POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF TOURISM AS DEVELOPMENT: CASE STUDY OF VYTHIRI & KUMBALANGI REGIONS IN KERALA

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILIP VARGHESE

CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI 110067

INDIA

2017

Date: 20.07.2017

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled *"Political Implications of Tourism as Development: Case Study of Vythiri & Kumbalangi Regions in Kerala"* submitted to **Jawaharlal Nehru University**, New Delhi for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**, embodies original research work done by myself and has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

Philip Varghese

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis to be placed before examiners for evaluation.

SUPERVISOR
(Dr. Sudhir Kumar Suthar)

SUPERVISOR
Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

CHAIRPERSON
(Prof. Shefali Jha)

Dedicated to

Papa, Mummy, Ammachi,

Hannah & Anie

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Almighty for helping me to complete this research study. The thoughts and arguments that spawned during this study period were influenced by many people and this is a humble attempt to thank 'all' of them. I am sorry if some names are missing in this but for me, their contribution is certainly valuable.

Towards this thesis work, firstly, I am extremely grateful to my supervisor and friend Dr. Sudhir Kumar Suthar for his guidance, influence and support extended towards me during the course of my studentship with him. It was at an uneasy personal and academic juncture at the beginning of the Ph. D programme that I got him allotted as my research supervisor and since then he has been a constant source of motivation and strength in giving direction and shaping up my research study. Apart from his intellectual and academic influences on me, he has helped me realise my inner strength and potential as a researcher. Meetings and discussions with him were of utmost value addition to my work and his personal concerns were also extremely comforting to me. Without him, I would not have reached this far with ease in my academic journey.

I would also like to express my sincere thankfulness to my M. Phil research supervisor Prof. Emeritus, Zoya Hasan for equipping me to write a Ph. D thesis and believing in me. I have cherished memories of working with Dr. Lawrence Prabhakar for my M.A dissertation (from Madras Christian College). I am reminded of both of my previous academic supervisors while writing this note. I express my deepest gratitude to all the chairpersons of CPS during my course and they include Prof. Shefali Jha (current), Prof. Anupama Roy, Prof. Vidhu Verma, Prof. Pralay Kanungo and Prof. Gopal Guru. All of them have been kind and helped me in one way or the other during my days at the centre from 2010 to 2017. I take this opportunity to thank all the faculty staff members, non-teaching staff members of Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University for contributing to my overall well-being in JNU.

My parent's effort to help me quench my desire for higher education and a career in academics is admirable. They continue to stand with me during this long

journey and in return, I fail to find one suitable word or gesture to thank them but instead, I have only my life itself dedicated for them. I would have never been a student of JNU if my friend turned life partner wasn't Ms. Hannah Johns. She is a beautiful young lady, who stands with me through similar pursuits and varied emotions but always with a sincere and positive attitude towards life. Her contribution to this work is enormous and encompassing, I express my love and respect for her in deciding to share her life with me in the first place. My sister Ms. Anie Varghese played a significant role in this thesis work, apart from the motivational and emotional support she helped me with transcriptions and scheduling of few interviews. Thus I place my due respect on record to my family, my extended family and in-laws (Bakacha, Suja Aunty, Emy, Appu, Daddy, Achachen, Chechi, Elizah and Alfred) for being my pillars of confidence. Ujithra Ponniah aka Uji (who is a friend, batch mate and part of my family) has played a significant role through all the phases in which this work and as my life progressed during the last 13 years. I place on record a special thanks to her for her support, contribution to my work and her good wishes.

The literature survey started towards this project with few books provided by Anubhav Sengupta and this was instrumental in identifying the main themes of this research. As this study involved an extensive field work at a later stage there were numerous people who helped me at this stage – Rose Mary Vishwanathan (EQUATIONS), Paul Divakar (NCDHR), Swathi Sheshadiri (EQUATIONS), Sumesh Mangalasherry (Kabani), Daddy, and Bakacha for guiding me in my field and Sajan. K for accompanying me for one of my field work visits to Wayanad. Later, Ms. Anjali helped me with my transcriptions and I have had extended discussions on my research topic with Dr. Kaustav Banerjee and Dr. Neha Wadhawan who also proof read my work and gave comments. I am grateful to each of them for enriching my thoughts and writings. However, the mistakes, errors, and weaknesses of arguments that could have crept in are mine alone.

I thank the staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University library, my friend Ms. Sanjukta Poddar for giving access to the website of Chicago University Library, EQUATIONS library staff especially Ms. Kavitha and Centre for Responsible Tourism (Goa) staff members for helping me with the material collection. UGC Fellowship, and ICSSR Doctoral Fellowship were the funding sources for this

research and I thank them and JNU for administering them. Without the assistances and facilities that were provided to me during my term, it could have been rather an extremely difficult journey to reach the day of thesis submission. I thank those families who provided excellent hospitality during the days of my field work.

I will always remember my teachers for capacitating me at different levels, CPS classmates, well wishers, and friends – Sreejesh, Robin, Min, Srijith, Manjuma, Shailza, Deepak, Andy, Urvashi, Anirban, Keny, Kriti, Shweta, Bijender, Meenakshi, Iqbal, Abdul, Murfad, Naveen, Shreya, Namrata, Nihan, Sanjukta, Stephen Lee, Taewoong Lee, Kannan, Deepu M, Shailendra Pratap Singh, Deepa, Sujoy, Swapnil, Devanjan, Haneefa, Reenu, Arun, Krishna, Deepu V, Midhun, Unni, Dinil, Naveen and Praveen for their comradeship. I record my love, respect and regards to everyone involved with me and this study. Thank you all.

PHILIP VARGHESE

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF PICTURES

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF GRAPHS

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>ABBREVIATIONS</u>

RT – Responsible Tourism

RTI – Responsible Tourism Initiative

ICRT – International Centre for Responsible Tourism

KITTS – Kerala Institute for Travel and Tourism Studies

FRA – Forest Rights Act

CRZ – Coastal Regulations Zones

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals

NEP – New Economic Policy

SDP – State Domestic Product

MICE - Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Events

TFCI – Tourism Finance Corporation of India

ITDC - Indian Tourism Development Corporation

ETP – Endogenous Tourism Project

MoT – Ministry of Tourism

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

WTO – World Trade Organisation

NREGS – National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme

GoK – Government of Kerala

PATA - Pacific Asia Travel Association

PMAGY - Pradhan Manthri Adarsh Gram Yojana

CSR – Corporate Social Responsibility

PAC – Public Accounts Committee

CM – Chief Minister

CDS – Community Development Society

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

WTTC – World Travel and Tourism Council

WTO – Wayanad Tourism Organisation

UNED – United Nations Economic Development

NGO – Non Governmental Organisation

HRD – Human Resources Development

STAC – State Advisory Committee

MMR – Maternal Mortality Rates

IMBR – Infant Mortality Rates

KMBR - Kerala Municipal Building Rules

SLRTC – State Level Responsible Tourism Committee

DLRTC - District Level Responsible Tourism Committee

PLRTC - Panchayat Level Responsible Tourism Committee

MoU – Memorandum of Understanding

DTPC – District Tourism Promotion Committee

MSSRF – MS Swaminathan Research Foundation

UPA – United Progressive Alliance

SHG – Self Help Groups

INC – Indian National Congress

UDF – United Democratic Front

DDMA – District Disaster management Authority

MPLAD - Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme

UN – United Nations

PPT – Pro Poor Tourism

NAM – Non Alignment Movement

FERA – Foreign Exchange Regulation Act

MRTP – Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices

BoP – Balance of Power

WC – Washington Consensus

CSO – Civil Society Organisations

CPI (ML) – Communist Part of India (Marxist – Leninist)

CPI (M) - Communist Party of Inida (Marxist)

GoI – Government of India

VSS – Vana Samrakshana Samiti

WPSS – Wayanad Paristhithi Samrakshana Samithi

WASP - Wayanad Agriculture and Spices Producer Company

DPSP – Directive Principles of State Policies

GATS – General Agreement on Trade in Services

KVASO – Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University

EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment

SAGY - Sansad Adarsh Gram Yojana

GLOSSARY

Responsible Tourism Initiative (RTI) - Responsible tourism is tourism which minimizes negative social, economic and environmental impacts and generates greater economic benefits for local people and enhances the well-being of host communities. The Kerala government runs RT initiative by setting up interfaces between the tourism industry and the local communities at selected destinations in Kerala. At present, Kerala Institute of Travel and Tourism Studies (KITTS) act as the nodal agency.

Kudumbashree – is the women empowerment and poverty eradication program, framed and enforced by the State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM) of the Government of Kerala.

Samvridhi – is an outlet functioning under RTI where all the locally produced goods gets collected then gets sold to hotels and resorts.

Panchayat – a village council in India.

Nair – a caste grouping in Kerala, they were historically involved in military conflicts in the region of Kerala.

Pokkali – a type of farming technique practised in Kumbalangi where simultaneously fishing and paddy are cultivated.

Valicha – is a special technique of rice cultivation seen in Wayanad, especially for the summer season.

Adivasi – is a member of any of the aboriginal tribal groups living anywhere in South Asia or India. They are also refereed as Scheduled Castes or indigenous people.

CHAPTER - 1

Development Paradigms and its Relationship with Tourism

The rationale of this chapter is to derive a larger theoretical structure for addressing research questions. It deals with various theories which project tourism as development. Few questions which these studies deal with are: what are the detriments of tourism activity, other nuances of state promoting tourism and which institutions control power in the tourism process are among the central themes of this research. This chapter attempts to situate the aspect of 'tourism as development' within the dominant paradigms of development. This chapter is divided into two sections in which the first part deals with various theories on development, second is an attempt to situate tourism policy in the development discourse to highlight the mirroring shifts in tourism within the development paradigms and to infer the relationship.

1.1 Introduction

An understanding of development theories – origin, chronology, perspective, ideologies and the ever changing international environment is fundamental for any academic exercise revolving around the concept of development. This is because unlike other concepts in political science discipline there is an extraordinarily close relationship between development - theory, and practice. Theories aid in understanding the problems associated in development models by gathering the causes and impacts that arise on the practical front of goal achievement. Usually, national economic growth is explicitly considered as the target of development but the conceptions of development have changed post-World War II. They are represented by modernisation theories, world systems theory, dependency theory, and resurgence of neo - classical theory and a range of other newer critical perspectives. Based on the above grounds, the need to have the following section i.e., 'understanding development' which traverses through various conceptions represented by many schools of thought is desired and defensible and that follows below.

1.2 Understanding the 'Development Paradigm'

The concept of development is a highly contested one. At its simplest sense and broadest understanding, development could mean anything that aims or deal with the progress of the human condition. Development has attained phenomenal importance in the social science literature, though its inception was aimed at economic growth and social transitions, the concept has outlived the traditional meaning and now has an irrevocable position in the contemporary discourses. But there are scholars who argue that there are sufficient reasons to abandon the concept of development and to replace it with other concepts mainly because those practices that seek to improve the human conditions need not be associated with the term 'development'. Rather, there are various other practices that have not had any positive impact on the human conditions but been carried out in the name of 'development' (Ziai: 2013).

However, it was the start of 1940's which saw an interchangeable use of the word development and national economic growth[1]. The subsequent prolific literature which emerged in the area of development theories comprises of several themes like political development, modernisation, underdevelopment, dependency, nationalism, imperialism and world systems etc., whereby making development concept a complex and at the same time an interesting one.

The post Second World War and decolonization period witnessed a desperate attempt to improve the living conditions of the so-called third world countries. Though these theories emerged to suggest developmental strategies or as models to be adopted by the newly independent countries they are also a methodological tool to understand the emerging politics of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Since 1990's onwards the concept of freedom as development and the concept of capability was introduced by Amartya Sen human being at the central point of development discourse and focus was more on their freedom to pursue important

---

[1] This usage emerged as being an integral part of the U.S foreign policy to shape the future of the newly independent states in order to ensure their non-alliance towards the Soviet bloc. A deliberate attempt to promote capitalist economic development and political regimes aiming at stability in the developing world was the key argument. Thus unfolded tremendous research works leading to numerous development theories.

activities or functions. Thus, there are different phases in the evolution of this literature.

Picture 1: Evolution of the Development Literature
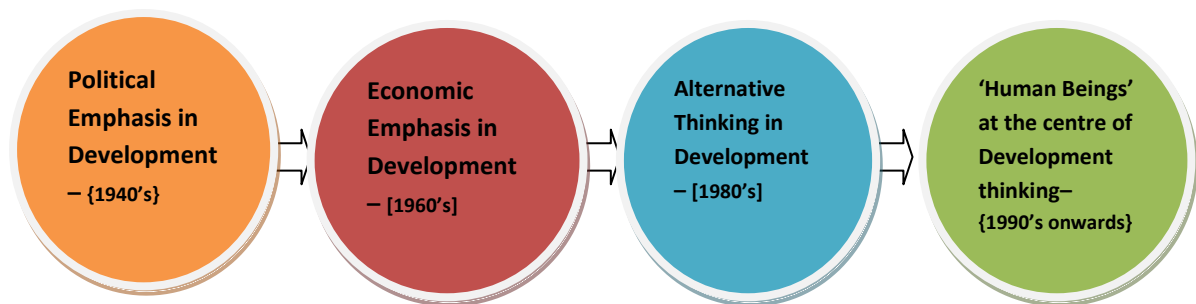
* Years given above are for guideline and suggestive purpose only. Not to be read strictly as there is a definite overlapping among the paradigms cited above.

The above pictorial depiction is representative of the paradigmatic shifts in development thinking. Scholars including Arturo Escobar (1995), Wolfgang Sachs (1999), and Majid Rahnema (1997) discounted the importance of human experiences and understood development economics as a 'regime of representation' that prioritised few variables such as land ownership or a number of calories consumed etc. but this also gave a structured understanding that two-thirds of the world's population as being debilitated by scarcity and hunger. Though the scholars objectified human lives in this process their importance was in identifying the strategy conceived and implemented across the globe especially in the third world countries. The strategies chalked out were overseen and run by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and thus, referred as 'Development' (Sampath: 2015).

This strategy identified the disease but rather than curing it, the treatment destroyed the existing immune system further to a larger extent and made it vulnerable. But "instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse, and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive under-development and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression… increasing poverty, malnutrition, and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development" (Escobar: 1995, p. 4). Having said

the above, let us see the evolution of the 'development' concept in the literature and its implied meanings in different contexts.

1.2.1 Political democracy/ representative institutions as development

The 1st phase of development theories appeared in 1940's and 1950's which was majorly dominated by U.S social scientists, their liberal ideas, and trickle-down theory. Policies based on these theories were introduced in third world countries through institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. These theories were based on development strategies as followed by western countries and such theories suggested inter-linking of the national economy with international capitalism.

The first notable work which emerged in this respect was of Daniel Lerner (along with Lucille W. Pevsner) who authored *The Passing of the Traditional Societies* which is a study on modernity in six Middle Eastern nations (Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey). For him, development is a process in which "high empathetic capacity is the predominant personal style only in modern society, which is distinctively industrial, urban, literate, and participant" [2] (Lerner: 1958, p. 50).

For him, "modernisation is which diffuses today among the wider population and touches public institutions as well as private aspirations with its disquieting 'positivist spirit'. Central to this change is the shift in modes of communicating ideas and attitudes – for spreading among large public vivid images of its own 'New Ways' is what modernisation distinctly does" (Lerner: 1958, p. 45). Modernisation of the Middle East was not limited to the upper leisure and fashion loving class but to the general public which slowly got traversed through travel, books, radio, tabloids, and movies.

He had organized 1600 – odd interviews seeking to know about their habits and preferences with regard to mass media of communication, their attitudes towards foreigners and foreign countries, their general outlook on life, as well as certain

---

[2] For Lerner; Empathy denotes: "Through media exposure, it is argued that a person's view of the world can be enlarged ('opinion range") by increasing his capacity to imagine himself in a new and strange situations."

features of their daily life. He found linkages between development and communication through his intensive field work and eventually when he wrote 'passing of the tradition' [phrase] it did not necessarily mean modernisation or modernized but he found 'tradition' as an obstacle to economic prosperity and democratic political regime.

