperscript{29}.

Like any other developmental activity, the negative impacts, particularly of socio-cultural, in the wake of tourism development is unavoidable. Indeed, an amalgam of all these varied impacts and resultant perceptions determine the pace of tourism development. In many cases, this even has seen setting the limit to development. Under such circumstances, a pertinent question needs to be answered is: how can those negative impacts be minimized in order to foster a more positive resident perception towards tourism development? Resident perception is crucial factor, because the negative perception towards tourism can tarnish image of the destination, thereby, reducing the volume of tourist traffic. Therefore, another assumption could be: the resident’s perception towards tourism has social, economic and environmental constraints and it is inversely related to negative impacts. Further, individual’s attitudes toward negative impacts resulting from tourism development are shaped by local constraints as well as personal values regarding these impacts.

An integral part of tourist industry is the governmental organizations, and they play a crucial role in the development process. Experiences from developing countries indicate that except promotional campaigns at international level, the role of government agencies and their interventions in reducing various tourism-related developmental conflicts at the micro-level were minimal. This makes it easier for developmental conflicts to rise and facilitate a situation where the final outcome can place a great strain on the natural and human resources of the destination area.

In the context of India, very few studies worth mentioning could be found addressing the issues identified above in the backdrop of beach tourism development processes. Moreover, the existing literatures on tourism impact studies
suggest that the nature of tourism development and corresponding impact patterns are least studied areas (India Institute of Social Sciences, 1989; Kirloskar Consultants Ltd. 1994). Therefore, in this proposed research, which is largely exploratory in nature, attempt will be made to address following questions since formulating definite hypotheses were found problematic due to lack of quality background studies. Major questions bing probed in this study are: Firstly, what have been the evolutional and structural dimensions of tourism industry on the West coast of India? Secondly, to what extent does the unequal spatio-structural factor loadings of the destinations result in the emergence of differential impacts in the wake of tourism development? Thirdly, does the type of tourism development have varying impacts on different components of destination? Finally, does resident perception vary with nature and form of tourism development and how do the residents perceive the future of tourism in their destination?

To obtain logical answers to the above questions, the Western coastal region of India was selected for detail study. There are many factors that affect the coastal ecosystem and the West Coast of India is not only a most transformed region, the ecosystem at many areas on the coast is also very fragile. According to Jorge et. al (2002), there are five major societal driving forces affecting coastal ecosystems in India: urbanization; intensive aquaculture and agriculture; industrial activity; port activity and tourism. The number and diversity of agents searching for free space in coastal areas increase the need for integrated management so as to reduce the negative impacts of the increasing number of activities conflicting in these areas. Jorge et. al, after analyzing tourism development in Goa concluded that tourism has brought many changes including the urbanisation of many rural areas. Basing on the study, it has been suggested for a bottom-up development approach that will integrate the human and natural ecosystem components in a harmonious manner to attain sustainability.
More so, from an earlier study by Babu (1991), it was evident that in India, regional growth in foreign tourism has been highly biased towards the international gateways or in certain locations in coastal areas scattered mainly along the West Coast. He further argued that such a growth could be a manifestation of the growing acceptance of 'beach tourism' in India not only among international tourists but among domestic tourists as well. The selection of beach destinations of the West Coast for this study, therefore, is justified in the light of its fragile ecological set up, high population density and the peculiarity in certain economic and socio-cultural parameters such as economic activities, employment pattern and utilization of the land and other scarce resources. It is expected that from this type of a study, some feasible solutions may emerge that can help the planners and managers of tourism to strike a judicious balance between tourism as a development option and sustenance of beach destination systems. Such developmental solutions shall be aimed at strengthening a socially acceptable, economically competitive and environmentally sound tourism.

1.2: Objectives of Study

Keeping in view broader issues discussed above, the study has following objectives:

1. To examine the spatial patterning of the tourism development on the West Coast in the backdrop general tourism development pattern in India
2. To examine the varying nature of the impacts of tourism development on the local economic structure at destinations
3. To examine the nature and causes of migration at the beach tourism destinations
4. To compare the main socio-cultural impacts of tourism under varying tourism development situations
5. To examine major factors influencing the resident perception towards tourism under different development situations
1.3: Research Questions

Since this study is largely exploratory in nature, hence attempt has been made to address the following research questions:

1. What have been the evolitional and structural dimensions of tourism industry on the West coast of India?
2. To what extend does the unequal spatio-structural factor loadings of the destinations result to the emergence of differential impacts in the wake of tourism development?
3. Have the types of tourism development varying impacts on different components of destination?
4. Does the resident perception vary with nature and form of tourism development?
5. How do the residents perceive the future of tourism in their destination?

1.4: Major Assumptions

Based on the above questions, following assumptions have been made:

1. Spatially tourism tends to get concentrated more at regions with higher infrastructural development or quality tourist attractions or in combination of both
2. Regions having comparatively higher incidence of domestic tourists have higher concentration of international tourists
3. A comparatively diverse economic base of tourist destinations minimize their dependence on tourism
4. The nature of the impacts of tourism varies with scale and form of tourism development
5. Luxury-oriented, exclusive type of tourism development results in poor integration of tourism with the economic environment of the destination
6. Perception of resident population about tourists and tourism industry varies depending upon the context of tourism development and their socio-economic attributes.

1.5: Data Sources and Methodology

To achieve above objectives, data were collected from two principal sources: secondary and primary. Secondary sources were primarily the statistical publications of the Tourism Department of the Union as well as the State governments of Goa and Keralam. The publications of the World Travel and Tourism Council and World Tourism Organization have also been used for gathering relevant statistics such as tourist arrivals and revenue earned from tourism. But, as such, the data availability on various dimensions of tourism at secondary level is grossly insufficient and even the available statistics are very discrete in nature and lack reliability in many cases. Hence, for most of the data requirements, primary data were generated through fieldwork. Primary data were collected with the help of structured questionnaires administrated by the researcher. Since it has been researcher-administrated survey, the response rate has been cent percent. At times, assistance of a language interpreter was also obtained, mainly in Cavelossim, for better communication with respondent, which also helped enhancing the quality of data generated.

1.5.1: Methodology

1.5.1.1: Index for Spatial Analysis

In India, data available at the secondary level cover mainly two aspects: the tourist volume at the State-level (both domestic and foreign) and room availability at the State and at the level of some main tourist centers. The tourist volumes are expressed discretely in numbers and do not provide any further information on their
socio-economic characteristics and activity patterns. The accommodation statistics constitute category-wise distribution, both at the state level and at the main tourist center levels, but its reliability has been challenged due to its grossly inadequate coverage, particularly of unclassified and/or unregistered commercial segments in the official statistical framework. Again, visitors staying in non-commercial and supplementary accommodation establishments or in the houses of families or friends are totally uncovered. Though, the magnitude of the economic impacts of them at the individual unit-level may not be as significant as those staying in commercial accommodations, still their impacts are expected to be quite substantial to the economy, society and environment due to sheer size.

Given the nature of data available, perhaps developing an appropriate concentration measure will suffice the purpose of evolving spatial perspectives on tourism in Indian context. Though Defer’s index (Defert 1966, cited in Pearce 1987)\(^\text{33}\), popularly known as T(f) is a measure of concentration, it cannot be used in the original form because as Smith (1994)\(^\text{34}\) pointed out, it is a surrogate for the actual importance of tourism. Of the variables used to construct the index namely resident population and beds capacity, the bed capacity statistics has many inherent limitations as stated above. Because of these reasons, bed capacity may not be as much a suitable indicator compared to tourist volume statistics. At the same time, converting actual volume figures into a density measure is methodologically suggestive since it neutralises volume-geographical area discrepancies. In other words, higher volumes not necessarily mean higher density. Therefore, in this study, two density measures have been developed namely resident population density and tourist population density in order to construct ‘index of tourism intensity’ (ITI). A higher index would logically suggest that the magnitude of tourism’s impacts to both guests and the hosts could be higher with higher tourist activity intensity. The equation thus derived can be shown as below:
ITI = \frac{N(i) \times 100}{R(i)}

Where, 

ITI = Index of tourism intensity 
N(i) = Tourist population density 
R(i) = Resident population density

However, the interpretation of ITI warrants caution because of two reasons: firstly, higher tourist density need not necessarily translate into higher ITI values where the resident density is higher. Larger resident population size might have a strong bearing on the distribution of impacts - both positive and negative. Secondly, the context of tourism development, type of tourism and the tourists might play a critical role as well in the distribution of tourism’s impacts.

