

Chapter 7

Conclusion and Recommendations

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The study was an attempt to address two fundamental issues in spatiality of tourism development: firstly, the causal and contextual factors, which are both internal and external to destinations, resulting in specific patterning of tourism development in the coastal regions. While addressing this issue, efforts have also been made to develop a tool to analyze spatial patterns when available data at secondary level are inadequate to apply sophisticated statistical technique normally used in spatial studies. Secondly, how different, if any, are the outcomes of tourism development under different development situations. Indeed, the review of existing literature addressing the critical issues of spatiality of tourism development reveal them as the least studied aspects and scholarly the treatment of the subject is also very limited. In order to address these issues, this study was contextualized with specific focus on beach tourism development in the West Coast of India in the background of tourism development process in the country.

The nature of outcomes of tourism development in this study has been classified as economic, socio cultural and environmental. Many existing studies have vividly demonstrated that the nature and magnitude of the outcome of tourism development also feed significantly into shaping the perception of the major stakeholders of tourism, particularly of resident communities. Further, development being a continuous, progressive movement, the complementarity between the process and outcome are critical to the substance of development. This study is exploratory in nature owing to the reasons of inadequate scholarly background studies, particularly the type of tourism development on the one hand and comparison of the outcomes under different tourism development conditions in the Indian context. Lack of reliable statistical data at secondary level also influenced the researcher to adopt an exploratory research framework for this study.

contributive role in the socio-economic development process as back as in the early 1950's. Ironically, critical scholarly interpretation of the retarded growth of inbound tourism in the country is yet to take place. Secondly, the inbound traffic continues to portray the dominance of few regions and the countries. However, there are adequate signs of diversification of foreign visitor patterns in India where the proportion of visitors from many countries, particularly from those from Asia-Pacific region is gradually increasing in the recent years.

Secondly, the examination of state-level data on foreign tourist arrivals is demonstrative of the continuance of the tourist concentration in the states situated near to major international entry points. Nevertheless, in recent years, certain degree of dispersion to geographically distant states could also be observed. This could be attributed to the factors like state-level initiatives to promote them as independent and stand-alone destinations, improving infrastructure (both-tourism-specific and general), diversification of the inbound tourist traffic and their motivations, and application of information communication technology (ICT) by the destination as well as the supply providers or jointly by both.

Thirdly, domestic tourism is a subject grossly ignored in India despite its volume and significant contribution to the nation's economy and regional development. Some latest macro-level studies reveal the ratio of earnings from domestic and foreign tourism as 76:24 in 1999, indicating more than three-fourth of total tourism revenue from domestic tourism. Though projections are indicative of marginal decrease in the proportion of domestic tourism in the coming years, it will continue to remain as the predominant revenue generating segment of tourism in India. Further, it also plays some other important roles. Economically, it contributes to minimize the adverse impact of seasonality in tourism business as well as strengthening of the tourism informed sector. Socio-politically, it is argued as a strong force in cultural integration and nation building. As regards to

the spatial distribution of domestic tourism, like foreign tourism, it is also concentrated in few states, particularly in the Southern part and in U.P. and Uttaranchal in the North. These states happen to be the seats of many major religious centers and monuments and/or famous for the leisure tourism opportunities.

Fourthly, the vast volume of tourists traveling within the country is not being reflected in the officially available accommodation statistics. The room statistics compiled from the Tourist Statistics, annual publication of the Department of Tourism, Govt. of India reveal increase in absolute and relative terms; however, the growth has been taking place largely in the upper-end hotel segment. In these hotels, occupancy rate is also reported as comparatively higher and are less prone to seasonality, mainly of foreign inbound tourism. Among lower star hotels, not only their volumes are less, they are more affected by the seasonal tourist movements as well. According to industry sources, lack of good quality budget accommodation is a major impediment to the growth of tourism in the country.