Subsequently, another study by Lucian Pye appeared on Burma and it offered three parameters of political development which features: i) with equality, ii) with the capacity of the political system and iii) with the differentiation or specialization of governmental organizations.[3] Equality implied political equality in terms of people's participation and its single indicator is universal adult suffrage. Capacity is that of the political system to respond to the demands of people and to enforce rules. He noted states in third world countries of not possessing this capacity (strong state) and thus there is an increased use of violence in these states. And lastly, differentiation means greater functional specialization in the society.

He favoured the adoption of political systems of industrialized countries so that for replication in third world countries. He visualized the emergence of a world culture[4] in which mass media and political communication would play a huge role in nation-building, the secularization of culture and growth of rationality.

In this regard, a grand study of seventy-six polities was conducted with a newly designed functional approach along with a vigorous behavioural study by Gabriel Almond. The book *The Politics of Developing Areas* was edited along with James S. Coleman where large data of the developing world was generated to integrate into a comparative framework and to explore the extent to which the process of political change and modernisation is taking place. Coleman later characterized Lucian Pye's advice to search for features of equality, capacity, and differentiation in

---

[3] Lucian Pye, later modified his views while giving the concept of 'political crisis' in which he suggested that in the process of political development societies face six types of crisis: – crisis of participation (political equality is considered as illegitimate), crisis of identity (conflict between elite culture and mass culture), crisis of penetration (society does not allow governing elites to innovate), crisis of legitimacy (mass rejecting authority of elite groups), crisis of distribution (of resources) and crisis of integration (nation-building).

[4] By 'World culture' he meant a whole lot of different countries organized on similar lines i.e., organized on liberal model of development in the given context.

a developing system in order to determine the degree of their advancement as a 'developmental syndrome'.

A similar study was conducted by R.N Bellah to analyze the impact of industrialization on society in Japan. He had used pattern variable categories to understand the value system of Japan. He was influenced by Max Weber (usage of pattern variables[5]) because he identified emotional – motivational forces which made it possible to understand how the values of Japanese society made it possible for rapid industrialization without leading way to political institutionalization in Japan[6].

These works that spanned the spectrum of social science subjects produced literature that enabled a distinction between political modernisation and political development. The chief characteristics of political modernisation were rationalisation, integration, and participation but political development meant the political systems capacity to address the issues those were emerging from the process of political modernisation. It was an ideal situation when both could co-exist because this leads to the process of nation-building, development activities and redressal mechanisms for issues and concerns of developmental activities.

Tourism was neither conceived as a major industry nor was a poverty alleviation tool during this period hence, not significant enough in the development thinking. The conceptual frameworks and models (as discussed above) suggested political democracy and representative institutions than anything else and this proved futile as being the sole developmental agency for the newly independent states in delivering rapid economic growth and stability, and what followed was an array of modernisation theorists emerging with a predominant emphasis on the economic growth aspect of development.

---

[5] Talcott Parsons (1902-1979) developed 5 dichotomies which are known as pattern variables. This was to see the opposing values to which individuals orient themselves during social interaction. Value patterns dominant in traditional society would be on one side and the other would represent values of a modern society.

[6] Few other names whose works are associated in this era of thought are Leonard Binder, Herbert Feith, W. Howard Wriggins, Edward A. Shils, Niel J. Smelser and Robert F. Boles etc.

1.2.2 Economic growth as development

The economic emphasis was the next big shift in development thinking. At the same time, this phase recognized that development concept entails a whole range of variables [inter-disciplinary nature] such as social, cultural, gender, religious and environmental factors but economic influence overshadowed other aspects. Earlier models of this phase related development to economic growth and rapid industrialization as a strategy. However, these techniques resulted yet again in a state of economic and political crises in many African, Asian and Latin American countries as compared to the development of North America and Europe. Thus, relations of production, its features, and standard of living of the West were conceptualized as what is to be 'modern' by modernisation theorists.

According to modernisation theories, several factors such as the attitude of people, lack of education, agrarian structure, a lower division of labour, poor communication and lack of infrastructural facilities etc. were the main reason behind the state of underdevelopment. Historical reasons and structural differences are not that significant and international reliance is not considered enough. As a result what was needed is the change of internal factors on the lines of the western industrial world. There has to be a scale on which both the developed and the underdeveloped nations are positioned and with this, the degree of backwardness can be calculated and could be accounted and made up through capital-aid flow, transfer of know-how, and production equipment (Kuhnen: 1987). Here, development is simply an increase in production and efficiency and comparisons are drawn by comparing the per capita income alone.

In other words, capitalistic mode of development was the common remedy to all the developing countries and the phase of under-development was common to all nations and the engine of development would be capital inflow, foreign investment, dissemination of technology, knowledge and managerial skills, foreign trade, market led competitive environment, raising productivity etc. The scholars of this particular theoretical school did not mind the kind of political arrangement existing in a state – such as a liberal order in West, Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union or a concomitance.

Walt W. Rostow (1960) was the most prominent scholar who identified development in five consecutive stages:

i) (from) traditional,

ii) transitional,

iii) take-off,

iv) maturity and

v) stage of high mass consumption

For him, development is a linear process of growth model that compels all societies to pass through these series of stages. Modernisation theory was entirely premised upon this fundamental understanding of nature and process of development.

The political emphasis re-emerged in economic development as the chief feature of politics of industrialization in the work of Kenneth Organski. He sees four stages in the process of economic development such as the a) politics of primitive unification, b) politics of industrialization, c) the politics of national welfare and d) the politics of abundance.

Whereas, David Apter in his exhaustive work *'Politics of Modernisation'* identifies industrialization, functional specialization, skill and knowledge necessary for living in a technologically advanced world as the main elements of modernisation. He suggests two models that could be possibly adopted by the third world countries – a) Secular Libertarian Model and b) Sacred Collectivity Model.

The secular libertarian model is premised upon the western liberal democratic values and it takes an instrumentalist[7] approach whereas sacred collectivity model is a more personalized charismatic authority and political religiosity based. The latter model adopts a consummatory[8] view and it is premised on romanticism, examples to this model would be Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Egypt under the rule of Nasser, Ghana under Nkrumah and China under Mao as leaders at the helm.

---

[7] Instrumentalist approach implies that value of scientific theories need not be based on its validity and correspondence to reality but it is just an attempt to help in predictions in order to overcome certain conceptual deadlocks.

[8] Consummatory view is a responsive behaviour at the termination of a prolonged planned course of goal attainment.

Studies on modernisation presuppose that the given political order is an enviable one but Barrington Moore (1966) a Marxist thinker argued that in order to attain a rational world, violent revolution would be a necessary phase but he rejected the view that modernisation societies undergo essentially the same process. But for Moore, most of the research work and literature focused on drawing out specific characteristics that all the modernising nations have in common like Rostow's 'economic take off' and Huntington's 'expanded political participation'. He finds three[9] different types of modernisation distinguished by changes in class structure that accompany development, and by the political costs and achievements of each in their contribution to increasing freedom and rationality." (Wiener: 1975, p. 301)

As politics play the central role in development strategies especially in the underdeveloped and developing countries its focus was again brought back. Economic indicators such as purchasing power, GDP and well-performing sectors of economy etc. just could not be the only locus of all analysis and models thus there emerged few exceptional works which emphasised on institutional development and which kept pace with economic development. In short, for these scholars political stability was of utmost importance over development thus they merged both aspects of institutionalization and modernisation in their theories. These models are also known as the 'will and capacity models' and the motivation for these authors were personalities like Nehru whose leadership qualities brought about facets of modernisation in India.

Samuel P. Huntington's work is worth mentioning in this regard, he argues that as societies modernize, they become more and more complex and disordered. By giving the concept of *political decay,* which means mismatch between institutionalization and order, he observes that "the focus should be rather on stabilization than on rapid changes because if the process of social modernisation that produces this disorder is not followed by a congruous process of political and

---

[9] 1st is 'Bourgeoise Revolution' to overthrow landed class and as a result came about capitalist democracy to the U.K, U.S.A and France. 2nd is 'Revolution from above' where old land owning class resisted violent turn overs and retained their dominant position, for example, Germany and Japan. 3rd is 'Peasant Revolution' where revolutionary peasantry abolished landed elites which opened way for the process of modernisation, for example; China and Russia.

institutional modernisation then it will lead to political decay which will result in the form of repressive governments, corruption, and violence" (Huntington: 1965).[10]

His work departed from that of an earlier era of work in such a way when he gave the componential theory of change and stated that development is not a linear process. There are five components of the political system such as political culture, structure, leadership, groups and policies and institutionalization process have components such as adaptability, capacity, autonomy, and coherence.

Eisenstadt appends to this by saying that the pace of modernisation is crucial as sometimes it goes beyond the capacity of the political system to meet the challenges of political mobilization. This, in turn, will put excessive pressure on the political system which will lead to 'political breakdown'. So for him, the focus is the institutionalization of democracy but the pace of modernisation is indeed the cardinal factor determining the process of modernisation.

But the developing countries were faced with such multiplicity of issues which F. W Riggs (1964) tried to explain through his concept of 'Prismatic Society'. It is model offered to be an alternative model for understanding developing world with an allegory of the prism. "He contended that as development occurs societies move from a fused state with little or no differentiation to a state of high functional specialization similar to a diffracted condition. In administrative language, changes from few structures performing a whole range of functions to one in which many specific structures perform a specific function, as in how it is seen in the developed world." Therefore, he regards political institutionalization as a technological issue rather than a cultural issue and prefers structural changes over functional changes.

Consequently, political modernisation and political institutionalization emerged as two components of political development in the work of a Brazilian economist, Helio Jaguaribe.

---

[10] Samuel P. Huntington gave three waves of democracy and two reverse waves which meant back lash. Ist wave (1828-1926) - where nearly 30 countries established minimalist democracies which met with Ist reverse wave (1922- 1942) – when many countries like Italy, Germany, Spain and Austria reverted back to authoritarianism. IInd wave of democracy; (1943-1962) where India, Japan, Israel and West Germany became democracies followed by IInd reverse wave; (1958-1976) and IIIrd wave of democracy from 1974 till present, especially the decade of 1990's.

For him, "political development[11] is a) development of the capability of the political system which corresponds to the developments of the quality as a sub-system of the social system, b) development of the contributions of the political system to the overall development of the concerned society, which corresponds to the development of the whole society by political means and c) development of the responsiveness of the political system increasing its representativeness, legitimacy, and serviceability, which corresponds to the development of political consensus and of social consensus by political ways" (Jaguaribe: 1973).

Arturo Escobar's reaction to all the above strategies, dimension, and conceptualization of the concept of development, that is - "instead of the kingdom of abundance promised by theorists and politicians in the 1950s, the discourse and strategy of development produced its opposite: massive underdevelopment and impoverishment, untold exploitation and oppression… increasing poverty, malnutrition, and violence are only the most pathetic signs of the failure of forty years of development" (Escobar: 1995, p. 213) become all the more convincing and significant at the turn of the century. Moreover, all the above models rested on the single claim that it was a prerequisite for the developing nations to get influenced by the western world to be on the natural course of development.

Tourism was identified as a powerful sector during this phase for poverty alleviation and peace-making between competing nations. Tourism started getting prominence in the development thinking and as a result funding for the purpose of infrastructure development began here. But it was evident towards the end of the decade of 1960's that the stage of underdevelopment was not a passing stage rather it was a state of underdevelopment that prevailed in the third world countries without any signs of change.

---

[11] Political development had two components such as political modernisation and political institutionalization, where rationalism, differentiation and capabilities formed the part of political modernisation and participation, mobilization and integration were the constituents of political institutionalization. Without realizing all of these aspects we cannot classify anything as political development (Helio Jaguribe: 1973).

1.2.3 Theories of Underdevelopment & Dependency

As the strategies propagated by developed world did not yield any considerable result this led to the realization rather acceptance by a section of thinkers that there are some basic and structural differences from the western developed world so there was a need to chalk out innovative lines of development. Thus scholars from countries like Peru, Brazil, Chile, Argentina got together under United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (UNECLA or ECLA). Today it has come to be known as United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (UNECLAC) and they divided nations of the world into two categories – industrial centre and raw material producing periphery.

Scholars of this school put ahead of the structural theory of dependency. It is linked with the structure of international economy and economies of certain countries are conditioned by economies of other countries according to the non – Marxist position within the dependency theorists (Prebisch: 1971; Furtado: 1970; Sunkel: 1972). Thus, different from modernisation theory which postulated the benefits of foreign aid, free trade and foreign investments; the under-development thinkers saw this operating in a system of uneven relations between the western and the developing world and for them, this system of international markets and free trade further strengthens these uneven relations.

The 'Center and Periphery' concept were devised by Celso Furtado where he advocated an autonomous, nationalist, capitalist developmental strategy. He analysed the regional imbalance which emerged in Brazilian economy where major economic activities got concentrated in the north-eastern part of Brazil because of its linking with international capitalism.

The Marxist approach (to under-development) also favoured autonomous development but they favoured socialization of means of production (A.G Frank: 1967; Walter Rodney: 1973; Caldwell: 1977; Frantz Fanon: 1961). Later, their views came to be known as the dependency theory.

For Walter Rodney, all phases give way to something else and nothing of phases in development are permanent. Also in the case of capitalism, the epoch of

capitalism still continues but people living at a particular point of time does not succeed in seeing the way of life which is in the eternal process of elimination and transformation.

The thoughts of A.G Frank can be summed up as given below, which later became foundation stones for the development of dependency theory:

a) Under-development is not original or traditional.

b) Countries of the third world are not responsible for their status.

c) The countries which are developed today were once undeveloped but never under-developed.

d) Under-development is a result of the relationship between metropolitan countries and satellite countries.

e) The concept of dual societies, that is, modern and traditional are not de-linked concepts. They are inter-linked with the same historical process. Under-development of the third world is shaped by the development of the progressive areas.

f) There is a chain of metropolis and satellites forming the world system.

g) Wars and depression allowed some development in the satellite.

h) Most under-developed regions in the world are the regions which maintained greater connections with the metropolis. They were greatest exporters of primary products and a major source of capital. Metropolis abandoned them once they outlived their utility.

These pointers also help us in understanding what neo-colonialism is. It springs from the concept of dependency which means countries are politically and formally independent but they are enmeshed in financial and diplomatic net. Dependency is based on Lenin's ideas and dependency also shows that both the set of nations are dependent on each other. Even the western world is dependent on the third world for raw materials and markets. It rejected the limited national focus propagated by modernisation theory. The central argument is that there is a continuous exploitation of the periphery states by the centre. Theotonio Dos Santos from a Marxist perspective gave a concept of 'new dependency' which analysed both the internal and external relations of the developing nations. Thus, the Economic Commission for Latin America's (ECLA's) views were carried forward to there was a

re-packing of third world economies for a specialised purpose for thwarting development. Colonialism and the later shift to market forces were mere designs to maintain the dominance.

The strategy chalked out from this perspective was that of import-substitution industrialization (ISI). It was to boost production rather than importing goods from western developed world. The aim was to advance in diversification of domestic productivity and later to cater to the world market by exporting manufactured goods. But these plans did not yield much desired results as there were serious levels of impediments in the domestic market, primarily due to the presence of trans-national corporations in the international economic system. Theorists giving prominence to structure were of the opinion that the above strategy which was implemented under the 'hegemonic' role of U.S and implemented under the capitalist relations of production was actually getting entrapped into more dependency, domination, control and newer forms of colonization.

Following this, practitioners and academicians resorted to an export-oriented model as a way to get outside the dependency mesh. The strategy now was to prioritize exception growth rates in production which were targeting international markets. This led to the origin of comparative advantage as a model for the developing nations to expand their share in the international market. This was to be premised upon fostering competitiveness by paying less to workers and severe austerity measures to be followed in the newly developing nations but they were expected to create suitable environment for foreign investments and external financing for domestic projects.

However, by the end of 1980's this phenomenon resulted in a situation of grave indebtedness and this led to the rapid decline of their economic growth. Post-1980's and 1990's dependency theorization underwent refinements to explain the causes of dependence better but these structural theorists would not find a common ground to recommend what strategy would end dependence and prepare the third world for better economic growth. Tourism was also characterised as something which is exploitative and that leads to widening of the gap between the rich and the poor countries hence all the development assistance to the developing countries were

forced to stop during this time until the shift to good governance models and sustainable development happened.