The values of T(f) and ITI are postulated theoretically to be different because of the differences in the degrees of tourist activity intensity. Moreover, reliability of ITI measure is methodologically assumed to be higher since it is more refined and addresses some limitations of T(f) index highlighted by Smith (op.cit.) such as geographical area/size and discrepancy in accommodation statistics. But the index being a product of tourism density and resident density differs depending on the difference between them; less the difference, more the index value and vice versa. Likewise, when tourist density exceeds the resident density, the value exceeds the unity. Further, even if the tourist density is very high, a high resident density can bring down the index substantially indicating an inverse relationship between them.

The applicability and significance of the measures of concentration have also been confirmed by Mansfeld (1990)\textsuperscript{35} who after reviewing the literature analyzing tourist flows concluded that though concentration ratio index is descriptive in nature, when carried out diachronically, it enables both the tourist
industry and government agencies to monitor and to predict future flows. As a refined measure of concentration, ITI values have distinct qualities of explaining the nature of concentration of tourist activities compared to other existing techniques and therefore, can be used for policy and planning exercises.

This index is calculated separately for the country and for the Western Coast. With regard to application of ITI in the Western Coast, not all states falling in the region were considered for analysis due to the reasons of their geographical coverage. For instance, only two districts of Karnataka (North and South Canara) and three districts of Maharashtra including Mumbai form the part of the West Coast. As regards to Gujarat and the union territories of Dadra and Ngar Haveli, beach-based leisure tourism is still in the early stage of development. In addition to these, excepting Mumbai, other areas of Karnataka and Maharashtra falling in the coastal part are yet to emerge as touristically important areas. There is also very little district-level tourism related data available for the districts falling in this region. Therefore, only two states namely Keralam and Goa have been taken for detail analysis, fully falling in the coastal region and also the data at the district/taluk levels are available.

As regards to application of ITI measure in Keralam and Goa for generating spatial patterns, it is worth mentioning that the unit of analysis in these states is different. In the case of Keralam, unit of analysis is the district whereas for Goa, taluk has been selected due to its smallness and availability of comparable data to satisfy the study objectives.

1.5.1.2: Conceptualizing the Types of Tourism Development

The majority of the existing studies on the types of tourism development have been confined to local and regional developments in particular environments. However, the typologies proposed in various studies serve useful purpose of
highlighting the fact that different processes of development can and do occur (Pearce 1996)\textsuperscript{36}. Few notable studies existing on coastal tourism development types have been contributed by Barbaza (1970)\textsuperscript{37} on Mediterranean- Black Sea coast, Peck and Lepie (1977)\textsuperscript{38} on small coastal communities in North Carolina and Wong (1986)\textsuperscript{39} on Peninsular Malaysia. It can be seen, in general, that such studies have considered the factors like the type of developers, resources and power basis; development context, the life-cycle stages and the spatial organisation. However, these studies have been found lacking in linking the types of tourism development with the development outcomes of tourism.

This study proceeds with the primary assumption that there are many causal and contextual factors that determine the nature of tourism development in beach areas in the West Coast of India. The causal factors considered for this study include the type of developers and their places of origin, type of tourists, organizational characteristics of tourism and nature of involvement of the government agencies in the destination development planning. The contextual elements considered are the resident population and their composition, traditional economic activities, socio-economic composition of the residents and the morphological characteristics. As a result, the nature of development of tourism has strong bearing on the development outcome to the economy, society and physical environment. The 'nature of development' defined for the purpose of this study is the manner in which tourism development process began, the agencies/institutions got involved and resultant development patterns thus emerged.

After reviewing the literature available on this subject and repeated field visits undertaken to major beach destinations in the Western coastal region of India (which enabled collection of available secondary data, discussions with development planners and tourism decision makers, learned local residents and community leaders and, own observations), specific causal and contextual variables
have been finalized. Basing on these, three types of beach tourism destination development situations were conceptualized: exclusive, semi-exclusive and open. These development types could be unambiguously distinguishable basing on the parameters selected for this purpose and the methodological strength. Since the availability of published data about individual beaches are limited, in addition to these, the author has combined them with certain anthropological research methods to delineate the type of development.

The “exclusive” destination is defined in terms its exclusivity manifested in terms of minimum interconnectivities of tourism with the place. The ‘destination exclusivity’ conceived here, however, is not equitable with the conceptualization of ‘enclave tourism’ normally found in tourism literature (Britton 1982; Lea 1988) because of many contextual factors, though there may be similarities in terms of certain features between them. The main distinction is that the theoretical premises of enclave tourism are the core-periphery paradigm of development. It is not to argue that ‘exclusiveness’ conceptualized here has no relation with core-periphery theorization but the organization of tourism industry in India is very much different from other development contexts. For instance, tourism in India does not depend much on foreign capital or labour and the share of charter tourism to the foreign tourism revenue is not significant. Because of these, the tourism-related economic leakage is insignificant.

But, in Indian context, the tourism service developers reportedly not avail of the local goods and services or the workforce not because these did not available locally but they were purportedly of ‘not-up-to-quality’ they seek. Tourism development is primarily luxury-based, wherein the tourism establishments and services represent mainly high quality/ high spending type right from the initial stage of development itself. Most developers are ‘outsiders’- i.e. from other parts of the state or the country. Great degree of land-use planning is visible in the initial
stage of resort development itself particularly in the locality in the destination where they are developed. Hardly any local residents live in this part of the destination area owing to scanty population numbers or due to evacuation of many of them for the projects.

Interestingly, the resort development can be seen taking place without any noticeable involvements of the resident community or their institutions and to a great extend the local government. Instead, it is the macro-level government institutions are seen facilitating the development. Most part of the destination where resorts developed, the developers keep these areas beyond the reach of local residents and other 'ordinary' tourists. Since it is illegal to erect any permanent structure to cordon off the public resource like beach lying in front of respective resorts thereby prohibiting the entry of 'common folks' in order to maintain their exclusivity. The developers of the resorts adopt many tactics like natural fencing, mainly through growing cactus and other thorny plants and deployment of musclemen who hoodwink at the 'encroachers' to drive them away. This eventually leads to development portraying the signs of enclavism, leaving minimum linkages with its local surroundings.

"Semi-exclusive" destinations can be classified as the one with luxury resort development taking place in the initial phase of development at selected locality within the destination, often at one section. This part is more planned and the features are similar to the exclusive development. These luxury resorts are manifestive of minimum linkages with destination environment due to the reasons being identified in the 'exclusive' type. Remaining part of the destination was demonstratively dominated by low-quality services and facilities. They are organically developed with the local entrepreneurs developing most tourist facilities and services in the initial stage. As the development at the destination progresses, the local entrepreneurs get gradually pushed out to marginal areas or forced to give
seen as haphazard and in most cases interspersed with local resident habitations. The interventions of the government agencies could be found only many years after tourism has set in, which cannot find much meaningful way ahead, either due to piecemeal delayed attempts or organized resistances from the developers and other local interest groups.

1.5.2: Sample Frame and Selection Method

Sample destinations have been selected after careful considerations of the study objectives. While doing so, in addition to the types of tourism development identified above, due diligence was given to existing theoretical propositions while selecting three sample destinations. Destinations thus selected, sufficiently demonstrate development forms as conceptualised above, which in turn, has been used to corroborate them with evolving patterns of impacts. Basing on this, three destinations viz. Cavelossim (Goa), Kovalam (Keralam) and Calangute (Goa) representing ‘exclusive’, ‘semi-exclusive’ and ‘open’ types of tourism development respectively, have been selected for detail investigation.

It is worth stating that none of the destination selected for the sample survey is a major urban center and therefore, the number of households was also comparatively less. Though the survey was carried out in 2003, for finalization of the sample size, Census data of 1991 were used since the same for 2001 were not available at the time of survey. According to 1991 census, total occupied residential households in Cavelossim, Calangute and Kovalam were 475, 2104 and 4379 respectively. A total of 255 households have been selected on proportionate basis, covering three sample study areas for detail investigation. They included 127 households from Kovalam urban outgrowth; 89 households from Calangute census town; and 39 households from Cavelossim village. Household has been treated as unit of study in order to fulfill the study objectives and many information were analysed at the household level. At the same time, for analyzing some variables in
the data set, the respondent in the household has been treated as the study unit where
use of household data was found not methodologically feasible.

Sample households have been selected on the basis of stratified random
procedure. Stratification of the households has been done with the religious and
occupational background. Main instrument of the survey was a systematically
structured questionnaire prepared after two pilot surveys. The first survey was
carried out in December 2002, one of the peak months. Second survey was done in
April 2003 coinciding with lean tourist season. At each stage in the pilot survey,
many aspects of impacts being delineated during the literature review got filtered
out. Basing on the questionnaire thus finalized, the author himself conducted the
survey during September-December in 2003. For assisting the author in survey, as
stated earlier, assistance of the language interpreters was also availed mainly at
Cavelossim. Author-administered survey had another major advantage: eliciting
some important information like development history of tourism, local community
involvement, social and political dynamics etc. from the community leaders and
knowledgeable elders who otherwise might not have been covered in the survey.
These informations have immensely helped in contributing to bridge important
information gaps. The author has also amply benefited in observing many aspects of
community life and tourism activities since the stay at these destinations was in
paying-guest accommodation.