Interestingly, a paradoxical situation emerges when the data of tourist arrivals at different states and corresponding officially recorded accommodation availability were compared. It is logical to assume that when there is a high incidence of tourist arrivals in the states, the accommodation sector is expected to show proportionate volume in terms of room capacity; but that was not the case in many states. For instance, touristically important states like Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal and U.P have recorded very less number of classified or approved rooms in spite of high tourist visitation. This leads us to the conclusion that the tourism informal sector is very vast than it appears to be, not only at the state levels but also at major tourist places within each state. Therefore, a major argument can be advanced here is: low priority attached to tourism as an economic

will be addressed later. Comparable secondary data were available mainly on tourist arrivals and earnings from tourism to trace the evolution pattern. To evolve spatial perspectives, mainly tourist arrival data has been used since they were available at the district-level for Kerala and taluk-level for Goa. Secondary-level sources demonstrate that in terms of general development, the West Coast is one of the highly developed regions in India- mainly on account of social and physical infrastructure and human development. In the process, introduction of tourism by 'hippies' and subsequent development experiences, particularly after 1970's, has been seemingly contributed appreciably to overall development in the region. In terms of tourist traffic, both foreign and domestic arrivals have grown substantially over the years in Kerala and Goa; however, there exists certain degree of variability in terms of growth rate among them. The socio-economic profile of the visitors has also undergone dramatic change: from low-spending and long-staying tourists in the early years, especially in certain beach locations in Goa and Kovalam in Kerala, to a diverse spectrum of tourists seeking varieties of experiences- both the active and passive forms.

The West Coast has certain inherent advantages that can be seen contributed to not only the development of tourism but also the overall development of the region. These include centuries old connectivities- of cultural, political, religious and trade- with the Western world, agro-climatic conditions and other geographic features such as bio-diversity, landforms etc. Indeed, the region's early connectivities with the Western World could be viewed as a major factor contributed to attracting the 'drifters' and 'explores' in the early 1960's itself. This, in turn, must have made the region comparatively more familiar to the modern tourists of the West. These tourists were spreading away from the 'familiar' Mediterranean destinations in their quest for unexplored 'pleasure peripheries' in the warmer tropics. Though initially began as region mainly for beach tourism, its diversity has been contributing to the development of every

ecotourism in Kerala. When the spatial patterning of tourist movements was considered, it was seen that the districts with highest incidence of domestic tourism had highest tourist density. Moreover, due to high resident population densities in the districts, the difference in terms of ITI values and tourist densities of the districts have been found much lower in Kerala compared to those of Goa.

Some very logical inferences could be drawn out of the analysis of spatial pattern of tourism in India in general and those in Kerala and Goa in particular. Firstly, in a developing country like India, general infrastructure development is lopsided with the developed regions as well as urban centers being favoured more for various socio-economic and political reasons. Incidentally, most of these areas also happen to be densely populated as well. Since majority of tourists excepting the explorers/ backpackers, look forward to comforts while touring and these areas tend to get preferred more for less troublesome holidays. Secondly, arguably there exists a negative image, particularly of country sides/ rural areas of India due to various socio-economic and development reasons, thereby, the chances of tourists preferring more familiar and popular places are more. Thirdly, as per official statistics, the purpose of foreign tourists visiting India can be considered another reason; for, majority of visits are recorded for pleasures/ leisure or business purposes. They apparently less seek ~~after~~ alternative tourism forms in India. However, the author acknowledges that the socio-economic and motivational profiles of the tourists in India- both foreign and domestic- are undergoing dramatic changes but the existing official statistical mechanisms do not distinguish this. Lastly, as William and Zelinski suggested, location of major attractions can be seen influencing tourist movement.

In the next stage, the study has endeavoured upon tracing the nature of beach tourism development in order to identify the type of tourism development, corresponding development outcomes and how the local residents perceive of

these outcomes (impacts). The samples have been picked-up to represent three types of development being identified viz. exclusive, semi-exclusive and open. One fundamental assumption on which this study advanced was pertained to an already established proposition that organically evolved and/ or systematically planned and calibrated tourism development is more beneficial to the destinations and is more sustainable because the process enables healthy forward and backward integrations of tourism with the destination. Further, this study has also attempted to test the dominant paradigm that exclusive tourism development is not beneficial to destinations because it cannot be integrative. From this perspective, it was assumed in this study that the contextual elements- mainly the attributes of destination environment (economic, socio-cultural and physical)- might play an important role in determining the magnitude of tourism's impacts in every development situation.

The sample destinations represent not only different types of tourism development but also vary in relation to their socio-economic structures. The socio-economic attributes can be categorized as follow:

- Kovalam has a mix of three major religions though the Hindus are the dominant group. But compared to other study areas, the population base of Kovalam is much higher and still demonstrates many features of rurality despite being classified as an urban outgrowth. In the case of Calangute, it is a census town with comparatively lower population dominated by the Christians and Hindus and performance of the development indicators are comparatively better. Cavelossim is smallest among the study areas- both in terms of resident population and geographic area and a predominantly Christian village.
- The survey results reveal that in all study areas, joint family system is almost on the verge of extinction and at the same time, average family size is also smaller.