1.2.4 Good governance: re-emergence of liberal models and the paradigm shift

The structuralist, dependency scholars and the other alternative thinking and the associated confusion gave ample scope for the neo-classical or the neo-liberal backlash which resulted in a concerted dominance of the new liberal models with the rhetoric of 'Good Governance'. The new liberal model replaced 'state action' with 'interplay of market forces' for developmental outputs. The centrifugal argument was that failure, as seen previously, was all due to too much state regulation and intervention. Freedom for capital, goods, and services bridged with the greater openness of the trade regime was the hallmark of this school of thought. Thus 'rolling back of state' activity was the essence of good governance rather the blueprint for development.

Parallel to this neo-liberal thinking couple of critical perspectives emerged highlighting the ethical and cultural dimensions of development such as post-modern theories, post-colonial theories and the subaltern studies which highlighted the inadequate understandings of the concept of development which was overtly based on the 'Eurocentric' approach.

Subsequently, post-modern writings questioned grand stories of development, narratives of victory and the undue importance given to scientific truth on the basis of over simplicity, oppressive and tyrannical aspects. Post-colonial thinking studied the impact of colonialism and issues faced by these societies in constructing a national identity. They tried to bring in the relevance of different experiences and alternate ways so as to rethink what the subaltern perspective should be. To quote Sudipto Kaviraj (2000), *"The logic of modernity shows a diversifying and pluralizing tendency in Europe itself. [Then] how can its extension to different cultures and historical circumstances produce obediently uniform historical results"?*

These voices helped in gathering greater attention towards the political aspects of development. The national economies were immersed in strategies to strengthen the economic development alone at this juncture. The critical approach however, led

to the beginning of a much broader understanding of development which was inclusive of the human and social development with the security dimension. Thus, the emergence of the debates centred on issues like access resources, health and well-being, capacity building and education for all.

Subsequently, "the broadening of the thinking on development, being manifested in the form of diverging perspectives, has to lead to redefining the concept and its acceptance by formal global institutions at the global level. For instance, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has been performing the remarkable job for over a decade in measuring the level of human development across nations in the world and the results are published in its Human Development Report (HDR). This Report mainly aimed at generating a policy focus on the broader attributes of human well-being in the contemporary discourses on development" (Babu: 2007). And the notion of human well-being influenced the development theories, first it addressed the inadequacies of earlier existing theories which did a macro study of whole nations and tried to explain various conditions of development. They could not expect if the income generated or healthy lives achieved at a national level could be utilized for the well-being of human beings at an extensive level in the society. Second, this notion of development re-emphasizes the importance or the larger the enhanced role of the welfare state functions of the state. It confers a massive domain of functions for the state in the advancement of human development and the need for well-crafted and socially oriented policies which will cater to all people to access resources, protect productive assets, free flow of information, credit facilities, infrastructural facilities, protection of consumers and workers interests and safeguarding of vulnerable groups in society.

Although theoretically, this was in clear opposition to the neo-liberal school of thought which opposed enhanced states role and rejected states planning, intervention in business and ownership but the parallel existence of the need for a paradigmatic shift to 'human-centric development' thinking forced the emergence of more discussions and debates regarding what is good governance in the context of global development.

However, in course of time one aspect underpinned the entire debates that it was not the material benefits alone which were the desirable outcome on a societal

and individual basis and the relevance of social and political processes in bringing about these outcomes were accepted. Tourism was one such activity which was evaluated as per the economic terms initially and later realised it could play a significant role in the social, political and cultural spheres too. Hence, tourism's evolution within the dominant development paradigms is the next section.

1.3 Situating Tourism Policy in the Development Discourse

The period spanning from 1940's to 1960's saw the beginning of tourism in its modern sense of the word. Yet tourism in this phase was not identified or associated with the powerful or potent force for boosting development for any economy. The emphasis was on political aspects such as a democratic structure of government and representative institutions etc during this period and as a result no greater focus on tourism.

However, the period that followed (1960's to 1970's) was the period where economic emphasis dominated and tourism was identified as a powerful activity for economic growth. Soon tourism turned to be a tool for economic development and as a peacemaker between competing and conflicting nations (Gunn and Jafari: 1981). Subsequently, the UN Conference on International Travel and Tourism of 1967 established these aspects at the international level. These above incidents gave momentum to the idea of the institution of World Tourism Organisation in the year 1970 and as a result of this further generated momentum for 'tourism as development' agenda since then.

This agenda further envisioned tourism as an industry that could bolster employment generation and foreign exchange. The national economies of developing nations, the international organisations and aid agencies were instrumental in conceptualising these aspects. Thus, within this period we see development assistances from the global north had started to flow towards the global south for infrastructural needs for hosting the tourist at selected destinations (Sharpley and Telfer: 2002).

From the turn of the 1980's the dependency and underdevelopment theories caught the attention in the development discourse. There were numerous works that

emerged citing cases of socio-cultural and environmental implications which they argued was much larger as compared to the argument of economic benefits from tourism. De Kadt (1979) remarked that there was increasing evidence of socio-cultural and political costs when compared to the negligible economic benefit. Owing to the dominant dependency paradigm, the critical voices grew louder and now branded tourism as an exploitative industry that not just distances the gap between the rich nations and poor nations but was leading a form of development that was destructive to the entire world – socially, culturally and environmentally. This forced the stopping of development assistance under the tourism sector with immediate effect.

With the shift to good governance accompanied with the re-emergence of liberal models in the 1990's, tourism regained popularity again. This time it was the paradigmatic shift towards sustainable development that provided for tourism's re-emergence. The key words which developed during this period were centred on conservation, preservation, and participation for sustainable development. This time environment, culture, and communities were the focus and through the back door, tourism got a doorway to pursue development assistance for the sector. These points were the highlights of UN Commission on Sustainable Development (Rangan: 2011). However, "there are varying views about sustainable tourism, however, as it is a socially constructed and contested concept that reflects economic interests, the ethical beliefs of different actors and the strength and effectiveness of various lobbies. Different sustainable tourism concepts can be used by actors to achieve their socio-economic and political objectives" (Bramwell and Lane: 2012, p.3).

As a result, we see the emergence of several 'niche' forms of tourism such as pro-poor tourism, eco-tourism and Responsible Tourism Initiative that aims to benefit the vulnerable and secluded groups that face marginalisation in a society such as Dalits, Women, economically weaker section, fisher folk, farmers etc. The nature of debates has changed over the time but tourism has remained an important part of the development agenda in today's world. Hawkins and Mann (2007) says the earlier focus on the macro level potential of tourism of employment generation and foreign exchange have now moved towards micro level multi-sectoral linkages such tourism supporting farm economy, rural agrarian economy, promoting handicrafts and cottage

industries. Skill development and training programmes for local small-scale entrepreneurs to benefit from tourism (Rangan: 2011). Tourism has attained a mainstream status in the development thinking now for national governments and for the international aid agencies.

However, the vast field of social science has unfortunately shared only a relatively minute space for the study of relationships between tourism and politics, despite an increasing consensus on the interconnections between tourism and development patterns, processes and strategies. There is a dual relationship between the both, meaning, "there are an immense number of examples of the way that political change has affected the patterns, processes, and directions of tourism development" (Hall: 2010) and at the same time implications arising out of tourism development have serious political connotations for a nation as well.

Having said the above, we see that the existing literature on the contemporary discourse of development paradigm in India has not attended seriously to the role and relevance of tourism as an agency in the process of development. But at the global level, quite opposed to the national reality, tourism has received a distinct position in the whole development thinking and practice right from the time of the evolution of the concept of development i.e., after Second World War. However, we have now seen that as the development paradigms evolved, there has been an apparent shift in the tourism's role in the development discourse. This was in consonance with the centrality of the dominant paradigms of those particular eras. This below-given table is a quick representation of the changes that we have witnessed in the last post-war period.

Table 1. Evolution of Tourism and Development Theory

Time Line	Paradigms	Approaches/ Models	Key developmental strategy
1940's – 1950's	Political Institutionalization (no role for tourism as business enterprise)	• Political Participation • Political Democracy	• Democratization of all developing nations.
1950's – 1960's	Political Modernisation (identified tourism as a potential sector for economic growth)	• Linear approach /Stages approach	• All societies pass through similar stages as in the western world.
		• Economic growth & • Diffusion	• Spread ·of growth impulses from developed areas; growth poles; trickle-down effect; state involvement, regional economic development.
1970's	Dependency (explained tourism as exploitative industry leading to suppression of tourism)	• Structuralism	• Underdevelopment caused in 'peripheral states' by 'centre states'.
		• Dualism	• Poverty is functional to global economic growth; rich and poor - between countries and within countries, regional inequalities.
		• Neo-	Western cultural influence

		colonialism	imposed upon new nations and exploitation of underdeveloped nations.
1980's	Neo – Liberalism (preparing for revival of tourism)	• Structural Adjustment	• Domestic markets, import substitution, social reforms, protectionism, state involvement.
		• Free market	• Free competitive market, private sector, and supply side macroeconomics.
		• New international economic policy	• New world financial system; deregulation, internationalization of production.
1990's onward	Alternative development (tourism revived by associating its renewed role under sustainable development)	• Basic Human Needs	• Priorities of food, housing, water, health, and education
		• Grass root level plan	• People-centered development; local control of decision-making, empowerment & NGOs.
		• Gender	• Women in development, gender relations, empowerment
		• Sustainable Development	• Environmental management; meet the needs of the present generation without compromising future needs

Source: Adapted from Sutheeshna Babu: 2007, originally sourced from Tefler: 2002.

1.4 Tourism and Development: The Relationship

The table 1 explains the shifting focuses in the development and a simultaneous change in the tourism policy thinking. As shown above, there is an intricate connection between tourism and development which needs further qualification and specification. Tourism sector as an industry, tourism as an idea for development and tourism as a tool for economic growth have seen ups and down with the nature of issues involved in tourism and its discourses. There have been numerous traditions of conceptualizations in tourism based on certain factors that include the researcher's motives, beliefs, and background, the purpose of analysis and the degrees to which the descriptive analysis are sought and the extent to which the kind of explanations are offered.

There are two popular models to study tourism: the political economy approach and the functional approach. The former tries analyse the global relationship between rich and poor countries by looking at the present conditions but the latter classifies and describes those elements involved in the tourism process. Political economy model is critical about the overall development potential of tourism to the Third World nations and gives more stress to the socio-political consequences that outweigh the meagre economic gains.

The functionalist approach, on the other hand, is more optimistic towards the tourisms contributions as they do not classify tourism under the mainstream branches of world trade and thus no comparisons with other industries are needed and they have no regard for a historical perspective. For them, all issues that emanate from tourism development can be settled by adopting suitable measures from time to time and thus tourism is desirable (Lea: 1988).

In a subsequent follow-up to John Lea's book, an introductory-level text that explores the relationship between tourism and development is "*Tourism and Development in the Developing World*". The purpose of this book was to explore the nature of the tourism –development dilemma by investigating the challenges and opportunities facing developing countries pursuing tourism as a development option. He put forth a frame of 'tourism-development dilemma' which reveals the intricacy of many inter-related forces of tourism while applying tourism as a tool for development

model. For him, sustainability is at the centre of discussions and where there is a development imperative and sustainable development imperative, it is important to identify the challenges of sustainability. (Telfer and Sharpley: 2008)

This position comes at a critical juncture identifying the dangers of mass tourism. As seen earlier the efforts to link tourism and economic development during the 1960's and 1970's could be categorised the initial development phase of what is today known as mass tourism. Britton (1982) and Erisman (1983) also dealt with the unquestionable relationship between development and tourism in their works.

Krapf contributes to these discussions that tourism has a special purpose in the countries of global south which is defined in a set of economic aspects such as country's own natural resources, international competitiveness accruing from relaxed and favourable trade rules, ability to give goods and services to the people as per their requirement, better balance of payment position, social efficacy of investments in tourism and balanced growth (Babu: 2007).

Telfer summed up the debates on development theories in tourism literature post-World War II and this provides an evolutionary perspective on the thinking process. He delineated four main development paradigms over the period viz. modernisation, dependency, alternative thinking and the economic neo-liberalism (ibid: 2007).

However, in the latest debates, "focus now is on new and purportedly sustainable forms of tourism to Third World destinations in the context of a world undergoing accelerated processes of globalisation. The ways in which the claim, or discourse, of sustainability, is used and applied to new forms of tourism" (for example tourism adjusted itself to its new form known as the eco-tourism which is anchored on the idea of sustainability) (Mowforth and Munt: 1998).

Moreover, the relationship between 'majority world', development, and tourism is a much complex one. The process of wealth creation, growth, and re-distribution are the three key issues which give the framework with which development agenda is conceived. These progresses into the recent debates and the role of tourism in the larger agenda of sustainability (Burns and Novelli: 2008).

"This leads the way to how ecotourism and sustainable tourism can assist in supporting and meeting the goals set forward by the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equity and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and develop a global partnership for development. Tourism's roles in addressing the key challenges and opportunities for sustainable development by focusing on:

A. Alleviating poverty,

B. Supporting and enhancing education,

C. Addressing gender equity and the empowerment of women and

D. Supporting conservation and preserving biodiversity has been recognized".

(Bricker: 2012).

Consequently, a study on a small community of Barabarani Village in Tanzania examines whether tourism development contributes to alleviating poverty and also explores the role of tourism to the overall development rather than the economic development. Though the study evoked mixed responses from people on concluding that overall advantages of tourism trickle down to the development of the community. He also talks about certain impediments that have to be cleared for faster development of tourism in these communities and explores the relationship with other sectors like agriculture and how it can be mutually beneficial (Mugandaa, et. al: 2010).

In this study, tourism's impact on the society and environment was conducted and was identified that tourism could lead to international peace but it had the potential of corrupting the indigenous culture and environment. Thus, it is explained that the impact of tourism on local communities can be both positive and negative according to the limit of its incoming capacity. Points are suggested to counter this negative aspect and also prescribe how all the factors should be interdependent and incoherence to decrease this negativity of tourism on the local community and

ecology. "The need to cooperate with other industries is also important and it is needed to do a stock taking to understand the needs of both host community and the tourists" (Mirbabayev and Shagazatova: 2005).

Later studies discussed how tourism can be seen as an income /livelihood generator for poor. But there is a need to understand whether tourism can actually be pro –poor as it is usually controlled by private sectors. "There are several factors which influence economic participation by the poor in tourism among which the gender aspect and the gender component in the tourism sector are significant. And this agenda should be main criteria in policy formulation related to tourism and development apart from which the changing attitudes of tourists are essential for PPT to be commercially viable and sustainable" (Ashley: 2000).

"The evolution of pro-poor tourism (PPT) research was from 1999 to 2013 and a majority of PPT research has focused on African countries. Other less-developed countries, including those in Southeast Asia, have captured relatively limited attention. Much less research has been conducted in developed countries where a large number of PPT scholars are based. Theories and models underpinning PPT studies are not only diverse in origin but also in usage, resulting in difficulties in identifying common theories and models. PPT research has been dominated by qualitative methods, although both quantitative and mixed methods approaches are gaining prominence. Measures that quantify tourism's impacts on poor people are missing and there is also a lack of a thorough understanding of poverty and its differing causes" (Truong: 2014).

Mukhopadhyay's (2008) work is striking in this context as he traverses through a less travelled path in the subject of tourism. Though many studies exist on tourism's impact on communities, he helps to reduce this gap empirically, at least to some extent, in the context of developing countries by studying the artisan community in Rajasthan in India where he found those artisans operating on a small scale were not in a position to achieve anything significantly from tourism due to various reasons like middlemen, lack of awareness, financial constraints, improper training and inadequate marketing. He, therefore, argues that "a sustainable and complementary relationship between tourism and the development of the artisan community needs more pro-active policies and support from government agencies" (Mukhopadhyay:

2008). As a result, we can see that "the major predicament in understanding tourism as a phenomenon and an agent of development and change is perhaps the polemical argumentative, positions and a lack of willingness to move towards a convergence of perspectives" (Babu: 2008).

Setting this context as a background, this research aims to understand and analyse the tourism policies both at the national and state level and to find out the operational aspects of tourism in Vythiri and Kumbalangi to draw out the political implications from tourism development experience at both the places. Therefore, before discussing the fieldwork the next chapter would largely deal with Indian development paradigms, policies, debates and initiatives at the national and state (Kerala) level as a prelude.