1.6: Introduction to Study Area

In the earlier part of this chapter, the rationale of selecting West Coast for
this study was briefly stated. In the following part, it is attempted to sketch out the
salient features of the West Coast and brief introduction of the sample study areas
(Map 1.1).
1.6.1: Geographical Features of West Coast of India

The geological uniqueness of the West Coast is that the subsidence and emergence are found side by side within short distances. These changes were tectonic and regional, not eustatic in nature (Kumar 1995). The Western Coastal region can be divided into three distinct regions with each of them displaying its own peculiarities. Three distinct regions are Konkan Coast, Kanara Coast and Malabar Coast. The long stretch of Western coast lies between Daman on the North and Kanyakumari in the South.

The Konkan Coast has a length of about 530 kilometers and 30 to 50 kilometers width with an undulating surface. The coastal plain is generally very narrow. Another peculiarity is that a 200 meter contour line often falls within 100 meters ashore. The mouth of Zuari and Mandovi rivers form a “Ria” type coast or wide estuaries (Singh 1989). The Canara Coast constitutes the North Canara and South Canara districts of Karnataka. In this region, the coastal low lands are very narrow and are found only in the form of few isolated patches. Near Karwar, the conical hills of gneisses origin having a height of about 610 meters near the coast are not rare scenery. Two major ports namely Mangalore and Karvar are situated in this region. Owing to inadequate sandy beaches, tourism is not much developed along this part of Western coast.

Malabar Coast is longest among the West Coast regions having a length of around 550 kilometers. The North and South sections are narrow and the middle region is very wide. The width ranges from 20 kilometer to 100 kilometer. The Malabar Coast terminates at Kanyakumari in the South. The unique sand dunes namely ‘Teris’ are found all along the coast, except the region South of Kovalam, where, in many locations, the rocks project directly into the sea (Ahmed 1972).
1.6.2: Climatic Features of West Coast

The climate conditions in the West Coast are something distinct from the remaining parts of the country. The region experiences, by and large, the tropical climate. Though humidity is very high, the land breeze is the morning and sea breeze in the evening make the living pleasant in this region. One does not experience any distinct cold/winter season here. Tropical maritime influences minimize the diurnal and annual variations in temperature. The region receives heavy rainfall particularly is the Canara and Malabar areas because the lofty Western Ghats running parallel to the Arabian Sea. Since it acts as a high barrier to the moist laden S.W. Monsoon, the rainfall is high in the wind-ward side of Western Ghats leaving large tracts of lee-ward area as rain shadow area.

Across the region, the temperature records only minimum variation. For instance, the maximum and minimum diurnal temperature for Mumbai, Marmugao, Mangalore and Thiruvananthapuram are 24 to 33°C; 21.5 to 31°C; 23.2 to 32°C; and 22.5 to 30°C respectively. The maritime influence on winter temperature is evidenced with the temperature varying from 16.3°C to 30.6°C in Mumbai. At Thiruvananthapuram, the winter temperature is 26.8°C to 28°C, meaning that the winter variations decrease as one move southward in the region (Singh 1989)44. S.W monsoon season is mainly the rainy season which spreads from June through September, accounting for about 78% of the total rainfall. The retreating monsoon i.e. N.E monsoon brings rain mainly to the southern part in the beginning of October through November and by the beginning of December the dryness sets in. For instance, Singh noted that the average annual rainfall is 270 cm in Bombay, 261 cm in Marmagao, 340 cm in Mangalore and 164 cm in Thiruvananthapuram. Compared to Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea is not prone to severe cyclonic disturbances though there are occasional strong windy conditions. These occasional disturbances affect mainly the Konkan and Canara Coasts, which brings heavy rainfall, floods, land-
slides and devastation of the structures and plants. Nevertheless it is the clear skies, predictable rains, less frequent and mild cyclonic disturbances, absence any major ocean current, low salinity level (36 %0), comparatively calm sea water and clean sandy beaches make the West Coach an ideal destination for beach tourism activities.

1.7: Kovalam: Transformation from Rural to Urban

At the outset, it is worthwhile to state that the understanding and interpretation of the ‘place’ is very complex and no single approach seems to suffice it because place means many thing to many people. Some of the earlier readings on this subject unravel the mutli-dimensionality of ‘being a place’ (Lowenthal 1967; Relph 1976; Said 1978; Lefebre 1981; Harvey 1982; Giddens 1984; Stallybrass and White 1986 and Shields 1991)45. The meaning and/ or image of places can be a construct of many factors, internal an external to the place or the manner in which the ‘seeker’ intend it to be. Review of the above studies shows, in general, that the transformation of the physical and cultural worlds is inseparable from the becoming of the place. For a study of this nature, the conception of Shields (1991)46 that ‘the meaning of particular places is a compendium of inter-subjective and cultural interpretation over time’ (p.25). For instance, seems more appropriate since it attributes a generic nature to understanding of places. Tourist places like resorts might go from being considered a resort to an industrial center. Again, places like beaches illustrate the extent of the cultural categorization of geographical spaces and places- both within and outside- like the ‘peripheral’, ‘country-side’ etc. There is another interesting dimension to the understanding of ‘tourist places’ in which the resident communities also make consistent effort to bring back place identity to its original stage, which is nothing but the community’s own identity. At least, they succeed in erasing some of the deviations, mostly negative, of the transformed place. In the preceding part, the above aspects of tourism “placeness” of the sample destinations will be attempted from this perspective.
Kovalam, situated in the vicinity of Thiruvananthapuram, the capital of Keralam was a rural area till about thirty ago. Traditionally, it has been a fishing-cum-agricultural area but gradually evolved into an urban outgrowth by the late 1980’s mainly due to development of tourism. Until 1991 Census, Kovalam was administratively spread into two adjacent villages namely Thiruvallam and Kottukal, and in 1991 Census, few wards from these villages were brought together to create Kovalam urban outgrowth. It has a total area of 4.68 sq. km.

Though the ancient history of Kovalam is not known, one can attach it with the history of Vizhinjam because it is just three kilometers away. Vizhinjam has a prominent place in the history of Keralam. This was the capital of the mysterious Ay Kingdom, who ruled upto the 10th century A.D in the region lying between Thiruvananthapuram and Cape Comorin, which later became South Travancore. After the defeat of Ay dynasty by the Cheras, this old Ay Metropolis was transformed into the southern most port and fortress of the realm of the Cheras (Menon, 1962). Once, Vizhinjam was a flourishing port. There are evidences showing that for East India Company, Captain Kealing had won a foothold in Travancore in 1644 by establishing a factory at Vizhinjam (Woodcock 1967: 164). In the late 18th century, Raja Kesava Dasan (Valiya Divanji), the Diwan of Travancore converted Vizhinjam into a port where ships were built to help the growth of commerce (Dist. Census Handbook-Thiruvananthapuram, 1981). Tragically, from a prosperous port and harbour, Vizhinjam today is a dejected fishing village, destined to embrace impoverished people who are infected with communicable diseases like Malaria and Cholera (Mathrubhumi Weekly, 12 June, 1995).

The early cultural identities of Kovalam was, to a great extend, associated with a famous poet Ayyippillai Asan who lived in 16th or 17th century, in Avadu
Thurai, currently known as Howa Beach. His famous work ‘Ramakathapattu’ (Ballad of Rama Story) represents a stage in the evolution of the southern dialect of Malayalam (Menon 1962)\textsuperscript{48}. There are other cultural meanings as well. According to old Revenue Manual, Kovalam was described as the area lying east of the hill Narithondu Malai and the harbour Kovakullathu Thura. This gives an indication of the existence of a harbour called Kovakulam, hence, few argue that Kovalam might have originated from this. There are other versions as well. One such version states that the name owes to the shape of the land, which is jutting out into the sea that forms the shape of ‘gopadalam’, meaning the leaf of pepper plant. This protruding portion resembles the tapering part of the pepper leaf and hence, it is named as Kovalam. Another version sounds more convincing, which read ‘Kovalam (Ko + alam)- the coastal area of the King’. However, the veracity of the word ‘Kovalam’ is yet to be established.