However, by and large, the household size in Kovalam is comparatively larger than that in the other two destination areas.

- In general, households with illiterate members are in the range of 27% to 32% among the destinations studied; but mainly the aged persons among whom the illiteracy is higher. The graduates and professionals in the household have been in the range of 45% and 12% respectively, of which highest percentages have been seen in Calangute followed by Kovalam and Cavelossim.
- As far as literacy among sex goes, the incidence of illiteracy is more pronounced among the female members in all the three destination areas. Graduate and professional members (both male and female) are more common in Calangute than other two destinations, which could be attributable to its diversified economic base as well as social and historical reasons. When the progress in literacy over the years in all study areas were analysed using the Census data, it has been found that between 1991-2001, there has been substantial increase among both sexes. Though it cannot be conclusively attributed to the development of tourism; while considering the fast growth of tourism experienced by these destinations, particularly in the 1990's, tourism might also be considered as one of the factors contributing the growth in literacy in the study areas.

At the destinations where tourism development is a prominent process, local labour dynamics and capital was shown going in favour tourism. Very often, the movement is fast where the destination is mainly in a non-urban setting. This study also witnesses, by and large, the same pattern. The occupational engagements of the working members in the households surveyed reveal that the workers are mostly found in the non-primary sector activities such as tertiary sector in general and tourism in particular. In general, nearly 57% of the households in Kovalam and Calangute and about 72% households in Cavelossim had two working members; where as the households having 3 workers were higher at Calangute (23.6%) and the lowest at Cavelossim (nearly 13%). Households having four or more than four were seen mainly at Calangute. The workers were

then bifurcated into main and auxiliary types, and the results show that plenty of opportunities of auxiliary forms are available, of which Cavelossim reportedly has more avenues (38% households) compared to other two destinations; lowest being 27% at Kovalam.

Sex-wise, it was found that male main workers are more compared to their female counterparts, where as in terms of their distribution across different industrial categories indicates to greater variability across sectors among the study areas. The households with male members engaged in main gainful activities have been seen mainly in tourism and the services sectors other than tourism, but the proportion of such households were higher at destinations in Goa compared to Kovalam. This trend hold same for the female workers as well. Indeed, it is worth noticing that at Cavelossim, tertiary sector reportedly had very few female workers and their concentration have been primarily in tourism. Among other two destinations, the proportion of households whose female members found in primary sector activities was pronounced at Kovalam. More over, many graduates in Kovalam was found engaged in the primary sector even as agricultural labourers, which could be taken as an indication of lower absorption of the local residents by the tourism sector here. In general, in all destinations, higher level of female main workers could be found in tourism sector.

With regard to the nature of main occupation, though proportionately more males were engaged on a regular basis at the destinations in Goa, those engaged either as seasonal or casual level is indeed a matter drawing more attention. Among female workers, almost one-third of the households at Kovalam and Calangute have such workers are reported as seasonal in nature and such cases are nearly half at Cavelossim. At Kovalam, the higher proportion of casual workers among both sexes also merits equal attention. The pattern of workers engagement in the destinations studied enables to conclude that tourism development must be

creating more avenues for the development of various services-related employment and entrepreneurial opportunities but in the process, they are becoming prone to the vagaries of the seasonality in tourism business. More over, exclusive luxury type of tourism development examined in this study appears to have provided more regular employment to the female workers compared to males. Another interesting dimension of tourism development being found is 'open' type of development offers more entrepreneurial avenues to the local residents, though majority of such opportunities may be small and medium types.

Tourism development encourages the occupational mobility at the destinations particularly located in the non-urban areas. The respondents examined in this study are indicative of a dynamic but skewed labour market. The abandonment of the primary sector activities was found highest in the exclusive tourism development context (Cavelossim) to get absorbed mainly in tourism and followed by other services. In other two destinations also, those engaged in agriculture, either as cultivator or as labourer, have shifted to other tertiary segments or tourism. Development of tourism has also lead to some respondents switching to animal husbandry or auto workshops and maintenance activities. Interestingly, unlike other destinations where the unemployed mainly got absorbed by the primary sector in the beginning, the unemployed at Cavelossim found more direct entry-level opportunities in the tourism sector and the survey results indicate to very fewer resident population remaining in the primary sector activities. However, above conclusions have to be viewed in the context of very low resident population base at Cavelossim.