1.5 Conclusion

Development since its inception has seen many ups and downs through all the paradigms it has to offer and despite the challenges, the concept of development is seriously debated today and right at the centre of decision-making, especially those pertaining to public policy. Tourism has also evolved under the various paradigms of development since 1960's after exploring the economic growth potential of tourism. Though it suffered a setback during 1970's and 1980's tourism was revived as a powerful force from 1990's onwards under the concept of sustainable development strengthened with the forces of globalisation and economic capitalism.

It is explained by the dependency theory in international political economy studies that imperialism exists today but in newer forms. Tourism in that regard is an industry directly aiding the expansion of 'Metropolis State' at the expense of 'Satellite States'. The vast field of social science has unfortunately shared only a relatively minute space for the study of relationships between tourism and politics, despite an increasing consensus on the interconnections between tourism and development patterns, processes and strategies and therefore, tourism development model or tourism policy is not sufficiently oriented with human beings at the centre of development thinking. There is at the heart a conflict between the interest of business and the interest of the society. Thus, there is a legitimate role for the state in combating discrimination and ensuring equal treatment.

Tourism as an activity is an age-old phenomenon and given a peacetime scenario it is an unstoppable affair for governments, therefore, the need to re-strategize the impact of tourism's contribution to the socio-cultural development must be among the priorities for a state. Now to make an inquiry upon the nuances and implications of the development aspects of tourism in India, it is inevitable to unravel the course that 'development' concept has taken in the Indian context, especially in the post-1990's period. Since tourism as a policy process, urging utmost attention is a recent phenomenon of globalizing India the next section discusses the shifts in the Indian development thinking, evolution of tourism policies in India and then followed by the tourism policies in Kerala.

CHAPTER - 2

Tourism Policy and Development in India:

The Kerala Tourism Model

"UN Steering Committee on Tourism for Development (UN - SCTD) maintains that good governance and sustainable development of all communities at a tourist destination is the bedrock of all the principles for a tourism development promoting the state. This foundation will only then invite domestic and international investments for sustainable development, chalk methods of poverty reduction through a linkage between tourism and local supply of goods and services, to carry forward human resource development, better educational opportunities, vocational training, decent working conditions and capacity building measures for tourism related activities and for other activities as well."

- UN Steering Committee on Tourism for Development (SCTD)

With this background this chapter intends to provide: Firstly, a note on the development paradigms in India since 1990's followed by a comprehensive note on the origin and evolution of tourism policy processes in India, secondly, an analysis of state policies in Kerala which promotes tourism development and thirdly, to understand the basics of Responsible Tourism Initiative (RT) and provide a discussion in the context of the highly celebrated model of development i.e.., the 'Kerala Model of Development'.

2.1 Introduction

With the turn of the twenty-first century, scholars by far agree that "tourism is a highly political phenomenon" and it is now considered to be the main part of the government's business because of its serious implications and more importantly, "the public policies on tourism reflect the general state of governance in a country and given the context of South Asia, tourism policies are neither elaborated sufficiently nor appropriately executed and India is no exception" (Singh: 2002).

The objective of this chapter is to understand the policy orientation, policy formulation process/ processes which will map out the trajectory of tourism policy of India and similarly, in the context of Kerala. To unpack the decisions which have led to fostering tourism-based development strategies with the aim of arguing that a realization (on the part of the government) of tourism's growing significance among the other industries have prompted the state to deliberately strategise tourism policies to reap economic benefits from this industry. This has resulted in a massive increase in tourism related activities which pose serious impediments to traditional sources of livelihood.

2.2 Development Paradigms in India since 1990's

There were four decades of rigorous planning where the dominant paradigm of development was that of industrialization which also meant that the fundamentals of economic growth and self-reliance were considered to be constituents of development in India for a long time. "This sole dependence on industrialization conversely started showings signs of destruction especially on the ecological front i.e. environmental hazards and increasing pollution" (Oommen: 2004). This identified the need for a shift in thinking in relation to development and its meaning. The APD[1] ('alternative perspectives on development') brought about this paradigm shift and the newly derived label was that of sustainable development.

However, the initial few decades after independence seriously signalled an aspiring nation in the map of aspiring Asian economies, especially when you look at the policies adopted by successive governments domestically and the clout created by the development and participation in the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) at the world level. Through the aspirations portrayed by the developmental state, we can characterize the period of post-colonialism into three distinct phases for better understanding and they are; Autarkic aspirations (till 1980's), Technocratic aspirations (till 1990's) and Global aspirations (post-1990's).

---

[1] APD is meant to be a bottom to top approach, community centred initiatives to come from groups those are non-governmental in nature. This perspective, (i.e.., APD) refers mainly to three spheres and those are agents (community), methodology (self-reliant, participatory and endogenous) and objectives (affecting basic needs).

This study divides Indian developmental thinking into three phases. First, the *autarkic aspirations* led to policy planning period of 1950's to 1980's that was mainly characterized by the goal of self-reliance and inward-looking development strategy. The policy planning mechanism with its apex body of planning commission itself was a product out of this aspiration. This phase saw a blind replication of development strategy that of the developed world to the domestic setting i.e. adoption of import substitution framework and strengthening of the economy with a diversified industrial production base. Socialist understanding of development led the way for centralized planning, which highlighted the overarching role of the state. "The socialist goals were packed in several policy documents which attempted to diversify economic power and reduce monopoly, promotion of small-scale sectors, balanced regional development in order to control disparities in growth and mechanism of price control so as to ensure availability of few essential goods such as fertilizers, cement, iron, steel and pharmaceuticals at a 'reasonable' price" (Ray: 2007).

This period also saw passing of several acts such as Patent Act of 1970, The Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act of 1970 and Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) 1973. All these acts aspired for the production of indigenous technology and fitted well within the framework of self-reliance. This grew out of a deep skepticism of opening up of trade and a market-led economy idea among the principal architects of Indian development policy. In this regard, the public sector was endowed with the huge role and elevated to a special status and responsibility to deliver.

But this is the period where we witnessed the emergence of the private capitalist as a major caucus and the import substitution and self-reliance policy suited their needs more than anything, in addition, the license-raj exposed the inefficient working of bureaucracy which was functioning to satisfy their vested interests. All these aspects put together India was derailed from the path towards self-sufficiency albeit aspirations remained. India's investment in research yielded a result in the development of nuclear capability and green revolution and undoubtedly, this showcased aspirations for self-reliance and a conscious attempt to be free from the clutches of dependence.

However, "this rather slow process had a continuous interplay of ideas and politics influencing the economic changes rather than external factors contributing to it in a large way. The new technocratic circles formulated the new developmental model premised upon the ongoing phenomena's in India and other countries. The severe balance of payments (BoP) crisis India faced in 1966 had an atmosphere where ideas and politics in India favoured state-led import substitution and towards this Washington was unable to force deregulation and globalization upon our policies" (Mukherji: 2012).

Second, the era of *technocratic aspirations* emerging out of the protectionist policy that eventually rendered most of the sectors and policies as useless and inefficient. At a global level, the Indian technology became obsolete and thus with respect to cost and quality, this had severely backfired. Thus, mid-1980's onwards a technological paradigm of development was more and more accepted as the key factor in development thinking rather the emphasis on 'efficiency' was stressed. The rapid economic growth of Asian Tigers[2] and the geopolitical presence of China and their rising economy contributed for shifts in the Indian aspirations. From just a need for technological up gradation or an exposure to an urge for more strategic presence in the domain of international power politics was felt albeit the period of 1980-1991 did not see anything drastic other than few piecemeal attempts towards liberalization but the debate was set in place.

Third, the year of 1991 registered the 'break from past' type paradigm shift towards an *aspiration for global presence* where a shared economic relationship and a political structure was on the cards. India's massive economic reforms package included structural adjustment policies aimed at an enhanced role for private sector, openness of the economy – deregulation along with de-valuation of currency and a relaxed operation of the market where competition in a democratic setup was aspired for, thinking that competition would lead the way to 'efficiency'.

---

[2] Aka, Asian Miracle:"The high-growth economies of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan and these four Asian tigers consistently maintained high levels of economic growth since the 1960s, fuelled by exports and rapid industrialization, which enabled these economies to join the ranks of the world's richest nations."

"India's transition to globalization and deregulation is a saga of government promoting institutions that facilitated competitive markets within a democratic polity while powerful social actors opposed these changes."

- Rahul Mukherji, 2013.

These words quoted above quite clearly captures the drastic change that took place in the budget of 1991 in India and hints towards the political economy, thereafter. The evolution of the new paradigm in the domestic development thinking can be easily associated with the emergence of the concept - 'Washington Consensus'[3] (WC). International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the US Treasury Department were the main concerted force behind it (WC) that worked for creating an international public opinion in bringing forth the discussions and debates on 'opening up' of the Indian economy. Simultaneously, the 8th multi-lateral trade negotiations (Uruguay Round[4]) which culminated with the emergence of WTO heralded the context of a new world order lead by WTO. This international background provides a better context for understanding the post-1990's development scenario in India.

In "1991 (crisis), we saw how the atmosphere in India was amended; virtually creating a virtue of the necessity of IMF conditions and implemented a home-grown reform programme. This, in fact, was a silent revolution or paradigmatic shift (which) was scripted when Indian technocrat's favoured deregulation and globalization, laying the corner stone's for rapid and prolific economic growth" (Mukherji: 2012).

This New Economic Policy (NEP) was not just a fine-tuning measure towards the guidelines provided by the international agencies but there were a set of other contexts to it. It was both the international context coupled with domestic economic

---

[3]"Washington Consensus, referred to a set of prescriptive specific economic policy reforms, suggested by International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the US Treasury Department. The term Washington Consensus was coined by an English economist, John Williamson in 1989."These policies composed of policy recommendations in"areas of macroeconomic stabilization, economic opening up in areas of trade and investment and also in the expansion of market forces rather a market (competition) led economy within the domestic economy. These reforms were also aimed to lend a hand to the crisis struck developing countries."

[4]"The Uruguay Round was the 8th round of multilateral trade negotiations (MTN) conducted within the framework of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), spanning from 1986 to 1994 and embracing 123 countries as 'contracting parties'."

predicaments which made NEP appear as a necessity. Internally, apart from apparent failed previous policy regimes, the balance of payment (BoP) crisis of 1991 along with domestic political instability is understood to be the catalyst towards the 'tipping point' of change in macro- economic policy considerations. "A sudden drying up of inward remittances and the West Asian markets because of the Gulf war, and the collapse of the Soviet economy - then India's largest trading partner - were the [other] proximate economic causes of the crisis" (Nagaraj: 1997). These causes, however, all tuned in at the same time appeared as a divine intervention for new policy reforms aligned with Washington Consensus pointers.

Subsequently, our economy got tuned in line with the terms and conditions of WTO, all major restrictions on trade was lifted, reduction in tariff rates, market linked foreign exchange rate, investor friendly foreign direct investment policy etc. were the main features of the new developmental strategy (this strategy vigorously supported by Jagdish Bhagwati & T N Srinivasan). More incentives for the private sector and the role of the state was minimised with aim of disinvestment from several sectors. It conveyed a serious message that controller state was giving way to regulator or monitoring state.

However, some scholars saw the strength Indian state possessed at this particular juncture and suggests a different meaning for development and paradigms to be adopted. On account of "domestic saving, investment rates, adaptability to align towards a highly sophisticated global competitive market, entrepreneurial spirit in all corners of the economy, majority of youth population and better transport and communication facilities, all these quite pose[d] India as a potentially strong state" (Bardhan: 2015).

Adding further, Amartya Sen says, the Indian economy by the 1990s had a comparative edge in terms of economic growth over most economies of the world. The macroeconomic markers [had] registered speeding up of growth in the 1980s which was pursued further with greater vigour in 1990s and simultaneously this time there was a global slowdown of growth. This resultant situation put India in the list of 10 fast-emerging economies of the world but there were severe shortcomings in terms of social indicators. However, the attempts to address poverty and deprivation met with glaring failures which had its manifestations in the form of endemic poverty, ill-

health, educational deprivation, under-nutrition, inequalities, environmental degradation and wide-ranging social inequalities (Sen and Dreze: 2002).

This position is in clear opposition to that of the position of Gunnar Myrdal because for him, India's 'soft-state' attitude prevented its leadership from venturing out for a fundamental restructuring of the institutional setup of Indian society. This paved way for the growth and consolidation of power in the hands of few and as a result, we have today's inegalitarian society despite the enactment and implementation of several policies and eventually, the leadership is now with the people who oppose social and economic change.

Nevertheless, the 1990s conveyed the serious message of growth potential which a country like India (in relation to a poor country) had and at the same time it was understood that the developmental nature of the state was in- fact, conflict-ridden. The emergence of discussion on education, healthcare, and social security as fields of prime concern was during this period whereby ill effects of 'license Raj' and red-tapism were highlighted and at the same time role of civil and political activism in transforming the agenda formations in public policy was emphasised. However, social opportunities continued as the central theme of the vision of leaders of Indian independence movement, but no great attempts were made to turn that vision into a reality. And in the 1990s apart from the focus on opening up of the Indian economy and broadening of market's reach, there were no major changes made to basic elementary health care and education at the policy level (ibid: 2002).

Consequently, challenges still continue to persist even today which forces our development thinking to move beyond GDP and seek alternative understanding to counter the issues. The glaring failures cited above highlights the failure of not just a particular paradigm of development but the fundamental approach towards development, itself. In today's context of governance inefficiency, figures of GDP and growth potential are reduced to appear as a mere farce when it is seen along with the glaring social inequalities.

Although the central issue in economic development was (is) to expand the social base, open-up to the people and the expansion of market has a crucial role to play in this transformation. But the creation and use of social opportunities on a wider basis

require much more than the freeing of markets. They call emphatically for an active public policy that could enable people to use the opportunities and there should be the possibility of more trade offers both at domestic and international levels. A rapid expansion of basic education, mainly in the developing countries for best possible usage of such capabilities because it is a lack of or inadequate awareness about the possibilities and capabilities that act as the major hurdle in the process (Sen: 1996). However, we now understand that "the state capacity is fundamental to surpass the systemic impasse which would be confronted at every step in a bottom to top approach. But in the Indian context governance ineffectiveness is often regarded as a lack of state capacity that many points towards it as India failing. Adding to it, much of police and bureaucracy are politicized and highly incapacitated which all in all contribute to the larger structural issues" (Bardhan: 2015).

The four main structural issues are, there is a brewing of "legitimization crisis" of capitalism in India, more than citizens rights and welfare, the young people who are the majority of "aspirational" India seem to be demanding jobs in a given scenario of sluggish job growth, and even when the jobs are created there is a major discrepancy between job demand and supply, which may turn the so – called demographic dividend from large numbers of young people into a ticking time bomb in parts of the country and the tension between rentier and entrepreneurial capitalism" (ibid: 2015).

Having seen the persisting problems of emerging India, Deepak Nayyar has rightly said that there has been no new paradigm post-1990's. He stated that economic reforms were carried out post-1992 and they represent only an ad-hoc series of measures without a clear framework which could be debated and discussed (Virmani: 2002). "Arun Ghosh observed that opening up the economy to external competition before removing the shackles on Indian industry is tragically misguided. The developed countries are becoming more protectionist and inward-looking and they want us to become outward looking" (Minocha: 1991). Given this context, it is important to understand the ever increasing role of tourism sector with greater vigour to make restore the self – reliance spirit within the ambit of an aspiring cosmopolitan tendency of the state. Thus, the most important aspect missing from the development paradigm is the question of for whom all did this restructuring of economy undertaken and how do they reap the benefit of this paradigmatic shift? Thus what we see is more

of government's systemic failure which is now more and more comprehensive than market failure. Most of the phases in Indian development thinking until recently did not have tourism has a significant part in it. But these days there is a growing socio-economic consensus in favour of tourism at the national level as similar to the Kerala state level so the next section would attempt to draw the evolution of tourism policy at the national level which would lead way to the policy aspects in Kerala.

2.3 Historical Outline of Tourism Policy Processes in India

India is enriched with diverse resources in terms of its natural resources, historical, cultural, religious, traditions, languages and other wide variety of experiences. Naturally, the country has the perfect recipe for a highly preferred tourist destination. If these resources are channelized and planned properly India has the full potential of being the world's most preferred tourist spot. Boniface and Cooper (2005) lists out several reasons for India's tourism attraction and they are:

- India holds world's 20% of world's population and the majority of them are under 25 which will naturally put a pressure for economic development which will, in turn, benefit the tourism industry as well.
- India's democratic tradition and its unique quasi- federal structure gives ample power to its States and its territories to tailor make its tourism development policies.
- With its swift growing economy and numerous global and hi-tech cities like Bangalore, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Chennai etc. contributes to the business development.
- India has a good potential for good transport infrastructure, there is an immense need for advancement (Ball. et.al: 2007: 142-143).