In addition to the features internal to the place, its identity also gets reconstructed as a result of external interventions from various institutions and levels. This is a continuous process. For instance, an early image of Kovalam was evident in the portrayal of its socio-physical attributes. In his travelogue, Clark (1915)\textsuperscript{49} narrates his journey from Thiruvananthapuram to Kovalam: “We crossed a wide river, foaming part palm covered banks, went on over a bad road, the only one is all our travels in Travancore, which fell short of perfection to arrive at a rock garden, on the edge of the sea called ‘Kovilum’”. It can therefore, be inferred that the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century Kovalam was an under developed rural area in all respects. Despite its closeness to Thiruvananthapuram, it was poorly connected with the city and was lacking even a proper communication network. River Karamana separated both the places until a bridge was constructed across the river in the early 1970’s. Perhaps, the coming of tourism has attached a new dimension to the placeness of Kovalam— that of the contradiction in development in the wake of mass tourism.
1.7.1: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Kovalam

The examination of population characteristics before 1991 census has been difficult due to reasons cited above. Therefore, for this study, Census figures of 1991 and 2001 only have been compiled from District Census Handbook to highlight the major socio-economic characteristics such as total population, sex ratio, literacy rate and occupation and they are placed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Population Characteristics of Kovalam- 1991-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>% to the respective total</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>% to the respective total</th>
<th>Percentage change 1991-2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>25,419</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>28,736</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>13,051</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>14,750</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>12,368</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>13,986</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Literates</td>
<td>14,472</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>19,669</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>7,785</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>9,831</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>6,687</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>9,838</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Workers</td>
<td>7413</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>8386</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>6584</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>7538</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Census Handbook, Thiruvananthapuram

Note: Percentage of literates and workers for male and female have been calculated by taking their respective total population as the denominator

As regards to total population in the urban out growth of Kovalam, there has been a growth of 13 percent between 1991- 2001, i.e. from the population base of 25,419 persons in 1991. In general, many socio-economic indicators of Kovalam have been seen as lower than the state-level averages. For instance, sex ratio in Kovalam is in favour of males so also the general literacy rate (District Census Hand Book, 1991 and 2001). Further, the male and female literacy during this
period indicates to a higher literacy rate among males where as the percentage of female literates has witnessed only a marginal increase during this period. As regards to the nature of workers, it can be seen that people do not have adequate employment avenues, which may perhaps be the reason why nearly 71 percent of the people remain as non-workers.

The Table 1.2 reveals that among the total workers, there has been a reduction in the proportion of ‘main workers’ (from 27.7% to 21.7%) between 1991-and 2001 where as the share of ‘marginal workers’ recorded an increased five times during this period. Sex-wise, both total male and female workers show a marginal increase only. However, it can be found that the male total main workers increased about 10% during this period whereas, corresponding change among the female main workers have come down to almost two percent. As regards to marginal workers, in 1991, the proportion of both males and females have been negligible, whereas in 2001, there can be seen substantial increase in their proportion, particularly among the males. The table also shows the proportion of non-workers remaining more or less in the same range.

Table 1.2: Type of Workers in Kovalam (In percentage)- 1991 & 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Workers</th>
<th>Main Workers</th>
<th>Marginal workers</th>
<th>Non workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>25419</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>71.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13051</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12368</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>94.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>28736</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14750</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>13986</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>93.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Census Handbook, Thiruvananthapuram
However, above table is useful to explain the labour dynamics at Kovalam. It is worth noticing that the increase in total male workers has been due to substantial increase in the male marginal workers, irrespective of nearly 10% decline in the main male workers. In the same way, increase in the total female workers also owe primarily to the increase in the quantum of marginal workers despite a decrease in the main workers among them. This trend in the labour market provides indication of two scenarios. Firstly, the quantum of non-workers is on the rise over the period. Secondly, the avenues of main employment are gradually squeezing down whereas, more and more people are being put to the risk of working on a marginal basis and this emerging trend will have a strong bearing on their livelihood.

As regards to distribution of workers in different industrial categories (Table 1.3), it can be seen the ‘other workers’ representing a huge chunk of workforce, constituting 89 percent and 94.7 percent respectively for 1991 and 2001. It can also be seen the proportion of cultivators and agricultural labourers coming down during this period even though their shares were significant. Interestingly, female cultivators have increased during this period from 0.3 percent to 2.4 percent whereas the share of males came down. But the reduction in terms of agricultural labourers has been substantial in general as well as among males and females.

At the same time, the workforce in the ‘household industry’ reflects a marginal increase in its share from 2.6 percent in 1991 to 3.9 percent in 2001. While the increase has been observed among both male workers in this category, the proportion of female workers has recorded a substantial decrease from more than 14% to 3.5% though in actual volume, it appears not very significant. From the table, it can be inferred that in general, ‘other workers’ have increased over the years but what is noticeable is the increase in the proportion among the female workers. From this, it can be inferred that the shifting away of the females from the household industry must have been predominantly towards the ‘other workers’ and
to some extent to agricultural sector. At the same time, male workers must have moved from the agriculture to the household or other industrial segments.

**Table 1.3: Percentage Distribution of Main Workers in Industrial Categories in Kovalam – 1991 & 2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Total workers</th>
<th>Cultivator</th>
<th>Agri. Labourers</th>
<th>In house hold industry</th>
<th>Other workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>7413</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6584</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>90.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>79.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>8386</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>94.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>7533</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>94.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>853</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: District Census Handbook, Thiruvananthapuram*

However, the labour dynamics at Kovalam throws open some pertinent issues. Firstly, the increasing trend in the marginal workers, particularly among the males as observed in the Table 1.2, is a matter of concern. This is because of the fact that corresponding increase in the main workers could not be found while the proportion of total workers remained stagnant. Is it because of the emergence of tourism as the major economic activity at Kovalam, which is very much seasonal in nature and do not require large quantum of workers on a full-time and/or regular basis? Further, is it because that even the educated/ skilled people do not have adequate opportunities to be employed them as full-time workers here? If these have not been occurring, would not it appropriate to assume that tourism appears poorly integrated with the economy of Kovalam? Secondly, the pattern emerging from Table 1.3 in terms of the increase in ‘other workers’ over the years reveal a volatile labour market at Kovalam. Undoubtedly, workers have been moving away from the traditional economic activities, but what causes the volatility in the labour market
and other related happenings equally merit explanation. To some extent, it could not be examined due to lack of availability of detail category-wise worker statistics for 2001 showing the pattern of shift. However, in this study, some of these questions will be explored in detail.

1.7.2: Tourism Prior to the State Formation

Though the history of tourism is not evidently known, there are evidences to suggest that in the beginning of 20th century itself, Kovalam as a recreational center was familiar to both the domestic and foreign visitors. It was a summer resort for Maharajas of Travancore. In his travel memoir, Clark (1915) characterises Kovalam as:

"A rocky garden, on the edge of the sea called ‘Kovilum’. Here is a shabby bungalow, where men and maiden of the past generation doubtlessly flirted many an afternoon away, built long ago by General Cullen, now owned by a Roman brotherhood. Here too is a sandy cove famous for bathing, protected by mighty rocks from the violence of the waters, which fret and growl without, in vain endeavour to force an entrance”.

Two decades later, another travel memoir by Hatch (1933) reads: “A second palace has been built at Kovalam on the headland. It is just below the palace headland that the seacoast is sufficiently sheltered to make the sea bathing safe and delightful. A bathing house has just been put up for the convenience of others’ (bathers). Hatch further portrayed beach activities in Kovalam is probably the favourite with the residents, is the one which leads to Kovalam, a splendid beach. His memoir also mentioned about the building of another palace here on a headland.

The commercial potential of Kovalam as a tourism destination was recognized at the time of Godavarma Raja, the Maharaja of Travancore. During his
rule, a diary was kept in the Secretariat towards eliciting the opinion of foreign visitors about Kovalam. However, seemingly, the organized interventions in Kovalam were initiated in the early sixties and were manifested in two ways. Firstly, the arrival of “European drifters”, or the hippies, categorized as a product of counter-culture movement in the West, involving those searching the sun, surf, sand, and narcotics. Secondly, as Kovalam’s popularity began to increase, gradually, the tourism facility developers and policy makers realized tourism’s potential, resulting into their pro-active involvement in the process (for instance, establishment of the Govt. of India’s project for Integrated Beach Tourism Development). However, those projecting the popular notion that Kovalam was “discovered” and then converted into a tourist centre by the European “flower boys” (referred to hippies) of the sixties (see Jacob 1994:5) do not seem to have documented its history to arrive at such conclusion. Perhaps, it will be more appropriate to argue that the arrival of European drifters in Kovalam has sowed the seeds of modern mass tourism in Keralam.

1.5.5: Emergence of Modern Kovalam

From the mid-sixties, emergence of tourism on an industrial scale has provided Kovalam with new meanings and image as a tourist centre. Within a period of about 40 years, Kovalam has emerged as one of the most important tourist centers in India attracting tourists from all parts of the country and around the world. However, before going into details of the historiography of modern mass tourism development in Kovalam, it is important to examine the community profile prior to the onset of mass tourism.