Many existing studies that examined the switching of workers and capital to tourism sector in the context of developing countries often revealed the non-employment and non-remunerative reasons for abandoning the traditional economic sector. Such studies reported that the resident communities shifted to

tourism due to the reasons like social status, less physically strenuous nature of work, interest to interact with the 'tourists' etc. but their proportions were not significant. But, this study shows that employment followed by income as reasons for taking up the present job including those in tourism. Those took up jobs in tourism sector with a motive of interacting with tourists were insignificant. However, the fact remains is: there might be few who really take up job in tourism with this motive, mainly the unmarried youngsters; but this seems not have been reflected in this study possibly due to the type of respondents, who were mainly middle-aged or senior citizens.

The attempt in this study to capture the in-migration with the assumption that destinations which are very developed or the type of tourism developed is exclusive in nature; the chances of in-migration might be more, proven to be not at all noticeable. Main reasons could be attributed to either closeness of the destinations to major urban centers or dominance of unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers. As regards to out-migration, it is reported as highest in Kovalam, closely followed by Calangute. Most migrants are in the age group 25–40 years and among them, the proportion of graduates is more and there were no illiterates. Majority of migration had taken place before 1990, i.e, before tourism became a prominent activity and their destination has been overseas and such cases are highest in the destinations in Goa. Further probing revealed that the out-migrants who have left their home places did so, either to search new or better jobs or due to marriages (applicable mainly in the case of female out-migrants). The out-migration pattern enables to infer that either tourism development has not been adequate enough to absorb the available pool of workers or the jobs in offer to them were not matching with their expectation and/or education. Particularly in Cavelossim, lack of employment opportunity was not the main cause of out-migration but they did so for better employment opportunities.

In all the three destination areas, total monthly income of households comprises the income from (a) main activity source, (b) other sources and (c) remittances. On an average, majority of the households in Calangute earns more income per month compared to other study areas. In addition, it is observed that compared to Kovalam and Cavelossim, relatively higher proportion of households in Calangute own expensive household items like fridge, washing machine, television, VCR/VCP and cassette player. The penetration of less expensive items like radio is significantly less in Calangute vis-à-vis the other two places. This trend is in conformity to the diverse economic base of Calangute and may be further attributable to the fact that around 70 per cent of the households in this place earn more than Rs. 6000 per month as compared to much less proportion of households in the other two places whose monthly household income exceeds Rs. 6000.

In general, when the quality of life indicators were considered, Calangute emerged better off compared to other two destinations. The ownership of two wheelers and car also shows a very similar pattern. The correlation between total workers in the household and their occupation affiliations shows that as generally observed, there is a high correlation between total income and the number of workers in the households. But, in the case of occupational affiliation and household income, correlation coefficients indicate that degree of dependence with tertiary sector affiliation in general is very significant. When the correlation was applied against households with members engaged in tourism sector, interestingly Cavelossim has highly significant coefficients followed by Calangute. This relationship emerged insignificant at Kovalam.

In conclusion, it can be stated that open-type of tourism development with more of small and medium type (SMTE) sector, where there is a higher degree of

local resident participation, either as entrepreneur or as worker, could be better model for sustainable tourism development. At the same time, even if the destinations are developed in exclusive manner, the magnitude of linkages of tourism projects with the destination environment could still be strengthened by greater degree of interventions in the initial stage of the development process, mainly at the local-level; thereby deriving comparatively more economic benefits. The experience of Cavelossim is typical in this context, where in the interventions by the local residents and the anti-luxury tourism lobby in the initial stage project development itself necessitated the development agencies to respond to them positively, at least to certain degree. A resistance-negotiation- re-negotiation mechanism thus emerged were found beneficial to both local residents as well as the developers. Not only were the jobs given to the locals by the developers, including the free training of those unskilled persons whenever and whoever needed. They have also financed the locals to buy tourist cabs, which in turn, were hired by the hoteliers. The developers, in the process, could receive explicit support of the locals for their projects. This could also be considered as one of the mechanisms toward sustaining the tourism development.