However, the high potential for tourism exclusive tourism policy formulation came during mid1940's when a committee was formed in 1945 under the chairmanship of Sir John Sargent[5] to discuss tourism as a source of revenue. A year later, tourism was recognised as money spinner it was concluded that tourism could

---

[5] John Sargent was the then educational advisor to the government. One of his main recommendations was that the work of development of tourist traffic in India should be undertaken on a 'methodical basis by a separate organization". Central Tourist Organization got established in the year 1966 was a result of his committee recommendation.

be a veritable money-spinner and a separate organization was created to promote it. Different facets of tourism policy making like policy making, administrative context, different phases, its ideals, and objectives etc. are discussed further.

"The newly independent government formed an ad-hoc Tourist Traffic Committee and in 1949 a separate organization Tourist Traffic branch was set up in the ministry of transport" (Singh: 2007). Ministry of Transport created a subdivision of tourism in 1958 to deal with all matters concerned with tourism and it had mainly four divisions and they were: - a) administration, b) publicity, c) travel activities and d) planning and development. With a presidential ordered dated 14th March 1967, the department of aviation and tourism which was earlier under transport and civil aviation ministry was made independent and Ministry of Tourism (MOT) and civil aviation was formed and a full-time minister was appointed to look after into the affairs of tourism. For tourism to be independent of transport and receive its due importance it took roughly 18 years after independence.[6]

All the above factors added on to attract tourism to India post- independence. Although initial years were dominated by pilgrimage and religious tourism, after the new economic policy of 1991, new age tourism of adventure trips, wellness and health tourism, backwater tourism, historical and cultural tourism, eco-tourisms, beach tourism etc. dominated the tourism market which was equally opened to both domestic and international tourists.

Singh (2002) points out that one of the major factors which determine the development of tourism is internal political stability as it has major implications on keeping the tourism attractiveness alive. As India is a geopolitical hotspot with the Indian Ocean to the south, the Asian Mainland to the North sharing borders with Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Burma, India's policy should be carefully crafted to maintain the peace and cooperation among all. As Abram (1999) states "India could be the mecca of tourism" if there are no self-inflicted measures.

---

[6] This information was gleaned from internet news releases and other web sources.

2.3.1 The Evolution of Tourism Development in India (through Five Year Plans)

Different stages in the tourism policy along with the five-year plans led to the changing orientation towards tourism development after independence. It was decided at the government level that the development of tourism facilities will be taken along with the Five Year Plan programme. "India's tourism policy, which is fifty years behind the times, is a peculiar blend of ideals about traditional hospitality and ideas of contemporary capitalist development. Set in a 'democratic' framework, it is the outcome of several revisions and modifications. However, despite a long process of learning through trial and error, the current national tourism policy is, at best, relatively undeveloped" (ibid: 2002: 52).

Table 2. Allocations for Tourism under Five Year Plans

Five Year Plans	Tourism Allocation (Rs. In Crore)
First Plan (1951-56)	No mention
Second Plan (1956-61)	3.36
Third Plan (1961-66)	4.001 (approx.)
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	36.00
Fifth Plan (1974-77)	133.00
Sixth Plan (1980-85)	187.46
Seventh Plan (1985-90)	326.16
Eighth Plan (1992-97)	773.62
Ninth Plan (1997-2002)	793.75
Tenth Plan (2002-2007)	2900.00
Eleventh Plan (2007-2012)	5156.00
Twelfth Plan (2012-2017)	20,000-22,000

Source: Adapted from 'Tourism Development in India under Government Five Year Plans' by Mohd Motasim Ali Khan, Mohammad Athar Noor & Dr. Mohd. Asif Khan published in International Journal of Research (IJR) Vol-1, Issue-3, April 2014.

Abram (1999) "remarked India as a 'sleeping giant' in the tourism industry" as India has historically seen the journeys of many travellers, explorers and also traders

which opened another door to this country and eventually resulted in colonial rule and it affected the country variedly. We could say that earlier there was no serious effort for the development of tourism and it evolved much later with its multi- sectoral linkages and its implications for development possibilities, the government started the planning process. In the initial years right after the independence, the nation had to prioritize the country's growth and development schemes and tourism policies did not find a place in this initial list[7].

It was only in the "**second** five-year plan (1956-61) that a minimum allocation of Rs.3.36 crores"[8] to develop basic facilities in few important tourist centres"[9] was granted. The **third** plan (1961–66) placed relatively larger importance on tourism related activities; this led to the establishment of a sports complex, firstly, in Gulmarg (Kashmir) for adventure sports. In 1966, a milestone development in the tourism industry happened and that was the formation of the Indian Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC) with the sole responsibility of developing infrastructure and services for tourism activities.

"The major objectives of ITDC were:

A. To construct, take over and manage existing hotels and market hotels, beach resorts, travellers lodges/restaurants;
B. To provide transport, entertainment, shopping and conventional services;
C. To produce, distribute, tourist publicity material;
D. To render consultancy-cum-managerial services in India and abroad;
E. To carry on the business as Full-Fledged Money Changers (FFMC), restricted money changers etc;
F. To provide innovating, dependable and value for money solutions to the needs of tourism development and engineering industry including providing consultancy and project implementation" (ITDC; Website: n. d).

The fourth and fifth plan in1969-74 and 1974-78 respectively aimed at developing and promoting destination based tourism. This era could be considered as a beginning of tourism development and several other factors aided this process like

---

[7] No mention of tourism in first five year plan.
[8] This allocation was for Center and States put together during second year plan.
[9] Sourced from - http://www.gourkanjilal.com/India-Tourism-part2.pdf

the establishment of Indian national highway system which improved the connectivity among different places.   All these factors led to increase in tourism traffic and by the last phase of the fifth five-year plan, 'Resort Tourism' started developing. However, considerable attention was further given to tourism activities after 1980's and **sixth plan (1980-85) period correspondingly saw a national policy on tourism for the first time which was announced in 1982.** And it was in 1988, the National Committee on Tourism prepared a broad plan for achieving sustainable growth in tourism which was a milestone achievement for tourism policy making in India.

Seventh Plan from 1985-1990 was a turning point in India's five-year plans. Tourism was given much prominence in this and it was considered as a main objective and accorded industry status. Tourism Finance Corporation which is a national committee was formulated during this period to evaluate its socio-economic implications.

In 1992, National Action Plan was formulated and a new tourism synergy programme was conceived which was later presented as the National Strategy for Promotion of Tourism (Shalini Singh; 2002:52). This happened as in Eight Plan (1992-1997) brought new life into tourism development which boosted the growth of domestic tourism.

In Ninth Plan (1997-2002) a framework and strategy for the development of tourism in the country were prepared. The primary objective was to create a tourism product that had an appeal and also which was economically viable and to strengthen various tourism programmes like tourism promotion, marketing techniques, enhanced tourism facilitation, tourism promotion in northeast region etc.. National Tourism Advisory Council (NTAC) was suggested to establish an effective coordination with all the relevant agencies involved to achieve synergy in the development of tourism. The planners found it to be crucial to diversify India's tourism product. Likewise plan for Indigenous & Natural Health Tourism, Rural & Village Tourism, Pilgrimage Tourism, Heritage Tourism, Adventure Tourism and Youth & Senior Citizen's Tourism was initiated. Infrastructural development was another priority and it was stressed that the funding for the development of tourism infrastructure will continue to flow from the government. People's participation in tourism development was suggested for the first time and it was encouraged through the promotion of self-

employment opportunities in tourism (Fazili and Ashraf: 2006) Sustainable tourism was slowly given importance as to avoid exploitation of natural resources. Ecology and local environment need to be protected and should involve local people so that it benefits the community to the maximum extent.

Location specific code of conduct for tourism was to be evolved so as to maintain a clean and disease free surroundings, protect the local ecology, and respect local traditions, culture, and heritage. Economically, tourism brings out increased foreign exchange earnings, employment, and various income generation activities and it was suggested that the tourism units should be given the export house status. This status will entitle these tourism units to a number of benefits that are available to recognized export houses. Human Resource Development in the field of Manpower Development for tourism, during the 9th plan, it was said that the government will consider the setting up of new institutes only at places where the demand for trained manpower far exceeds the availability and the private sector is not interested, or cannot be motivated in providing adequate training facilities to fill the gap (ibid: 2006).

Tenth plan (2002-2007) and the launching of National Tourism Policy 2002 catapulted tourism development. This gave a fresh outlook towards tourism and India's global status and trends in tourism. "To achieve this, plan articulates to look and develop the new trends in the global tourism. These trends include long haul travel, neighbouring country travel, rural and ethnic tourism, wellness and health holidays, senior citizen's tourism, spiritualism, eco-tourism, sports and adventure tourism" (Op.cit: 2006). This plan identified the under-utilized potential for tourism in India, how it is a sleeping giant in the tourism industry. It identified the factors which hindered the growth of tourism and wanted to formulate plans to overcome it. It attempted to position tourism as a major engine of economic growth. It was also expected to open other revenue sources as well like economic development, rural development, domestic tourism which will further facilitate growth and expansion of international tourism. This would lift India to a leading destination and a global brand in terms of tourism.

This plan highlighted the role played by the private industry in tourism and to create and develop tourism circuits based on country's traditions, culture, and heritage

in association with state- private sector and civil society partnership. According to this plan a "tourist to India [should feel] "*India within him*" by making him physically invigorated, mentally rejuvenated, culturally enriched and spiritually elevated" (Mohd Motasim Ali Khan et.al; 2014). "To achieve all these objectives the 10th plan had suggested a five-point strategy.

These strategic plans were to: a) positioning tourism as a national priority, b) enhancing India's competitiveness as a tourist destination, c) improving and expanding product development, d) creation of world class infrastructure and v) effective marketing plans and programs" (ibid: 2014).

"In the Eleventh Five Year Plan projects which got special attention were rural tourism and human resource development. Some of the projects which were taken up were upkeep of wayside amenities along roads and highways, cleanliness at the tourism destinations and sites, projects in backward areas etc. Projects involving construction and upkeep of wayside amenities along highways/roads leading to tourist destinations, cleanliness at the tourism sites, projects in backward areas, etc. were given due emphasis (Report of the Working Group on Tourism, 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017), MOT, GOI). 2.5% of total plan outlay of Ministry of Tourism (MOT) was earmarked to ensure to the contribution of tourism to the development of remote and backward areas in the country especially tribal areas." (Annual Report, 2010-2011).

The eleventh Five-year Plan had also formed a Working Group on Tourism and it had recommended a target of 10 million international tourist arrivals. It was increased to 10.25 million for the year 2011 and it was proposed to be achieved through diversification of principal source markets, improving the infrastructural facilities such as airports, roads, civic amenities at the tourist destinations, increasing the air seat capacity and connectivity, vigorous publicity etc. The target for domestic tourism in 2010 and 2011 was set for 725 million and 812 million respectively assuming an annual growth of about 12% (ibid).

New forms of tourism like rural tourism, cultural tourism, adventure tourism, cruise tourism, MICE tourism[10], and medical tourism need to be taken up with renewed zeal and efforts.

"To achieve the above goals, suitable measures such as:- a) positioning and maintaining tourism development as a national priority activity b) enhancing and maintaining the competitiveness of India as a tourist destination c) improving existing tourism products further and expanding these to meet new market requirements d) creation of world-class infrastructure, e) developing strategies for sustained and effective marketing plans and programmes, f) developing human resources and capacity building of service providers were to be taken up" (Five Year Plans, Government Of India).

"In the Twelfth Plan from 2012-2017, there was major re-strategizing to re-orient for achieving higher employment elasticity in this sector at the world level. It was aimed to substantially increase the annual growth rate of 12 per cent in the value addition in the tourism sector. The future plan towards the end of 2017 is to be among the top 50 countries in the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Rankings, that is, by the end of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan and to increase the share of India up to 1 percent in global foreign tourist arrivals" (Planning Commission's - Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012–2017) Economic Sectors - Volume II).[11]

Planning Commission regarded tourism as one of the largest service sector industry and mapped out its potential to create employment and livelihood opportunities to a wide section of the population from different sections of the society from skilled to unskilled in both rural and urban areas. The approach paper to 12th Five-year plan argued that tourism is more inclusive to different sections including women than the other sectors. Dependence on natural capital such as forests and wildlife and different culture creates scope for rising and growth to both demand and supply of a broad range of related goods and services which would have its effect in stimulating overall economic growth.

---

[10] Meetings, incentives, conferences, and exhibitions, or Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Events (MICE) is a type of tourism in which large groups, usually planned well in advance, are brought together for a particular purpose.
[11]For more details see here

The above process took note of challenges in this regard such as preserving biodiversity, forests, rivers, and its rich culture and heritage on the premise that of the 'Earth Summit' in Rio (1992) which established the triple principles of environmental, economic and social sustainability. It also evaluated the capacity constraints and inadequate policies coupled with the context of the federal structure where the responsibilities are divided between various levels of government and lack of co-ordination. Some of the primary challenges recognised are like transportation infrastructure, accommodation, land, multiple taxes and an overall high tax burden, inadequate financial resources for enterprises, skills development, safety and hygiene conditions around tourist attractions and convergence of actions by multiple agencies.

In the twelfth plan, along with re-strategising government needs to adopt a 'pro-poor tourism' approach aimed at increasing the net benefits to the poor from tourism and ensure the tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction.   Now it is recognized that benefits may be economic as well as social, environmental or cultural and the primary beneficiary to be the weaker sections in the destinations. The rhetoric of community tourism, heritage tourism, eco-tourism, wellness tourism and the like are not just enough. The next step for diversifying actions, "from micro to macro level, including product and infrastructure development, marketing, branding and promotion, planning, policy, and investment" needs to be carried out carefully. Some of the pointers to be developed for this purpose are to realize India's enormous assets with tourism potential viz., historical sites, places of religious significance, and its vast range of national attractions must be to focus on clusters or circuits around such assets. The development of these clusters /circuits requires collaboration between many agencies at the local level to create an attractive and safe transit experience.

Here the role of the state is of prime importance and they need to take a pivotal role in developing their own tourism potential to obtain growth in employment as well as State Domestic Product (SDP). The strategies can be divided into those that generate three different types of local benefit: economic benefits, non-cash livelihood benefits (such as physical, social or cultural improvements), and less tangible benefits of participation and involvement.

The implementation part of development tourism seeks absolute importance as it requires to establish links between different stakeholders and coordination across all levels of government and also to develop convergence among all departments. It is necessary to develop an overarching agenda among the whole of government and also the linkages between, national level, state level and most importantly local level.

This requires that awareness is created amongst all stakeholders and across government about the contribution of tourism to local livelihoods and engage them in joint initiatives to increase the local economic development and impact on poverty reduction and finally. 'The National Tourism Policy' should form an integral part of the poverty reduction strategy during the Twelfth Five Year Plan" (Report of the working group on tourism 12th five-year plan (2012- 17).[12]

2.3.2 Landmarks in the tourism policy in India

A. *Tourism Policy, 1982*

In 1982 first ever tourism policy was formulated and it paved the way for major development in tourism. India being the host of Asian games in 1982 helped in the development of the tourism policy. It provided an action plan and listed tourism hotspots all over the country (Singh, 2001: 143-44). Preserving Indian heritage and culture, bring socio- economic benefits in terms of employment, income generation, revenue generation, foreign exchange etc. are the main objectives of this policy. It should bring out direction and more opportunities to help in the development and national integration.

During the seventh five year plan tourism sector attained the status of an industry and this opened up many opportunities which led to the establishment of the **National Committee on Tourism** and it was established in 1986 to better understand the relevance of tourism in India and also Tourism Finance Corporation of India (TFCI) It was set up to provide financial assistance (Kanjilal[13], n. d). Tourism also developed the interest in the export sector which led to the creation of a special public

---

[12]Report of the Working Group on Tourism 12th Five Year Plan (2012- 17), Ministry Of Tourism Government Of India.