In the pre-mass tourism period, as mentioned earlier, agriculture was the economic base of Kovalam, in which coconut being the major crop owing to the alluvial deposits of salt concentration. Most of the economic activities were revolving around coconut viz. toddy extraction, oil extraction, manufacturing of
coir, and trading these products in the near by markets. Fishing was practiced, though on a limited scale (District Census Handbook- Thiruvananthapuram 1981). In addition, with the construction boom, quarrying became a major economic activity attracting many low income groups, particularly women and children of lower castes. There was no major manufacturing unit in the vicinity of Kovalam (Source: own investigation). The village was very much in contact with the main centers of commercial and industrial activity in southern Kerala like Kollam and Alapuzha through trading of copra, oil, and coir yarn products (Jacob 1994). The major conveyance of transport was huge country boats called ‘Kettu Vallams” sailed over to those places through the canal. It was also catering to the coir demands from the fishing sector in the villages like Vizhinjam.

It was evident that the salient aspects of Kovalam’s economic, social and political structure not varied much from adjacent coasted villages before the introduction of tourism. Socio-demographically, it is a Hindu dominated area in which ‘Ezhavas’- a sub-caste within other backward caste (OBC)- predominate; followed by Nairs and other minor castes groups such as Veerasaiva, scheduled castes etc. Muslims and Christians are also present but their numbers are not significant. The people of Kovalam have been politically integrated with the state and national level parties through their active participation in the social and political processes. Other than political parties, there are community bodies like Save Kovalam Committee and local institution like Panchayat, rooted firmly in local economy and social moorings. It is in this socio-cultural milieu that modern mass tourism took its root in this tourist paradise.

1.5.4: Modern Mass Tourism in Kovalam

As discussed above, the coming of ‘modern’ tourists in the mid-sixties accelerated the process of transforming the landscape of Kovalam- economic, socio-cultural and physical- on a large scale. During the early stage of development where
the "hippie drifters" were prevalent, and locals used to provide accommodation, food and other services to them. Many a personal dwellings were converted into tourist lodges or paying guesthouses and the family members moved in the backyard of the home. The place was comparatively cheaper. Hotel Raja near Kovalam beach bus stop is reportedly the oldest hotel in Kovalam, which came up during the late 1960's.

The first sign of official intervention was found in 1961 when a tourist bathhouse was constructed with full financial support from State government. In the same year, both the Central and State governments together sanctioned 4 lakhs for the development of tourism in Kovalam (Administrative Report, Dept. of Tourism, 1961). More organized form of intervention can been seen coinciding with the acquisition of land by the State government in 1968 and its subsequent transfer to the Central government to develop Kovalam as model seaside resort under the programme of the integrated development of selected tourist areas. The author could learn during field investigation that many families mostly fishermen had been evacuated from the land acquired by the government for implementation of the project, without much resistance from them. Subsequently, ITDC had constructed a five star hotel and 40 tourist colleges and; the only one of its kind in Keralam in those days. Its operation was started in 1974 (NCEAR 1975). The project was constructed near to the palace in the rock promontory situated in the middle of the beach area, flanked by the famous beaches on the northern and southern sides. The cottages were built on the backside of the hotel and the beach road separates it from each other. Few years later, in the northern most half of the beach, Kerala Tourism Development Corporation (KTDC) constructed a three star hotel, Samudra. Interestingly, these are the only two projects situate on the northern half of Kovalam beach area and no other permanent tourism establishment can be found here.

However, the real construction boom started in the early eighties, mainly along the beach front in the southern half of the beach area (Source: own
investigation), most being either hotels and lodges or restaurants. The construction progressed in a haphazard manner and in violation to 200 meter high tide limit (HTL) set by Coastal Zone Regulation Act- 1991. One can see plenty of unauthorized hotels and other buildings scattered all around within 200-meter limit, which are now posing many serious problems especially of sanitation and hygiene-of residents, tourists and seawater. According to Dept. of Tourism, there were 72 accommodation units with 1420 beds in Kovalam in 1991. Another survey revealed that in 1986, Kovalam had 25 hotels comprising 516 beds (Joseph 1994). Later in 2002, an accommodation counting by the author estimated 371 establishments with capacity of approximately 3,450 beds, including 867 beds in paying guest category. Excepting the hotels owned by ITDC and KTDC, all other hotels have been reported as non-star category. In this context, it is interesting to note a major finding of a study in the late 1980’s by Tata Economic Consultancy Services (TECS 1988) which found that, in general, overwhelming majority of tourists preferred to stay in ordinary hotels even if they belonged to the affluent class. In particular, nearly 81 percent of the tourists preferred such accommodation against state average of 79 percent. During those days, average duration of stay of tourists at Kovalam was 6.4 days. As regards to their sources of information, only a negligible percent (2.8%) of tourists had known Kovalam through advertisements; which otherwise meant, their information sources were primarily informal like own efforts, friends and relatives or the like.

Interestingly, even though Kovalam appeared to be one of the most important attractions in Kerlal, the available statistics prove a steady decline in tourist arrivals. For instance, in 1986, of the 50,841 foreigners came to Kerlal, 87.8% have visited Kovalam (TECS 1988). As years passed by, the proportion of foreigners visiting Kovalam has also gradually declined and in 1991, it was 58% and further down to 13% in 2002, of total foreign visitors in Kerlal (ref. Table 4.7). In terms of actual arrivals also, the numbers have been highly fluctuating. On
the other hand, domestic tourist arrivals have increased nearly three times between 1986-1992, in which the corresponding figures recorded were 34046 and 83,814 respectively (compiled from Tourist Statistics, Govt. of Kerala). Their annual growth rate was higher than that of Keralam. However, between 1992 and 2002, the proportion of domestic tourist arrivals to Kovalam has come down drastically; i.e. from 2.1% to 0.7% (ref. Table 4.8). At the same time, there are large numbers of day-trippers pouring in by public transport, tourist coaches, tempos, vans etc. particularly during the season.

The backpackers and foreign independent travelers (FIT) continue to be the dominant segments of tourism market of Kovalam, which further explains the prevalence of budget type accommodation and other facilities and services. The Central and State governments respectively in the 1970’s have developed luxury hotels, only two of its kind in Kovalam. They are well planned and situated on the northern half of the beach. No other investment in the luxury accommodation segment, either from the public sector or private sector yet, reinforces the earlier findings that most of the tourists visiting Kovalam, irrespective of their socio-economic background, prefer to stay in non-star accommodation facilities. Though, attributing conclusive reasons may be difficult, it could be inferred that the near absence of night-life and other recreation provisions may not be attracting many tourists other than the budget ones. However, it would not out of place to mention that the night-life or similar activities are not acceptable to the residents and its introduction would invite strong opposition not only from the public in general but also from political parties and most persons associated with tourism policy-making in the State administration.

The controversy over the disinvestments of Hotel Kovalam Ashoka, a five star property under the ownership of India Tourism Development Corporation in 2003 still continues, and going by the indications, its settlement will depend on the
resolving of certain pertinent heritage and cultural identity issues of Kovalam in particular and Kerala in general. The disinvestments raise some critical questions in the context of development-linked evacuation. Specific to Kovalam, an important question not being addressed adequately yet is: Does the forced evacuation by government agencies for the project development without proper compensation and resettlement of the ‘affected’ get justified when the same project is later sold out to private entrepreneurs? After interacting with those who were evacuated, it was learned that the lesser degree of resistance at the time of evacuation for the project in the late 1960's were attributed to their perception that it is a government project and they also had high expectation of benefits from the project. More so, lack of awareness of many evacuees coupled with a look warm response of the social and political institutions also resulted to a weak resistance. The pertinent question is: When ITDC disinvested the project area after 30 years of operation to a private company, has it ever considered that the value addition to the project has been at the cost of poor fishermen who were forcefully evacuated without any meaningful compensation? In a study, the instances have been cited about the fishermen becoming boatmen who take the tourists in their ‘cattamarams (country-made wooden boats) to the high sea instead of doing fishing (Kumar, Vijaya 1993)54. Though these questions are important to this study, because it is a recent happening and the survey for this study was carried out before disvestment, these questions could not be explored.

The backpackers continue to be the major segment of tourists with a segregated elite group in their midst. Countries of West Europe, especially the U.K, Germany and France continue to dominate the tourist market. Though of late, the U.S, Italy, Australia and Japan are emerging as other major markets. In 1992, the traditional European countries had a market share of 22 percent. Other major markets contributed another 10.7%, which takes the total to 34 percent from all major traditional markets. In other words, almost two-third of the tourists
constituted other nationalities (Tourist Statistics, Govt. of Kerala-1994). Though conclusive data are not available for the subsequent years, it could be considered as a pointer to the increasing diversification of Kovalam’s international tourism market. Another major feature of Kovalam is the vagaries in the seasonal arrival of tourists and it is more prominent in the case of foreign tourists. Major season, particularly of foreigners, however is similar to that of the general pattern found in the state.