Subsequently, the study has examined the impacts of tourism in the life style of the residents and their role in shaping the perception of locals towards tourism. Answers to these, beyond doubt, show that blaming tourism for all negative changes happening at tourist destinations is not justified in the present context because there are many other agents of change are also in operation and many of them are more powerful than tourism. For instance, the life style attributes such as spending of leisure time or touring pattern of respondents have not been affected in any significant manner by tourism development. The leisure travel appeared less a matter for touring compared to visiting pilgrimages or friends and relatives. Resident's perception on their involvement with tourism industry seems to have not been favourable in the early stage of tourism as evident

in their lower participation rate. For instance, in the study areas, majority of the households (ranging from 70% to 87%) did not operate any tourism or related business in the initial phase due to the reasons such as lack of money or their negative image of involving themselves with the tourism sector. Due to various factors, there are now many households operating tourism or related businesses and the destinations in Goa have higher proportion of such households. Many residents are also now interested to become part of tourism business, though there are many problems for them to encounter. This change in the mindset of people can be attributed to growing awareness about the scope of tourism development and also their growing acknowledgement of the economic dimensions of tourism. In general, perception of residents in relation to their interaction with the tourists is seen changing with their indifference towards the tourists is gradually coming down.

Respondents, however, are very critical of the government's attitudes towards their involvement in tourism development, notably at Kovalam. For, ^{the} respondents in Kovalam opined that government does not take any initiative to encourage the involvement of the local residents in tourism development activities. On the other hand, a large proportion of respondents at Cavelossim and Calangute feel that the government take initiatives but mainly they are mainly favourable to non-local entrepreneurs. Among the local residents, the elites get the favour of the government, which reflects the class-biasness of government agencies. It is only in Cavelossim that a quarter of the households have opined that they were encouraged by government and took measures accordingly for their participation in the development process. Indeed, it is worth noting that majority of respondents are of the opinion that their timely intervention in the development process could draw more benefits to the destination. The proportion of such respondents was highest in Cavelossim, which has history of resistance movements right from the project stage of tourism. In addition to the view that

local elites and outside developers have been taking away the main chunk of economic benefits, they are also perturbed about the eroding place images due to various tourism-related negative impacts, lack of workers for non-tourism activities, inaccessibility to common resources or the like. In particular, for respondents at Kovalam, difficulty in receiving descent marriage proposals to their sibling has been a major concern due to erosion of the place image as a result of negative socio-cultural impacts. Going by the views of respondents, there is a general tourist behaviour is not very offensive to the local values and customs, barring some stray incidents reported occasionally.

Due to different reasons, resident's view on segregating tourism from residential areas in the study destinations are varied. In general, those respondents not preferring segregation of tourism to specifically demarcated areas in the destination might be driven by the understanding that it may hamper their interest of earning more benefits, particularly of economic, from tourism. Perhaps, at Kovalam, respondents favour segregation seemingly due to social issues such as moral relaxation, prostitution and nudism. Whereas, respondents at Calangute are not in favour of segregation, which might be driven by their fear that it will jeopardise the economic benefits, they are enjoying now. In the contrary, Cavelossim portrays a different picture where the respondents seem not concerned much about segregation because tourism is development is already segregated there and confines mainly at one end of the village. At the same time, their economic interest is not affected adversely while it also has the benefit of minimising the adverse impacts of tourism to their society and culture.

Lastly, but more importantly, respondent's views on future development of tourism suggest that those favouring further development of tourism in respective destinations have strong views on this. They want adequate mechanisms to ensure more participation of the locals in addition to making them as part of the decision-

making. They argue that this will enable them deriving more benefits while minimising the adverse effects of tourism. Nevertheless, among majority of respondents not favouring further development of tourism as their opposition stem from the fact that the destination is already over-developed and any further development would result creating more problems to local communities. As discussed in chapter six, many adverse effects have already begun to manifest in a more visible manner.

Hence, it can be summed up here that many pertinent issues addressed in this study will have a strong bearing on the future of tourism development in these destinations in particular and the West Coast in general. Therefore, all concerned stakeholders in tourism development should take note of the tourism development contradictions this study has endeavoured to examine by placing them under different development contexts and the major findings. Attributing due attention to these aspects will enable to make tourism development more acceptable and thereby facilitating the development process in adherence to the canons of sustainability.

Recommendations

Basing the theoretical considerations of this study and the empirical outcomes, following recommendation have been made for the consideration of concerned stakeholders.

1. Spatial concentration of tourists and tourism development observed at the country- level and in Kerala and Goa, warrants initiation of appropriate policy measures to enable the spread of tourism more spatially, this will not only result in minimizing the adverse effect of

tourism in the touristically developed areas, but it will also facilitate the regional development.