[13] (http://www.gourkanjilal.com/India-Tourism-part2.pdf)

tourism finance corporation. This encouraged lot of investments in tourism sector from private investors.

<div align="center">Table 3. A snapshot of landmarks in tourism policy</div>

Year	Development/Policy
1966	Indian Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC) was established.
1982	A national policy on tourism announced.
1988	A comprehensive plan for achieving sustainable growth
1991	Tourism declared a priority sector for foreign investment.
1992	The national strategy for the promotion of tourism formulated.
1996	National strategy for the development of tourism developed.
1997-2002	The ninth plan developed. This focused on the development of basic tourism facilities like hotels, restaurants and recreational facilities, as well as roads, water, sewage, electricity, and telecommunications.
2002-2007	The tenth plan attempts to encourage India as a global brand. The tourism sector has received income tax exemptions, interest subsidies and reduced import duties as incentives for private investment.
2007-2015	National Tourism Policy, 2015 was conceptualised and the draft is out for discussion but there is no finalisation yet uptil July, 2017.

Source: Adapted from *'Contemporary Hospitality and Tourism Management Issues in China and India'* by Stephen Ball et.al. (2007), where it was adapted from Dhariwal (2005)

B. *National Action Plan for Tourism, 1992*

During 1990's with the onset of liberalisation era and with the opening up of the Indian market, the potential of tourism in India has increased several folds and many states considered this an opportunity to bring in money to their economy and we could witness a competitive market emerging for tourism in India during that time. In 1992, **National Action Plan for Tourism** was presented to the parliament

highlighting the importance and new opportunities of the industry in an international and national level. It recognized many potential categories and scope to be developed within India with the onset of this sector.

Some of the main objectives of the National Action Plan of 1992 were: socio-economic development of the area, increase the employment opportunities, preservation of national heritage and environment, optimization of foreign exchange earnings through international tourism and increase in India's share of world tourism.

Table 4. Recommendations of National Action Plan of 1992
Creation of Special Tourism Areas as notified zones for intensive investment and development.
Starting the Scheme for giving Assistance for Special Tourism Areas (ASTA) for providing finances for tourism and tourism-related industry in specified areas/circuits.
Special category of Heritage Hotels/Health Resorts to be created and provided – (a. Technical/consultancy help, b. Loans for financial institutions, c. Interest subsidy and d. Marketing and operational expertise)
Tourism trains to be started on important tourist routes based on the success of palace-on-wheels.
River cruises to be operated in specified circuits.
Revamping of foreign offices to make them more accountable in terms of specified targets.
Information revolution; information system to be revamped to provide positive projection of India in all leading markets.
Special airline/hotel packages for selected tourist destinations.
Provision of information counter for airlines, trains, hotels, tourist information at major international airports.

Source: A brief note on the National Action Plan, 1992 by Prableen Kurup
(http://www.preservearticles.com/201102083997/short-note-on-the-national-action-plan-1992.html)

Tourism action plan in 1997 was drafted keeping in mind the integrated tourism development in the country and other thematic areas like marketing, infrastructure development and also human resource development. This draft mainly

echoed the previous tourism policies and didn't offer any new aspect or promised anything innovative to the overall existing tourism policies in the country.

In the same year, a draft new tourism policy in line with the larger economic policies of the government and the trends in tourism development was published for public debate. This policy recognised the roles of central and state governments, public sector undertakings and the private sector in the development of tourism. The need for involvement of Panchayati Raj institutions, local bodies, non-governmental organisations and the local youth in the creation of tourism facilities had also been recognised.

C. *National Tourism Policy, 2002*

Considering all the previous action plans for tourism, a new policy was designed by the central government and it paved way for the tourism policy of 2002. State governments played a prominent role in bringing this policy highlighting the need of the combined effort of both centre and state governments in bringing up this policy and tourism was projected as a centre- state government joint effort though the main policies were laid down by the central government directly.

In this policy, tourism was over and over again termed as the *'new engine of growth'* to the economic development of the country. This policy in 2002 reiterated that tourism has the potential to contribute to many areas in the development sector especially the employment sector. .Though there has been a great momentum for tourism industry internationally during this time India was way behind and world tourist traffic to India remained at just 0.38 percent so this policy was formulated to bring a change in this trend. It was felt very important to bring in a set of policy or a framework to focus on this sector and improve its contribution to the nation's economy. Thus "the policy document took seven key areas to provide impetus for tourism development and they are: Swagat (Welcome), Soochana (Information), Suvidha (Facilitation), Suraksha (Safety), Sahyog (Cooperation), Samrachana (Infrastructure Development), and Safai (Cleanliness)" (Tourism Watch: 2013[14]).

---

[14] http://www.tourismwatch.in/national-tourism-policy-2002-india/

"Government, as well as private sector, have very important role in the tourism sector and both are important stakeholders but the government needs to provide a framework to regulate tourism industry because it had the primary responsibility to ensure the welfare, sustainable development, and community-oriented policies. Therefore, the policy primarily focused on protecting the cultural richness the country possessed, building up effective linkages and coordination with ministries and departments like civil aviation, environment, forest, railways, and home which closely contributes to the tourism industry. The other important factor to be considered is the conservation of natural and human resources. With this policy, it was stressed to make India itself a brand which would play a dynamic role in World Tourism Organization and Travel Council and Earth Council. India's unique, cultural and natural resource value was projected at the same time the need for protecting the same was stressed and the policy emphasised the value on keeping the balance" (ibid: 2013).

"The subsequent launch and popularity of the 'Incredible India' tourism campaign gave a further impetus to developing tourist destinations in the countryside. A government concept paper explains how rural tourism can be 'useful' for India considering that approximately two-thirds of its population is rural-based with few viable economic prospects (MoT, 2001). This was echoed [earlier] in the country's 10th and 11th [as again in 12th] five-year plans where tourism was identified as a 'national priority' with special emphasis on promoting it in economically backward and rural regions" (Rangan: 2011).

Map3. India's Major Tourist Circuits
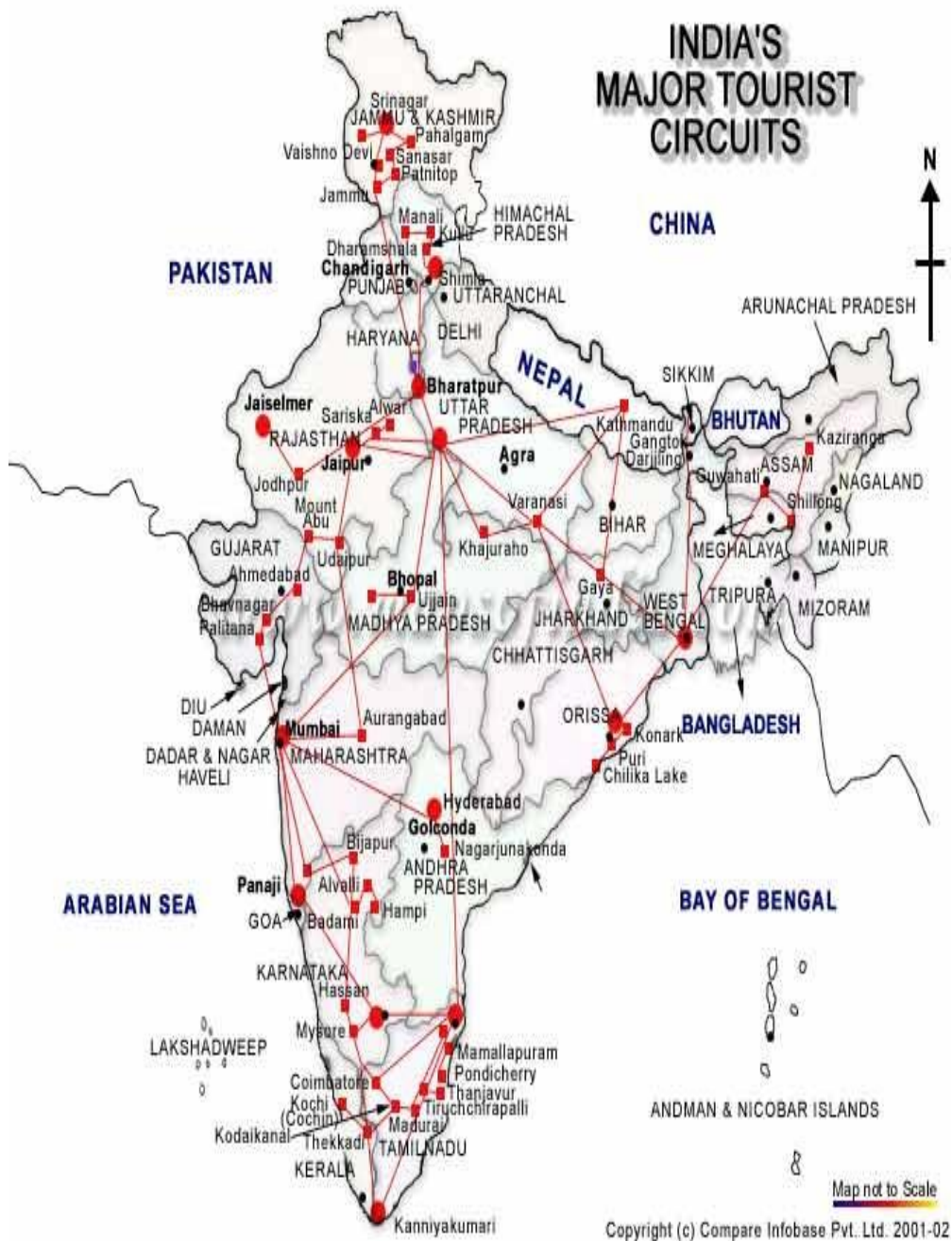
Source: Maps of India website

Consequently, "the Endogenous Tourism Project – Rural Tourism Scheme (ETP) launched in 2003 by the MoT in collaboration with UNDP in 36 rural 'sites' across the country, deserves specific mention. The project aimed to build local capacity in identified sites and achieve diverse development goals through tourism. According to its initiators, the scheme was considered timely as it capitalized on the

global move towards 'experiential tourism' by creating an authentic village experience and 'presenting India…in a clean and tidy manner at the village level' (MoT/UNDP, 2008: 18-19). Most state governments in India have increased budgetary support to improve tourism accommodation and infrastructure facilities in rural areas, while others have experimented with the European agri-tourism model[15] as well (ATDC, n.d.). Thus rural tourism has assumed a higher priority in development policy and practice in India. It is no longer restricted to building tourist facilities in villages but rather views tourism as a tool of rural development and transformation itself. The state of Kerala has been one of the foremost implementers of this policy on tourism" (ibid: 2011).

Thus this policy very vividly spelled out the advantages and disadvantages of tourism, the possible opportunities and potential threats that could be on the way with booming tourism but it did not suggest any remarkable way to deal with it. It lacked on the planning and implementation factors on how India should deal with the upcoming opportunities and potential threats. So in short, this policy recognized and build up a strong argument in encouraging more investments of all kinds to this sector but how exactly it should be done was not very clear and hence this policy only served half of its purpose.

In the year 2007, Ministry of Tourism brought out a document called Indian Tourism Statistics.[16] It had the latest tourism statistic which was very critical for the planning and development of important tourism policies. It furnished latest, time series data on various tourism variables like foreign tourist arrivals in India, world tourism scenario and India's position in the world, outbound tourism-Indian nationals going abroad, domestic tourism, approved hotels, travel trade, human resource development, plan outlays etc. This endeavour could offer right perspective by taking stock of things what needs to be done for the betterment of this sector though there were many criticisms to this as well.

---

[15] It is generally understood to be a business model that links agricultural production/processing with tourism in order to attract visitors onto a farm, forest, or other agricultural business for the purposes of entertaining and/or educating the visitors and generating income for the farm, forest, or business owner and this is initially and mostly practised in Europe and United States of America.
[16] http://tourism.gov.in/writereaddata/CMSPagePicture/file/Primary%20Content/MR/pub-ORstatistics/ITS2007E.pdf

In January 2015, MoT had declared the formulation of a new tourism policy which would come to existence by May in the same year. EQUATIONS reports that their engagements with MoT revealed that the tourism ministry while drafting the National Tourism Policy, 2015 was not planning for any major changes to the Tourism Policy of 2002 apart from some sections which need revisions[17].

EQUATIONS demanded firstly, "a change in the mandate of the Ministry of Tourism to reflected in the 2nd Schedule of the Government of India (Allocation of Business) encompassing the multi-dimensional and complex nature of tourism development. Its core purpose should be to ensure that tourism policy, planning, coordination and regulation of tourism development needs is based on research and ground realities, privileging local community benefits and local economic growth. And secondly, the draft NTP 2015 echoes much of BJP's position on tourism since 1998. While it is the prerogative of the elected governments to form policy based on its promises as articulated in its manifestos and other documents, it is equally important to ensure that the process of policy formulation in the country is transparent and democratically decided. For tourism, the only directive giving document is the National Tourism Policy. Therefore, we believe that this document needs to be given the same consideration as the passing of any legislation and therefore brought to the Parliament for a discussion and a wider consensus. The government's attempt to scuttle this process by introducing it in the Cabinet is a manifestation of its autocratic nature which will affect millions of people whose homes have been turned into products to be traded in the tourism market"[18]. However, this policy has not come to existence as of today i.e. even after two years from the date of its first draft been circulated.

To sum up what we see is a shift to certain keywords in the policy documents. Towards the end of 2014 and the beginning of framing the new tourism policy what we see is an increased usage of terms like ecotourism, Responsible Tourism Initiative, impact assessment, sustainable tourism and pro-poor tourism etc. Are they actually addressing the adverse effects of tourism promotion or are they the same old wine in new bottles or whether these practices a method to blur the guilt factor by colossal

---

[17] Draft National Tourism Policy, 2015: A Mockery of Democracy EQUATIONS, 09 March 2016.
[18] ibid

multi-national corporations are the real questions. Thus, having discussed the major policies related to tourism we now move to tourism policies of one of the South Indian states of India which is also a preferred tourism hotspot, Kerala .

2.4 Tourism Policies in Kerala and the 'Kerala Model'

Kerala is known to the domestic as well as the international tourist for its greenery, scenic landscape, and its serenity. Prior to 1980's, the state's economy was mainly depended on agriculture but this started showing a declining trend along with limited opportunities for industrial expansion. The socio – political context of Kerala was certainly a factor in creating roadblocks for industrial expansions and farming activity was more and more becoming unattractive to younger population apart from its ever reducing lucrative reason. Given the issues of a higher rate of educated and unemployed youth population coupled with stubborn aspirations for white-collar jobs the situation naturally drove the attention of policy makers towards tourism as development option rather a viable alternative development tool. Tourism was one among very few obvious choices for the state as it had a comparative advantage and state could capitalise on the already built-up social assets like a high level of education and standard of living and also the natural beauty of the state (Jerome: 2003). Tourism thus figured as a significant part in Kerala state's planning mechanisms and still continues to be a huge driving force in redefining what is known as the 'Kerala model of development'.

Thus tourism assumed importance in the state since the early 1990's and with the rapid decline of agriculture, and it is now proclaimed as an engine of growth in Kerala (Sreekumar and Parayil, 2002). "Tourism was therefore identified as a major economic development alternative. This recognition triggered a series of development and promotional activities in the late 1980's" (Kerala State Planning Board, 2011). During late 1980's a whole lot of initiatives were started to cash upon prospective tourism benefits in the state.

Map 4. Tourist destinations of Kerala

	Capital City
	Airports
	Major Hill Stations
	Bird Sanctury
	Major Beaches
	Major Wild Life Sanctuaries
	Seaports

Area	: 38,863 sq km
Water bodied	: 945.3 sq km
Forest Area	: 9400 sq km
Time	: GMT + 5:30
Districts	: 14 Nos
Taluks	: 75 Nos
CD Blocks	: 152
Villages	: 1664
Panchayaths	: 941
Corporations	: 6 Nos
Municipalities	: 87 Nos
Cultivated Area	: 20.89 Lakh ha
Currency	: Indian Rupee
Climate	: Tropical
Wetlands	: 0.39 Lakh ha
Summer	: February - May
Monsoon	: June - September
Winter	: October - January
Highest Peak	: Anamudi
Longest River	: Periyar

Source: Maps of India website

The industry status[19] accorded to tourism sector was immediately followed by investments (tourism) in infrastructure and performance incentives in the state of Kerala. Government (state) intervention also did not wait to establish a new tourism training institute, Kerala Institute of Tourism and Travel Studies (KITTS) during the year 1988, formation of District Tourist Promotion Councils in all 14 districts to raise tourism awareness and for its promotion and mainly to decentralize the tourism initiatives, a year-long campaign for tourism awareness of related issues, development of an international airport in Kochi. All these initiatives put together laid a platform for a high-profile sector for private investments (Chettiparamb and J. Kokkranikal: 2012).