1.6: Calangute: From Queen of Indian Beaches to a Tourist Ghetto?

Before dwelling on to the history of tourism in Calangute, it is of importance to state that many information pertaining to the development of tourism and associated changes at Calangute were gathered through documenting personal enquiries with many learned elders, who were part of the changes taking place. In addition, the published documents available have also been perused for relevant data.

Calangute, popularly known as the “queen of Indian beaches”, lies between Baga on the north to Candolim in the south with a length of about 3.5 k.m. It is a Census township since 1981 falling in the Tiswadi taluk of North Goa district. Total area of the township is 11.72 sq km. It was one of the better-known former fishing villages in Goa, which has a tryst with tourism in the 1960’s (Norohna 1997)\(^5\). The hippies discovered beach tourism here first, followed by individual mass tourists and then the charter tourists and others as tourism began to expand. The ‘hippie’ itinerary in India was peculiar in which they descended from the Himalayas during winter to Calangute and returned to Himalayas as the summer sets in. They were leading a free life, lived with people at destinations or created their own ‘tented enclaves’ in which they lived a leisured life, consumed plenty of narcotics being brought along during their decadence from Himalayas, where these were available in plenty and cheap.
With the advent of the low-budget hippies, the developers have spotted business opportunities and with that began the conflict of interests. In January 1973, the Government has announced acquisition of 15,600 sq. meter of land near Baga, which drew massive local mobilizations and legal battles (Dantas 1986). By anticipating the same movement of the Government in Calangute as well, when the law enforcing agencies were supposed to evict the tenants and to take the possession at of land at Baga, people from Calangute came forward in large numbers to join the protesters at Baga to resist the evacuation move. As the issue grew more serious, people particularly in Calangute became more skeptical and argued that the proposed eviction move was unfair and the Government developmental efforts would be counter-productive since it would destroy the natural beauty of the place. To them, Calangute beach has been a natural attraction for local and the foreign tourists for centuries. It needs no development, the locals argued with the Parliament Committee on Petition (Dantas 1986)

Subsequently, the Master Plan for development of tourism in Goa prepared in 1987 has become even more controversial and the critiques argued against its shortsightedness and lack of concern for local values and environment. Ironically, a physical and socio-economic survey conducted by the Town and Country Planning Department for the Master Plan-1987, noted that the Calangute- Candolim stretch of beaches experienced a rapid growth of tourist activity during the last decade. The Survey has also listed major factors contributed to this growth viz. bridge across river the Mandovi, worldwide popularly, growth of nearby Mapusa town etc. The report made particular mention of ‘part time’ change from traditional occupation patterns to tourism-oriented trades like pensions, guest-houses, eating places, handicraft centers and informal shopping. In addition, it also brought forward certain visible physical changes in the event of tourism development in Calangute. These included large-scale growth of unauthorized constructions, commercial activity spilling over the access roads, traffic congestion due to narrow roads, non-
local architectural form and traditions, shortage of drinking water and erratic electricity supply. Garbage generation has been identified as another main problem. Major socio-cultural problems identified were drug trafficking, moral laxity, crime rates, conflicts between traditional occupations against modern tourism, and high land values.

1.6.1: History of Tourism in Calangute

Though the published documents on the history of tourism in Calangute is scantly available, during field work, the author has attempted to elicit its tryst with tourism by discussing with the very old and learned and experienced citizens in the area and then tried to corroborate them with the existing literature of tourism development on Calangute. As per records of the Village Panchayat, the first clubhouse ‘Karavela’ was built in the late 19th century by a Portuguese man. It had a bar and restaurant where the Goan Portuguese used to gather mainly during weekends. There was no electricity and a generator was used to support the energy needs. In the early part of 20th century, rich Indians, mainly from Mumbai used to visit Calangute and ‘Karavela’ was mainly their place of stay. These men used to visit mostly during May-June months. Before independence itself, there were few small hotels and the oldest among them was reportedly ‘Sojalobo’, constructed by a native Christian. This hotel is still in operation.

A 70 year old Sasikant Chari of Navanath Industries recalls:

‘Before Goa’s independence, there were hardly any basic facilities and amenities such as electricity, telephone or post-office. From Panaji and other places in South Goa, people used to ferry across the river Mandovi from Panaji and then came to Calangute, either in motor bikes or bus from Betim Jetty’. The main activities in which most residents in Calangute got engaged in were fishing and agriculture.
However, the tourism scenario began to undergo drastic changes immediately after Goa became a part of Indian Union in 1961. Hotel Karavela situated on the beach-front was taken over by the Government, demolished the existing structure and a modern palatial-type bungalow was built there and handed it over to the Tourism Department which since then is running as Calangute Residency. The increase in the flow of 'hippie tourists' not only began to change the village economy and environment, it has also brought many 'desi' tourists. Alex Pinto, a former Journalist who runs a firm 'Beach Holidays' recalls:

"The major attractions of 'desi tourists' visiting Calangute were cheap availability of liquor and nudity on the beach". Upto late 1970’s, the tourist demands were mainly met by the local residents. The first star hotel built here was Hotel Paradise.

As theorized by Butter (1980)\textsuperscript{57} in his destination life cycle, growing popularity of the destination like Calangute begin to attract developers from 'outside' as it moves upward in the life-cycle. Mr. Alex Pinto reported further that many Indians began to buy land in the beginning of 1980’s, which subsequently resulted to a construction boom in Calangute. The boom has attracted plenty of cheap workers migration here, mainly from Karnataka. But large scale uncontrolled construction became more or less stagnant in the mid 1990’s- observed C. Kanolkar, a local resident working with Goa Tourism Development Corporation.

However, despite these drastic developments, Calangute remained by and large as an economy destination with a mix of low-budget foreigners and Indians as predominant visitor segment. Rapid and uncontrolled development of tourism as reported in the Master Plan for Development of Tourism in Goa, has resulted into emergence of a variety of issues affecting the life of residents, economy and environment of the town. The bane of tourism in Calangute could be summarized by paraphrasing Norohna (1997), a renowned commentator of tourism in Goa: "Calangute has changed from being the "Queen of Goan beaches" into a
“hellhole” for locals. Rapid urbanization and unplanned development has transformed this sleepy coastal village into a veritable concrete jungle. Age-old storm water drains have been turned into a sewer. One can see all the ills of tourism in this small area.”

In addition, like most beach tourism areas in the country, blatant violation of Coastal Zone Regulation Act (CRZA) is exemplarily visible, mostly by the hotel and restaurant developers (references of this can also be found in Jorge et. al. 2002; Wilson 1997)\(^{58}\). The erection of beach shacks, (temporary restaurants serving local food), which caters to mostly the budget tourists are not only another instance of CRZ violation but they have also resulted into conflict with established hotel and restaurant sector. Further, Kazi and Sequeira (2001)\(^{59}\) reported that the shacks have driven out fishermen from beach areas, which they used during non-fishing season to anchor their boats and sew/repair the fishing nets. Even if many may argue that shacks are non-permanent structures, thereby, their adverse impacts will be less; they can also equally harmful to the fragile coastal environment like the permanent structures owing to the location, congestion and associated environmental problems.

Other socio-economic problems reported were: spiraling of land-values, conversion of agricultural land to ‘other purposes’ (Gomantak Times, March 9, 1997), misappropriation and corruption by Panchayat officials, real-estate booms (Gomantak Times, July 28, 1997), full moon parties, drug, open sex among foreign tourists, electricity and water problems (Nav Hind Times, Mar. 7, 1997), dilution in the celebration of ‘Shigmo’, a rustic Hindu religious festival (Nav Hind Times, March 17, 1997), denial of access to beach (Herald, Aug. 6, 1997), lack of open space in the beach, non-payment of salaries, child sex-abuse and prostitution, rioting and abuses of tourists (Norohna 1997). Particularly about the sexual behaviour of the young Westerners, Lea (1993)\(^{60}\) quotes Mehta’s description of how Goan girls crossing the beach on their way to a convent school at Calangute:
"They had to pass hundreds of naked bodies, of every hue and national origin, coupling in the sand" (1993:709). With regard to nakedness, Wilson (1997) notes that there was plenty of topless sunbathing but no outright nudity, although a smattering of tongas (G-strings) were to be seen. In addition to the above, during field investigation, the author has been informed by the residents of their problems like preference of the girls for modeling, preference of the local youths to spend most part of the night in discotheques, feeling a sense of submergence, lack of public and parking spaces, over crowding, materialism and individualism, dropping-out of children from the schools in the lure of easy money particularly 'tips'.