2. For diverting tourist traffic, mainly international, more focused promotional campaigns and appropriate infrastructure developments are required at the Central and the State government levels which are situated away from major international entry points in the country.
3. The policy makers give attach more importance to the development of domestic tourism. This stems from not only the understanding that domestic tourism generates near about three-fourth of total tourism revenue in the country, it could also be an effective tool in poverty eradication since majority of the domestic travelers are either budget travelers or low-income group, who normally avail of the services and facilities being offered by the tourism informal sector and other small and medium-type enterprises (SMTE's). Further, the tourism economy will be less prone to the vagaries of international tourism market dynamics since domestic tourism could form the base of 'tourism pyramid'
4. In addition to minimizing the dependency of tourism economy to charter tourism, the government of Goa may evolve appropriate policy measures to divert the tourism traffic from the over congested and over-developed patches of central coastal region. Towards this, efforts may be made to strengthen the new product portfolios being conceived by the state government. This may also be complemented by the infrastructure development to make such destinations more accessible.
5. Both Keralam and Goa may be successful examples of destination development but absence of adequate calibration measures has already begun to manifest the gravity of many adverse impacts. Effective regulatory framework such as strict implementation of CRZ Act, carrying capacity measures, controlling of the unethical trade practices

etc. is called for the furtherance of their success as well as to curtail the unethical practices being adopted by vested interest groups to take-out the benefits in an unsustainable manner.

6. The findings on the outcome of tourism development under different development context, enable to recommend the immediacy of regulatory mechanisms. Wherever, tourism development is taking place in an 'open' manner, effective intervention of development agencies is recommended not only to modulate the process but also to ensure the effective participation of the people residing in those areas as they are integral to the destination. Many internal contradictions may arise in the destination in the event of this, owing to the reasons like upward social mobility, religious/caste composition of beneficiaries or other social and environmental issues. Therefore, identification of the stage of development of each destination and the causal and contextual factors influencing the process enable these agencies to evolve appropriate measures.
7. Basing on the development experience at Cavelossim, it is recommended for the effective measures to link 'exclusive' resort development with the destinations' environment. While doing this, the government agencies also could involve the developers and, wherever needed, the local residents to facilitate the development process with minimum contradictions and conflicts.
8. In every development context, it would be appropriate to form destination development committees with membership drawn from all major stakeholders of the destination. This body could act as a mitigation mechanism. But such committees are not balanced in its composition; the conflicts are bound to emerge, thereby, jeopardizing the aim of such committees.

9. The residents at the destinations hold different views on segregation of tourism activities from residential areas. The findings of the study enable to make recommendations in favour of segregation, though it is a complicated proposition. In a way, minimizing the encounters of the negative aspects of tourism development by those local residents not involved directly with tourism business could be achieved with segregation. This, in turn, might result in reducing the opposition and to minimize the adverse effects in certain extent. Perhaps, segregation is very difficult in Goa and Kerala due to dispersed pattern of settlements. In such context, making the evacuees, if evacuation is needed, as stakeholders in tourism would be a more acceptable proposition for them as well as sustainability of development.
10. Effective mechanism should be developed to ensure that 'mono-cropping of tourism' as the economic development option is not being carried out by the destinations. The study findings of Goa in general and Cavelossim in particular, to a large extent, are indicative of growing dependence of tourism, which should be a matter of concern. This is because the volatile nature of tourism demand could affect the development process of the destination because tourists are less predictable when it come to micro-level destinations. Therefore, it is recommended for these destinations not only to take measures for the furtherance of traditional economic activities and also for the development of other economic activities that are complementable to tourism sector.
11. Lastly, as regards to application of the index of tourist intensity (ITI) as a tool to analyze the spatial patterning of tourism and also as surrogate measure of impacts, it may be applied in other destinations to further validate the veracity of the technique.

It is believed that the tourism policy makers and development agencies could consider some major recommendations suggested above. If they are implemented with adequate care, tourism could be used as a means to achieve the socio-economic development goals of the country including poverty eradication. Tenth Five Year Plan document of India vividly demonstrates the growing importance of tourism in the development process in the country. In this context, it is worth noticing that World Tourism Organization, an organ of the U.N. System, advocate tourism in their programmes and policies a major means to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. It has also launched a global project 'Sustainable Tourism Eradication of Poverty' (ST-EP), as a part of the global movement in poverty eradication. For India also, adoption of tourism as one of the major development means is a feasible idea due to various reasons discussed in the study; but in order to make it more sustainable, above recommendations would assist in many ways to bring down the spatial contradictions in tourism development, thereby, contributing to the process of sustainable tourism development.

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