In the context of state-led developmental practices, an initiative called People's Planning Campaign – a mass based bottom to top planning approach had commenced since 1996. This has participatory budgeting, participatory planning in local projects, involving the local community in prioritizing of projects against budgetary provisions, people's responsibility in implementation and monitoring were the key features. This is an annual process and currently, 25% of the state's budget is earmarked to devolve to local self-governments in Kerala. The benefit of such system is that there is enough scope for designing innovative schemes, implementing them and mainly to prioritize the needs of a diverse kind such as economic, social and infrastructure schemes that best suits a particular place (Issac and Franke: 2000). These measures were largely successful, especially in rural areas.

Another "important element of tourism development in Kerala is communicating the ideas of government to the people and here panchayats (local councils) play a critical role. Panchayats, for example, has played a key role in Kerala's Kudumbashree Project[20] (launched in 1998) which aims to alleviate poverty among the poorest, mainly women, through cooperative action (Issac and Franke, 2002). The scheme has proved attractive to Keralites not least because of its name: the Malayalam term kudumbashree contains the morally engaging terms kudumba (family), and shree is a term of respect. Essentially, a women's representative from the local panchayat (local council) visits the poorest areas within the panchayat

_____

[19] Industry status was accorded to tourism sector in the year 1986 by the central government.
[20] Within a panchayat administrative area near Kochi over 200 such Kudumbashree projects had been funded by December 2004 and, at that time, about a dozen were succeeding well.

administrative area and holds seminars on the development of small business enterprises" (K. Baker: 2008).

Following this, women are invited to put forward, in writing, ideas they may have for small cooperative business schemes. If a project is deemed viable, the panchayat funds it for a 2-year period and, in addition, arranges appropriate training for the women, usually at a local college. The progress of the project is followed carefully by the panchayat, which encourages the women to become self-sufficient in their income-generating scheme. If, however, a project fails, funding is terminated.

Nevertheless, in a nutshell, this "is a state sponsored poverty alleviation programme with broader goals of women's empowerment (realized through women's collectives) and local economic development. This programme has a multi-dimensional view of poverty fore-fronting self-help as a core strategy. Projects taken up by the Kudumbashree units involve local economic development through micro-enterprises (both production and service); thrift and credit operations through micro-finance; women's empowerment initiatives through capacity building and debate; and general social development through initiatives in housing, children's education, support for cultural activities and so on" (Chettiparamb: 2011, Chettiparamb and Kokkranikal: 2012).

Kudumbashree vision document reads:-

"Kudumbashree strives to develop the model of a microfinance led financial security process into a more comprehensive model of local economic development under the aegis of local governments. This would hopefully sustain the transformation of the local governance agenda from welfare to entitlement. Such a transformation does not come about easily and requires rewriting established administrative and development practices. It requires the community acquiring voice and being heard. It requires institutionalizing processes that allow for participation and meaningful contribution. And when we speak of community we speak of the people for whom government is a palpable entity influencing the quality of their lives, as well as of the people on the periphery, both social and physical, for whom manifold deprivations have snuffed out hope of change. We speak of the women who are finding, through collective endeavours, the stepping stones leading from participation to citizenship in

its truest sense. It is through the realization of citizenship that Kudumbashree would be able to significantly address issues of equity and justice." – (kudumbashree.org: n. d)

The latest initiative is the Tribal Special Project (TSP) (under Kudumbashree programme) which was launched to address the urgent problem of skewed development which has resulted in further weakening of marginalized sections of the society. "During these years Kudumbashree has been able to bring 69138 Tribal families under 5356 NHGs in these districts. Tribal animators and community facilitators from among the CDS provide handholding support. A corpus fund (for which operational guidelines have been drafted) is being set up to support microfinance activity and participation in NREGS. Tribal Ashraya (shelter) projects are also under consideration for holistic intervention package" (Kudumbashree.org: n.d).

Over these years, Kudumbashree programme has thus received many awards and is generally known to be an 'exemplar' among the poverty alleviation policy making circles in India (Oommen: 2008). Though earnings in micro-enterprises remain to be slightly inconsistent this initiative has undoubtedly been a success in women empowerment and poverty alleviation (Oommen: 2008 & Williams et al: 2011). Tourism has impacted this programme by increasing the incomes and livelihood of communities rather they have created a market nevertheless at those tourism hotspot regions in Kerala. But to what extent has been impacted will be explored in the field chapters and who controls their extent of inclusions are questions of utmost importance

As a result of all these above-discussed policy interventions in the state, since 1990's there saw a boom in terms of private investments in tourism and an exorbitant increase in the tourist arrivals. The state with the help of private players launched hotel chains by forming Tourist Resorts Kerala Limited. Kerala Travel Mart and Grand Kerala Shopping Festival have been organized annually since 2000 and 2001 respectively. New avenues were explored continuously and vigorously which led to novel tourism markets such as health or medical tourism and Ayurveda tourism.

Today, "tourism accounts for nearly 8% of the state's gross domestic product and receives a substantial portion of tourists visiting India (GoK, 2008). Branded as 'God's Own Country', the focus in Kerala has not been on urban-based mass tourism but rather on rural locales that showcase its natural beauty, cultural ethos, and age-old traditions. Factors such as high literacy, good social infrastructure and a political commitment to decentralised development, the famed 'Kerala model of development', have been critical to the growth of tourism in the state (Venu: 2008). Kerala's establishment as an international tourist destination and a committed state government campaign to position it as a development strategy has heightened hopes and expectations in its villages that tourism will transform rural lives and fortunes" (Rangan: 2011).

On the brighter side, Sebastian and Rajagopalan (2009) cites that Kerala was listed among the 10 'paradises found' in the millennium edition of the National Geographic magazine. And when it comes to that of innovative marketing strategies developed around the world, Kerala is definitely the best example and the state won the national award for the 'best-performing state in the tourism sector' and also flagged as the 'undisputed tourism hotspot of India' (Chakravarti: 2001). These awards have thus pulled central government's budgetary assistance towards the state and nevertheless, available studies on tourism in Kerala show a steep increase in flocking up of both domestic and international tourist in the state.

However, the practice of tourism has, in reality, rarely been able to live up to these hopes and expectations. As an ETP review report states; "Policy makers tend to oversell the benefits of tourism and there is not enough of substantiation or research data on the distributive justice of tourism as a development tool" (Rangan: 2011).

The developmental policy and process by the state government creating awareness and promoting the tourism have suffered the downside of tourism. Adverse environmental impacts arising out of littering and pollution, social issues such as drug trafficking, commercial sex exploitation involving men, women, and children have significantly increased (Kokkranikal & Morrison: 2002) commodification of traditional living practices, displacement of weaker sections of society such as Adivasis and Dalits at destination community and competition for resources etc. have

created a general ill feeling towards tourism among the public of Kerala (Chettiparamb and Kokkranikal: 2012).

Also, "tourism does not develop in a vacuum which means in Kerala, tourism has entered a rural landscape characterized by economic distress, social tensions and transforming local aspirations" (Devika: 2010). And [tourism policies] are implemented through decentralized political strategies at a time when the effectiveness and tenability of decentralized governance are itself being questioned (Devika and Thampi: 2010). It is being propelled forward despite the evidence, albeit limited, that its beneficiaries are restricted to a privileged minority and that its costs are not being adequately addressed (EQUATIONS: 2007). Whether tourism as a tool of development is capable of delivering to a heterogeneous community at a destination or achieves some part of claimed 'benefits' that are heavily reliant on development reality and issues related to particular rural locations.

However, public discontent and tension has now pressurized the government to intervene and they did so with the concept of 'Responsible Tourism Initiative' (RT) and lately so with the Kerala Tourism Policy (2012) with main objectives such as: to ensure quality visitor experience, to focus on benefits for the community from tourism, to create enabling environment for investment, to market Kerala as a visible global brand in domestic and international markets and to develop quality human resources in tourism and hospitality. "The state tourism policy also talked about tourism department forming 'State Tourism Advisory Committee' (STAC) to advise departments on destination development, tourism product development, tourism marketing strategies, HR and tourism research to promote and enhance the state's reputation as a premier tourism destination. The Committee will have nominated members from the tourism industry stakeholders and members of various task forces in tourism" (Kerala Tourism Policy; 2012).

The highly debated and discussed Kerala model of development is the one that claims to be a unique model of development in the world. It was and is premised upon the pioneering role of the state in all its social and human development endeavours. Being a non – agricultural state, the economic mainstay was earlier derived from traditional jobs like coir production, fishing, and plantation cultivation like tea, coffee, rubber, and spices.

"The poverty ratio in Kerala was high in the 1960s, with almost half of the population living under poverty line. In absence of any economic resources, the state focused on the social impacts of the development. The importance of health and education has influenced the state for future developments and reduction of poverty in the state. Today, Kerala has 15 percent poor in the state, which is much lower than the national average of 27.5 percent."

Graph 1. Plan Outlays for Education, Tourism and Health in Kerala during the

11th five year plam
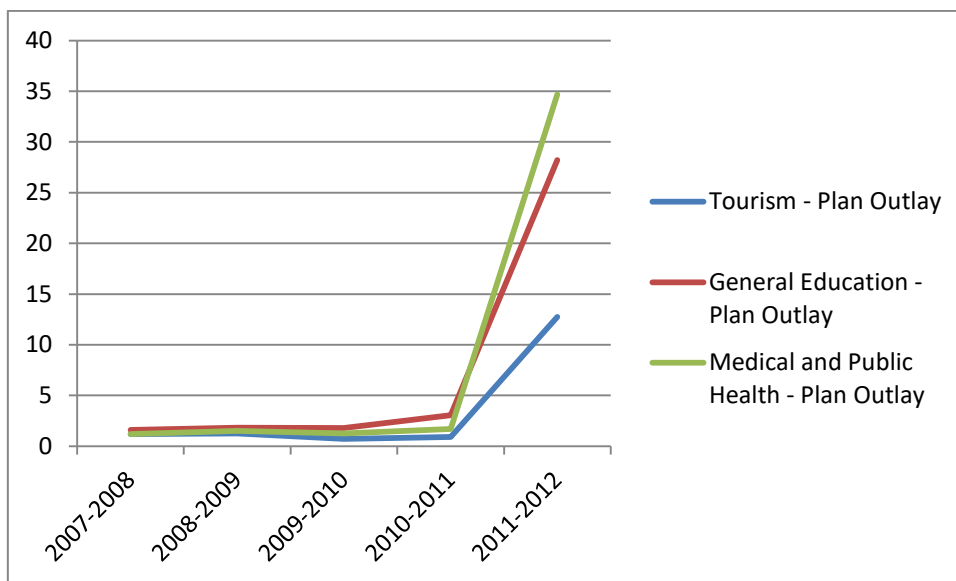
Source: Economic Review, Planning Board - Kerala

The development in Kerala's health and education has made it a superior state in terms of human development report. The state ranks top on the physical quality of life index (PQLI) as well as the maternal mortality rates (MMR) and infant mortality rates (IMR) in the country. The influence on health care (and education) in the state policies applauded in the social and human development reports, which further enhanced the state model to be a benchmark model for the country.

Kerala model of development has been applauded by none other than Amartya Sen as the perfect model for the developing state. This model redefines the development sector through providing high healthcare service with low economical

productivity. As a consumer state[21], Kerala has low per capita income and agriculture production, thus it focuses its spending mostly on the social development of the people. "Kerala has demonstrated that social development does not require high income or economic growth—explained by the much-highlighted Kerala model. Good health depends on a combination of political, social, educational and health advancement" (George and Nair: 2004: 319).

"The famed Kerala model of development has an ugly underside: the egalitarian social model that made the state popular with development economists left a few islands of poverty untouched, among them the tribal people of the hills and the fishing communities along the coast. Both have largely been ignored by the development process, leading to disastrous consequences over the course of time. It is not by accident that some of the most violent clashes in Kerala society have occurred in these two social segments, sharply brought into focus in recent years by the Muthanga Adivasi struggles in Wayanad and communal clashes in the northern coastal village of Maradu" (N P Chekkutty: 2006:).

This has led to a situation known as 'Kerala Paradox' where the social sphere achievement did not create a vibrant economy with economy stagnating with low industry inputs. High levels of poverty in rural areas, low per capita income, shortage of food by focusing just on cash crops, high literacy levels leading to political awareness and mass mobilisations, 'brain and labour drain', high levels of unemployment and starvation deaths. A.K Pat (2005) also observed that there was rising unemployment rate, restrictive labour practices, a high incidence of lifestyle diseases, falling farm production, cases of scandals and corruption, rising incidence of suicides, record road accidents and associated deaths, consumerism, and mounting government debt do bedevil Kerala's society and economy is forcing Kerala to move away from its earned economic position known as the Kerala Model of Development. As we learn that two main pillars of Kerala Model of Development were education and health care. In the recent times both these sectors are undermined for the purpose of job creation and diversion of funds to other industries, in this

---

[21] Consumer state is the opposite of a productive state where they have to import most of the products for consumption from other states for their sustenance as they are very low in production.

tourism industry was identified as the one with least polluting elements and environmental implications thus the turn to tourism, more focus into tourism policy planning is what followed and subsequently resulted in shift in attention from education and health financing.

Graph 2. Total Plan Outlay for Tourism in State Five Year Plans in Kerala
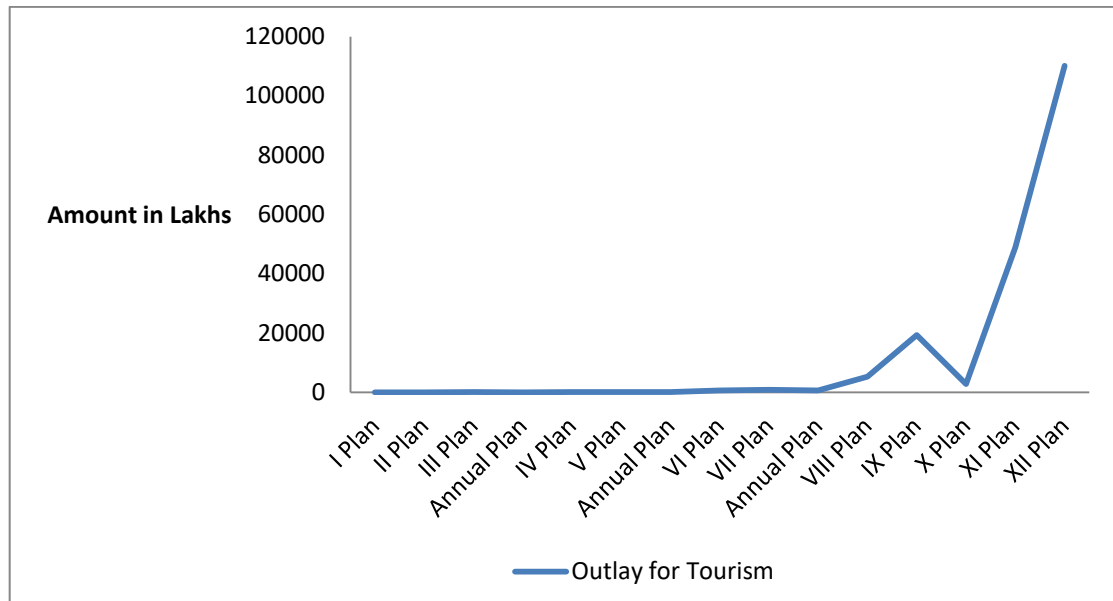
Source: Economic Review, Planning Board - Kerala

The state's spending on tourism has gone significantly higher when compared to allocated funds for education and health. In the table given below from a situation where tourism was not even figured in the first plan, tourism has developed as a major part of Kerala state's economy. In absolute number education and health continues to appear as a major figure when compared to tourism which as very low share in the total share. But what we infer is that the percentage share in allocation has gone up as the government considers tourism as profitable venture thus the shift to dependence on tourism. This is giving way slowly to what comes to be known as the 'tourism model of development' in Kerala. The details of plan outlay on education, health and tourism are given below.