It is worthwhile to state that one of the best documentation of tourism in Goa in general and North Goa and Calangute in particular is the study of Wilson (1997). In this oft debated study, the tourist profiling in the Candolim- Calangute-Baga stretch of beach area is very interesting. He observes: "This part of North Goa attracts the whole gamut of tourists including long-stay travelers and young backpackers, often passing through India on their way further East (the hippies, usually found in rented rooms at Chapora, Vagator, and Anjuna); flight-only, low-budget, shorter-stay visitors staying in a diversity of rented rooms, guest houses and cheap hotels (mainly around Anjuna, Baga, and Calangute); regular winter visitors including expatriates from places as far apart as Europe, Nepal, and the Far East (staying in cheap hotels around Baga and Calangute); charter-package tourists (staying in hotels at Baga, Calangute, and Candolim); and up-market tourists (in a small number of international-standard hotels between Candolim and Aguada). The vast majority of charter-package tourists are the British. There were also a large number of domestic tourists to Goa, especially in and around Calangute. The opening of Konkan Railways has enhanced the accessibility of Goa to different parts of the country very significantly resulting to more inflow of domestic tourists."
stressed due to tourism-related activities. Ground water quality has also deteriorated due to indiscriminate disposal of human-generated waste, including disposal from septic tanks and cesspools resulting into quite abnormal level of concentration of bacteria and nitrate". From the above brief account, it can be summarized that Calangute demonstrates many adverse dimensions of unplanned and uncontrolled tourism development, particularly in the coastal areas.

1.6.2: Socio-economic Profile of Calangute

A brief account of the tourism-induced changes in Calangute has been attempted above. Here, the socio-economic profile of the town is examined covering the change in population, literacy and type of workers. The figures compiled from the District Census Handbook records to an increase of 32.4 percent in population between 1991-2001 (Table 1.4). The proportion of male population has been higher during this period and the gap

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>% to total</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>% to total</th>
<th>Percentage change 1991-2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>11,925</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15,783</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>6,079</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>8455</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>5846</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>7328</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Literates</td>
<td>7745</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td>11,279</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>4308</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>6484</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>3437</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>4795</td>
<td>65.4</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Workers</td>
<td>4318</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>6435</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>3057</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>4892</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>1543</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Census Handbook, North Goa

Note: Percentage of literates and workers for male and female have been calculated by taking their respective total population as the denominator
between the 'male-female ratio' only widened to record 53.6% males against 46.4 percent females in 2001. This, in other words mean that the growth in male population has been faster (39%) compared to females. The general literacy has also shown an appreciable increase from 65% in 1991 to 71.5 percent in 2001; however, there exists a wide gap between male and female literacy rates. In general, this period has recorded an increase of around 46% in the actual number of literates, which is indeed remarkable in the given context.

The table further assists in understanding that the worker’s participation has been moving upward from 36% in 1991 to 41% in 2001; i.e. their proportion to the total population has increased over 5% in this period. It can also be seen the total workers (in absolute terms) increasing to 49%. Interestingly, when the proportion of the total male workers has increased more than 7%, the share of females remained stagnant at around 21 percent. As regards to type of workers, while the proportion of total main workers remained more in the same range during 1991-2001 (33.4 and 32.9% respectively), the same among both male and female workers recorded a marginal decline but it was comparatively more among females.

On the contrary, when the marginal workers have increased substantially (from 2.8% to 7.8%), the increase has been more among the male workers (Table 1.5). Increase in the proportion of total workers to the population, in other words, mean a decline in the proportion of non-workers and the same could be seen in the table 1.5. As regards to gender, reduction in the non-workers proportion was found mainly among males (49.7% to 42.1%). Notwithstanding, the decline in the male non-workers could be attributed to the increase in the quantum of marginal workers; not the main workers and this is not an encouraging trend.

In terms distribution of workers in different occupational categories, Table 1.6 reveals a scenario where workers in the agriculture and household industry are
Table 1.5: Type of Workers in Calangute (In percentage)- 1991 & 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Workers</th>
<th>Main Workers</th>
<th>Marginal workers</th>
<th>Non workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>11925</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>63.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6079</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5846</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>15783</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>59.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8455</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7328</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>78.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Census Handbook, North Goa

Fast shifting over to the ‘other sectors’. It can be seen that from around 87% in 1991, proportion of ‘other workers’ rose to more than 97 percent in 2001. On the other hand, the agriculture and household industry segments constitute only around 1 percent each of total workers in 2001 (Table 1.6).

Table 1.6: Percentage Distribution of Main Workers in Industrial Categories in Calangute – 1991 & 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Total workers</th>
<th>Cultivators</th>
<th>Agri. Labourers</th>
<th>In house hold industry</th>
<th>Other workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>4318</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>86.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3057</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>82.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>5197</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>97.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4038</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>97.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>95.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Census Handbook, North Goa
Sex-wise bifurcation of workers and their occupational affiliations is very revealing over the years. Females, whose share have been more as cultivator/agricultural workers category compared to their male counterpart but what is surprising is a sharp decline in the proportion between 1991-2001. Above Table shows that the shift has been mainly to the ‘other workers’ segment. This need not be unusual to a place like Calangute, a major tourist place, but the matter of concern is the increase in the proportion of marginal workers. Though it may to difficult to arrive at definite answers to this, conclusive inferences could be drawn by looking at the pattern of shift and the nature of the segments where more and more workers are getting absorbed. “Other workers’ include a variety of activities but at a predominantly tourism-based place such as Calangute, it is tourism and other related services which presumably offer maximum avenues for absorption of the shifting workforce.

1.7: Cavelossim: From Fishing Village to a Luxury Tourist Destination

Documenting the history of Cavelossim, situated in the Salcete taluk of South Goa was attempted here based on available published documents, local church records and opinion of the informed citizens. These sources reveal that the village continues to remain classified as a rural area, and many economic activities are related to the primary sector (fishing, toddy tapping etc.). Geographically, it is almost an island surrounded by Arabian Sea on the west and the other sides are boarded by river Sal, which debouches into Arabian Sea here. Bradnock and Bradnock (2000) 62 reports that the Sal is a busy river and harbour for fishing boats, but it is also very pleasant for boat ride. It is a small village, both in terms of area and human habitation i.e., of the total area of 834.13 hectares; nearly 90 percent is covered by paddy fields, salt/ fish ponds, coconut trees and cashew-dominated forest- (South Goa District Handbook- 1991).
The social history of the village documented by De Souza (1990) reveals that before the arrival of Portuguese and European Christian missionaries, all the villagers were Hindus and there were many gods and temples for worship within the village. A mausoleum of a rich Muslim sultan named Balbouzir exists here, which could be taken as a pointer of Muslim inhabitation in the area, though it is difficult to identify the period. But, its past in general is not very different from nearby areas of Goa. De Souza noted that there are evidences to suggest recurrent marriage links with families of Maratha origin lived in other parts of Goa before 1800 AD. The first Christian chapel here was constructed some where in the first half of eighteenth century. Better education, particularly English, even before 1850 has resulted in educated persons, mainly men, migrating to Bombay and foreign countries such as Burma and East Africa in search of better opportunities (Gracias 2000). The beginning of 19th century has seen many educated men rising in various civil/ administrative/ engineering positions in the Portuguese administration in Goa and among them, people still proudly remember is Rev. Deao Paulo Antonio Dias da Conceicao, who went on to become the President of the electoral assembly of Goa which chose three deputies to represent Portuguese India in the Portugal Parliament. He also ruled Goa as Acting Governor for 15 days (De Souza 1990). There have been vibrant social and cultural institutions at village-level, which acted both directly and indirectly to sustain their heritage.

After Goa became a part of Indian Union in 1961, the process of integration began at a faster pace. However, one would still find the influence of Portuguese culture at Cavelossim, and the investigation by this author indicates that people still feel proud of being identified in that way. Despite being a small village, there are adequate civic and communication infrastructures such as school, all-weather roads, electricity, water supply, post office, bank, health centers etc. Recent estimates show that the total population of the village is 2,378 (2001 Census), of which majority is Christians (Census document does not mention about this, but it was confirmed.
from the Panchayat and village offices and the President of the Residents Association). Among other religions, only few Hindu families have been reported and as per Census of 2001, just 11 members scheduled caste population were reported. The male members constitute 53.8% of total population, of which 65% were literates whereas female literacy stood at 60.5%. Further, the proportion of male and female ‘main workers’ have been estimated as 57.5% and 16.3% respectively.

1.7.1: A Brief History of Tourism at Cavelossim

Tourism was more or less absent till late 1980’s here but the process began with Master Plan for Tourism Development prepared by the State government. Since the area being identified for luxury tourism development, there have been many protest movements not only against luxury tourism but also directed towards beach sand extraction (Sequiera, Sreekumar et.al. 1994). Specific tourism-related issues identified by them were related to forced land acquisition, evacuation of people, ecological degradation, apprehension of the degree of economic benefits to local economy, inflated land values and other general tourism related negative impacts in the society. They further stated that because of these issues, many voluntary movements have come up such as Anti-sand Extraction Committee (1982), Save Goa Committee (1982) and Cavelossim Villagers Action Committee (1984).

In Cavelossim, agitation against ‘luxury tourism’ intensified in the early 1990’s. Initially began as a local movement, the protest took a wider dimension with the involvement of Jagrut Goenkaranchi Fouz (JGF), a leading environment advocacy group and large scale mobilizations. There have been allegations of collusion between leading politicians and the luxury hotel developers. The movement, at times, turned violent involving the protestors on the one side and the
police and the developers (mostly from 'outside') on the other side. The issues related to the development of Leela Beach Resort are worth highlighting (Business Standard, 23rd Nov. 1993). Other luxury hotel developed here are Cavelossim Beach Resort, Resort Dona Sylvia, The Old Anchor and Radisson Beach Resort. What have become noticeable about the protest movements, particularly the localised ones, were their gradual dissipation and the interesting facets of protest-dialogue-negotiation-acceptance continuum- in which the protesters represent one spectrum and the developers, development agencies and other interest groups form the other side. During the pilot survey period, it has become clear that the locals have two divergent views on the movement: firstly, many felt that it was because of the resistance and ‘sacrifices’, the villagers benefited more from tourism. Other view was that the movement could not succeed because it was mainly apolitical and therefore, did not have the support of the people of the state. Some others commented on even the collision of some ‘influential locals’ with the government and the hotel developers in consideration of personal benefits that led to the weakening of the movement in the process. Critics also cite instances of such people garnering most benefits. Indeed, this is a major dimension this study endeavoured to address.

1.7.2: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Population in Cavelossim

Cavelossim, even though a luxury tourism destination, continues to be classified as a village for the census purposes. In terms of resident population, this is the smallest among the sample destinations. Certain basic population characteristics such as total residents, literacy and workers compiled on gender-basis for the census years 2001 and 1991 and placed in Table 1.7. It can be seen that the total population has increased only marginally at 2.7 per cent during this period, comparably much lower than the state average. In terms of male/female ratio, compared to 1991, the increase in population has gone in favour of males in 2001, whose share has
increased more than one percent to reach 54.8 percent. The growth of male population in absolute terms has gone up by 4.7 percent whereas the increase among females has been less than one percent: The sex ratio indicates more males compared to females. As regards to literacy, during this period, there recorded a substantial increase and the proportion has increased to reach 73 percent in 2001, around 10% over 1991. Among the sex, proportion of male literacy has been higher compared to females and in 2001, it was more than 7% compared to females.

Table: 1.7 Population Characteristics of Cavelossim- 1991 & 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>% to total</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>% to total</th>
<th>Percentage change 1991-2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>2315</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2378</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>1245</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Literates</td>
<td>1456</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>1733</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>69.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Workers</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : District Census Handbook, South Goa

Note: Percentage of literates and workers for male and female have been calculated by taking their respective total population as the denominator

Interestingly, worker’s participation has gone-up only marginally to tune of 43.7% of the population in 2001 representing around 4% over 1991. Expectedly, the proportion of male workforce has been much higher compared to females. However, while among total population, the proportion of male workers has increased from around 58 percent in 1991 to 63 percent in 2001, whereas, corresponding figures for females were only 18 percent and 20.5 percent respectively Table 1.8). In terms of
growth in number of workers, both females and males have maintained the same pace. Further, when the total workers have recorded an increase during 1991-2001, the proportion of main and marginal workers has remained almost at same levels.

But, when this data is bifurcated on male/female basis, an interesting scenario emerges. For, while the proportion of male marginal workers has increased from 1.2% to 4.9%, female workers in the marginal segment reduced substantially from 11.2% to 2.4% during this period (Table 1.8). Here, a logical inference could be drawn from the shift in female marginal workers to the main workers category that tourism development must have given them adequate opportunities to get absorbed as main workers. As regards to the distribution of main workers into different industrial categories, in general ‘other workers’ constitute large chunk of them (91%), followed by household industry segment.

**Table 1.8: Type of Workers in Cavelossim (In percentage) – 1991 & 2001**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Workers</th>
<th>Main Workers</th>
<th>Marginal workers</th>
<th>Non workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1991</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>2315</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>60.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1245</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2001</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>2378</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>56.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1303</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: District Census Handbook, South Goa*

With regards to the distribution of main workers in industrial categories, it was found that the proportions of cultivators and agricultural labourers have reduced substantially during 1991-2001 though it was insignificant to the local economy.
(Table 1.9). This is very interesting, given the fact that Cavelossim is notified as a village for Census purpose. Marginalisation of agricultural sector could be taken as an inference to the fact that even those people owning large tracts of cultivable land might be moving to ‘other activities’, which in other words is an indication of ‘other’ employment options available which are more economically rewarding in nature. Further, ironically enough, only females are reported as the cultivators and no male is reported in this category. Among agricultural labourers also, females are more (around one percent) compared to 0.3 % of males.

Table 1.9: Percentage Distribution of Main Workers in Industrial Categories in Cavelossim – 1991 & 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Total workers</th>
<th>Cultivators</th>
<th>Agri. Labourers</th>
<th>In household industry</th>
<th>Other workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>922</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>79.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>91.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>94.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District Census Handbook, South Goa

The table also reveals that though there has been a marginal decline in the proportion of household industry in general and among the males, interestingly 8.7% of female workers have shifted to this segment in 2001 from no worker in 1991. It appears that these females were previously employed in the agricultural sector. During the fieldwork, the respondents informed the author that traditionally female involvements in agriculture were more because the males either got involved in other gainful activities in the village or migrated to other places seeking better earnings. Some respondents also reported that the easy-going life-style of men,
many of them spend most of their time in the liquor shops, forced the females to act as the main bread earner in the family.

Taking into account the Census figures, it can be said that for census purpose Cavellossim might be treated as village; but going by the engagement of workers in the industrial types, it no longer represent the features of a village economy. Primary sector activities like fishing, toddy tapping and to some extend, agriculture might have provided employment opportunities upto the early 1990’s. But large scale industrial tourism and many support industries which came up in the wake of this must have changed the labour market scenario. This process must have also contributed in drawing the workers mainly from traditional sector. However, it is also not out of place to state that compared to other two sample destinations, Cavelossim is very small- both geographically and population-wise. Therefore, drawing conclusions on labour market dynamics and other socio-economic processes warrants caution.

1.8: Organisation of the Study

The schematics of the chapters follow the pattern in such a manner to ensure continuity- both forward and backward. The first chapter comprises the background of the study, objectives of the study, methods and methodology and a brief description of study area and sample study destinations. The second chapter has been fully devoted to review and discuss major strands of ideological and theoretical debates on development in general and then attempted to contextualize these debates in tourism. The discussions in this chapter reveal the ‘elusiveness’ of development as a concept, practice and philosophy. Third chapter is devoted to addressing a least discussed aspect of tourism in India- i.e. spatial pattern of tourism development. Though there is inadequacy of good quality secondary data, efforts have been made to collect the available data from major relevant sources. In the fourth chapter, emphasis was placed on examining development of tourism in the
West Coast of the country. Availability of data on certain important dimensions of tourism, particularly about Keralam and Goa, made the analysis more explanatory. The author could also link tourism with the development processes taking place in these states.

Subsequent chapters are based primarily on the analysis of the data gathered through field survey. The fifth chapter deals with the socio-economic structures of the destinations and its main correlates. The characteristics mainly dealt here are demographic and socio-economic in nature under three delineated tourism development conditions and tried to correlate them with tourism. Emphasis has been laid to deal with specific issues which have come up during pilot surveys relating to the migration pattern in tourist destinations. The rationale behind treating this subject separately was guided by the existing studies on the impact of eroding place images due to tourism and spiraling land values. Many have argued that tourism acts as an agent of both in-migration and out migration on a appreciable level as tourism development progresses at the destination. The Sixth chapter has focused more on examining how tourism’s impacts are modifying/calibrating the host-community perceptions with specific emphases being given to the sources of information, leisure-time spending, touring patterns, language acquiring, shift in employment patterns, and many perceived negative impacts of tourism. The last chapter attempted to conclude the discussions in the preceding chapters to earn more understanding of an otherwise least studied spatial pattern of tourism development and the nature of its outcomes. Basing on these, attempts have also been made to sketch out certain measures that will assist the destination developers and managers to negotiate for a sustainable tourism development in the country.
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