<u>Graph 3. Total Actual Expenditure for Tourism in State Five Year Plans in Kerala</u>

Actual Expenditure
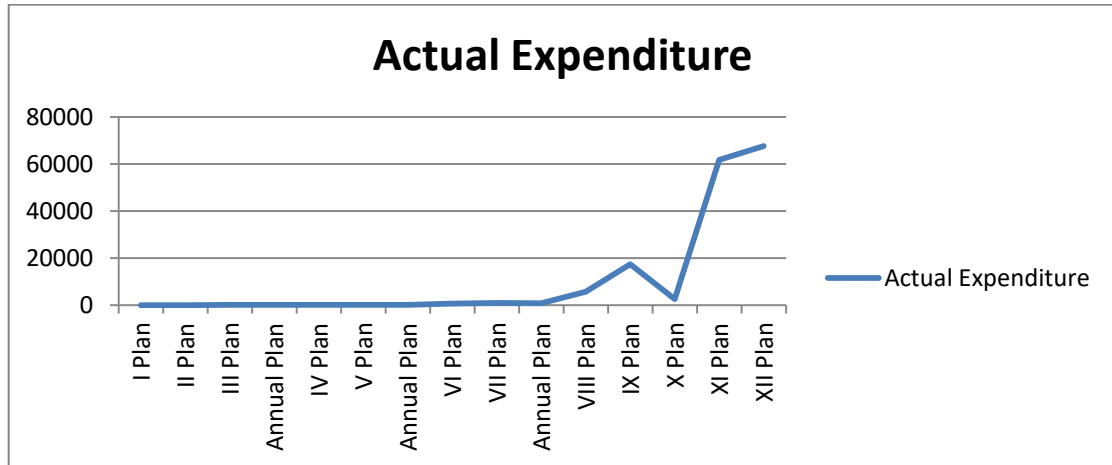
Source: Economic Review, Planning Board - Kerala

However, "at the macro level, there was a revival in the growth of state income during the 1990s from a phase of low growth during the 1980s. There were three phases in the growth of state income during the 1990s. The Kerala economy has become a service oriented economy with significant share of tertiary sector in the composition of state income and its faster growth during the 1980s and 1990s. While manufacturing has lower share in state income and has been growing at a lower rate during the 1990s, construction activity has a relatively higher share and it has been growing at a faster rate. It appears that Kerala economy, driven by the service sector, which in itself depends upon expatriate remittance, is likely to lose its growth momentum sooner rather than later" (Jerome: 2003).

Table 5. Allocation and Expenditure on Tourism in the State Plan over Various Plan Periods, in lakhs

Period	Total Plan Outlay	Outlay for Tourism	Percentage share of Tourism	Actual Expenditure
I Plan	3003	--	--	--
II Plan	8701	13.00	0.15	8.00
III Plan	17000	50.00	0.29	22.00
Annual Plan	14254	31.00	0.22	19.00
IV Plan	25840	50.00	0.19	55.00
V Plan	56896	71.00	0.12	79.00
Annual Plan	39296	130.00	0.33	132.27
VI Plan	148755	672.00	0.45	556.80
VII Plan	221100	850.00	0.38	833.69
Annual Plan	144200	650.00	0.45	816.95
VIII Plan	687648	5301.00	0.77	5707.85
IX Plan	1575500	19266.00	1.22	17397.81
X Plan	2522643	2777.00	0.11	2487.68
XI Plan	4560547	48873.00	0.15	61774
XII Plan	10200000	110140.00	0.29	67506.24*

*Expenditure status up to October 31, 2016
Source: Plan Outlay and Expenditure, Kerala Vol 1 and 2, Kerala State Planning Board.

Thus, as an obvious choice tourism is what the planners of the state turned to and once this high-speed promotion of tourism in the state made waves of distrust and contradictions in the society, a safe policy of Responsible Tourism Initiative was carved out to act as a pressure release to ease out tensions among the weakest sections of the society who were affected by this rapid expansion of tourism policies. If the

implementation part addressed all the issues that the local community is facing then why is there so much discontent and hatred against tourism programmes and conferences among the people of Kerala? What are the aspects of the Kerala tourism policy those have so much negative bearing on the communities who are at the receiving end.

Table 6. Allocation and Expenditure on Tourism in the 12th five year plan (State and Union funding), in lakhs

Year	State Funding*	Union Funding	Total
2011-12	182.49	23.75	206.24
2012-13	180.53	78.26	258.79
2013-14	214.89	34.67	249.56
2014-15	245.36	0.00	245.36
2015-16	230.45	99.34	329.79

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala (Plan outlay including SDG)

The issues and resistances against tourism are not a thing of past, even today we see group asserting their voices against non- inclusive tourism development and these reveal that tourism's impact on social relations, gender discrimination, and power relations have never been the focal nor even peripheral points of discussion whereas the only agenda was to blindly promote tourism as an economic mainstay and to increase the foreign exchange. Whereas it was ironical to see the lack of social equity and inclusion - based approach towards development when the Kerala state minister (Shri. A. P. Anilkumar) for Tourism also hold charge of Welfare of Scheduled Castes & Backward Classes from 2011. Also to be noted here that, any opposition to large-scale tourism projects by environmental and labour activists is often dealt with through undemocratic means (Sreekumar: 2002).

A survey of state government legislations shows there has been few anti - people legislative interventions in the tourism sector in Kerala such as Kerala Tourism

(Protection and Conservation of Areas) Act, 2005 which jeopardize the decentralization process and hugely reduce the scope for local participation in the decision-making and implementation levels of tourism projects bestowed through amendments 73 & 74 of Indian Constitution.

Kerala's Tourism Policy (2012) document verbally aims to encourage and assist local bodies in forming Tourism Working Group in tourist hot-spots and as per the Panchayath Raj Act, the sole power of regulating the development activities is vested with the local bodies. And one the other hand, Master Plans, Detailed Town Planning schemes and Kerala Municipal Building Rules (KMBR) are the tools used for controlling and regulating the development of any area and impinges serious limitations on destination community people's options.

Other provisions such as Town and Country Planning Act for declaring any area with a special character as special zones and controlling its development with special guidelines prepared for that particular zone. Departments in association with Town and Country Planning Department along with local bodies will have to identify tourism important areas for its conservation and preservation and prepare and implement special guidelines considering its carrying capacity. Town and Country Planning department is responsible for the preparation and implementation of Area Development Plans for the areas of tourism relevance. These mechanisms are used to restrict the local community getting empowered through the amendments 73rd & 74th of Indian Constitution.

Along with this, it is also pertinent to mention that the Kerala tourism department played an important role in projecting tourism as a growing and revenue building industry to the government in short span of time and this rapid growth of tourism represents an economic boon or a mirage of it[22]. Tourism in Kerala is projected as one of the best sources of foreign exchange but in reality, its contribution to overall state's economy is minimal. But administratively the benefits of tourism and its contribution in Kerala is highly inflated without proper analysis. (Sreekumar and Parayil: 2002) In any case, the government has started rampant replication

---

[22] Please see appendix for more information regarding tourism's projected contribution to the Kerala economy.

process of Responsible Tourism ventures in new areas and they include Kumbalangi in Ernakulam, Vythiri, and Ambalavayal in Wayanad and Bekal in Kasaragod.

2.5 Responsible Tourism (RT) Initiative in Kerala

The 'triple bottom – line[23]' concept or set of responsibilities i.e. economic responsibility, social responsibility and environmental responsibility are the foundation principles on which Responsible Tourism concept had been envisioned A detailed picture of RT became clearer with features and aims only after the Cape Town Declaration of 2002, though the concept of RT first originated in 1996. RT seeks to generate greater economic and overall well being of the destination communities whereby reducing the ill effects of tourism impacts. (Goodwin: 2011).

Responsible Tourism was defined in the Cape Town declaration as tourism;

'That creates better places for people to live in and better places to visit'.

In Kerala, a concerted effort to implement Responsible Tourism began with a state-level consultation on the subject organised by the Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala, in association with the International Centre for and EQUATIONS (a non-government activist organisation and 'hard' campaigner on tourism-related issues) organised at Thiruvananthapuram, the state capital, on the 2nd and 3rd of February, 2007. Discussions were conducted in three sub-groups consisting of (1) local self governments and civil society organisations; (2) tourism industry and (3) state government departments and organisations. A series of economic, socio-cultural and environmental issues were identified by each of these sub-groups which were in turn captured in a workshop document that eventually led to the preparation of a framework for the implementation of Responsible Tourism. A 'State Level Responsible Tourism Committee (SLRTC)' emerged from this consisting of 40 members with representation from different groups of stakeholders (Chettiparamb and Kokkranikal: 2012).

Four districts were chosen to carry out the pilot study of the implementation of RT and these were Kovalam (near saturated, coastal destination), Kumarakom

---

[23] The term coined by John Elkington.

(ecological fragile backwaters destination), Wayanad (dispersed settlement pattern and hill resort destination) and Thekkady (contained settlement pattern and hill resort destination). These all were high tourism hotspots in Kerala but with differing tourist size and ecological diversity. For the purpose of over-seeing and monitoring the implementation of RT there was a three state-level-multi-stakeholder working groups which were formed. And at the grass-root level, another committee of multi-stakeholder known as Destination Level Committees (DLRTCs) and local-level implementation cells consisting of working groups that mirrored the state-level working groups were formed under the local government.

DLRTCs consists representatives and experts from wide range of related field like tourism industry, local self governments, NGOs, CSOs, academia and media. The task of preparing guidelines for Responsible Tourism were undertaken by the state level committees but the nuances and specificities of implementing these guidelines were worked out by local committees. Thus the initiative made sure grass root level bodies and agencies were in the forefront in formulating and implementing the guidelines though the idea was mooted by state level committees. Kerala declaration for Responsible Tourism   pledged to "*take forward the concept of Responsible Tourism into practice, focusing on local economy, well being, local culture and environment and one of the purposes of Responsible Tourism is that the benefits of tourism are equitably accessed and distributed*" (Venu and Goodwin: 2008).

The main thrust for Responsible Tourism came from 'Kudumbasree', this programme focused on eradicating poverty and encouraging development by facilitating and training women to be a part of small enterpreneuial ventures which will contribute to local economy as well. 'Kudumbasree' has turned out to be a forceful political, social and economic force throughout the state. Responsible Tourism has opened up many economic opportunities for 'Kudumbasree' thereby contributing to the local economic development.

The state-level workshop conducted in February, 2007 recognized pressing issues regarding Responsible Tourism. One of the main issues which got highlighted is local food procurement for hotels. Hoteliers were willing to procure local food products if some of their concerns were addressed stated below:

- "Produce requirements in practice were not steady throughout the year and supply chains would have to cater to this variability. Sudden spurts in demand were not uncommon and timeliness of supply would be needed.
- Acceptable prices needed to be negotiated. In some instances, local procurement could be more expensive with prices lower outside the locality.
- Quality control of food produce was of prime importance.
- Local food producers often were very small entities and hoteliers could engage in one to one transactions with each producer" (Venu: 2008).

A strategy to address the above concerns was then needed. Detailing of such a strategy, as well of initiation of other initiatives in line with the spirit of Responsible Tourism, was left to the local governments at the destinations chosen considering the range of challenges these destination places were facing.

2.6 Conclusion

Kerala's development which is a 'lopsided development[24]' has changed with the changing national and international scenario which is of liberalization, relaxed trade regimes and globalization. Tourism policy has a homogenous approach to a varied group of communities at the distinct torurist destination both at the national and state level has become to be part of the lager planning process and we see recently the policy getting undue attention and continue to undergoe revisions. But yet prioritises the needs of the visitor than the host themselves as the policies do not talk about different region and contexts of people, resources and their socio-political contexts. In this the pertinent question still remains what these changes meant for the indigenous people, Dalits, Adivasis, women, coastal communities and the other weaker sections of society. The true intent of Kerala model of tourism needs to be studied by looking at the tourism – development experience of Vythiri and Kumbalangi in the following

---

[24] According to Achin Chakraborthy – lopsided development means development where economic growth is not matched by advances in human development or vice versa."

chapter and then revisit the question - does the model actually stand true to its 'responsible/sustainable model of tourism' so as to be replicated elsewhere.

CHAPTER - 3

Tourism in Vythiri: Case of Environmental Degradation, Tribal Displacement, and Agrarian Deprivation

Wayanad had been the center stage of a flourishing agricultural economy in Kerala until tourism industry took over. The case of Vythiri is not different and cannot be understood in isolation from that of Wayanad so the chapter would intend to sketch the overview of Vythiri and Wayanad, socio-economic profile of the region, the land struggles waged by the Adivasi's in Wayanad, advent of tourism, an enquiry in to the question of tourism's symbiotic relationship with the environment, the politics of local resistances against tourism initiatives, the role of women in the tourism development rhetoric, the politics of tourism in Wayanad to gather the socio, cultural, environmental and political context and impacts of tourism development in Wayanad.

3.1 Overview of Vythiri & Wayanad

Vythiri is a small gateway village to Wayanad district of Kerala located in the north- eastern region of the state. It is a turning point in the landscapes across Kerala with unique climate, natural and ecological advantages. Vythiri enjoys a special status within Wayanad district which itself is known for its diverse tropical biodiversity, wooded hills and evergreen forest along with lush paddy fields, large acres of tea, coffee, pepper, various types of plantains and pine trees which add to the green majestic feel of this region.

Wayanad is one of the fourteen districts in Kerala located towards the North-Western region of the state, contestably derived its name from 'vayal' meaning paddy fields and 'naadu', meaning land, denoting a 'land of paddy fields'. Images of a green canopy, cool climate, and rising mountains are those which come to one's mind when asked to illustrate Wayanad district. These days it is better known as the green paradise or green gateway to Kerala in tourism promotional language. Mist covered valleys, waterfalls, spice plantations, wildlife sanctuaries, caves, hill ranges, and forest are the main natural tourist attractions in Wayanad which makes it unique compared to the other tourist destinations [such as beach and backwater tourism] on the plains of Kerala.

This region is positioned on the top of Western Ghats and on to the lower side of the Deccan Plateau. Situated at about an altitude of 3,000 ft. and receives rain from southwest monsoon and north-east monsoons of about 3,000 mm. in total.[1] Rainfall, distance from the coast (about 80 km), altitude, vegetation and forest cover enables Wayanad to have a clean and cool climate. The stretches of Western Ghats give it a unique ecological balance and sustenance to this region.

A peek into the recent history tells us that Wayanad was under Vedar Rajas and later under the rule of Pazhassi Raja which saw furious battles carried out with the British. Mysore's invasion and the British rule ranging over for a period of about two centuries is the characteristic feature of Wayanad History. The district in the present form came into existence only on 1st November 1980 carving out hitherto regions of Cannannore district and Kozhikode district (Wayanad District, Official Website[2]). Wayanad now has a total area of 2131 sq. km in which there is a forest area of 78.787 ha, wet area of 24, 731 and dry area of 1,00,869 (ibid).

However, "Wayanad has a [much] long[er] history, obscured like the mist in the hills, long forgotten. Historians (like K.K.N Kurup) are of the view that organized human life existed in these parts, at least ten centuries before the Common Era[3]. Numerous evidence about New Stone Age civilization can be seen on the hills of Wayanad. Rock engravings in the Edakkal cave (prehistoric rock shelters), of Ampukuthimala located between Sulthan Bathery and Ambalavayal, represents human, animal figures, appliances of daily use and symbols. These follow a sequence, progression according to the passing era. Speak volumes of the bygone era and civilization of prehistoric age, it enthuses modern historians to rewrite the history of Wayanad. The region was known as Mayakshetra (Maya's land) in the earliest records, the name evolved into Mayanad and finally into Wayanad" as described in the Report by RASTA and Public Affairs Center, 2011 titled '*Lives, Livelihoods & Environment of Wayanad - A Preliminary Study'.*[4]

---

[1] Facts from Kerala Tourism Department Brochure on Wayanad Tourism
[2] http://wayanad.nic.in/profile.htm
[3] CE is referred to as an year in our times.
[4] http://www.pacindia.org/uploads/default/projects/pdf/Wayanad_Lives,_Livelihoods_and_the_Environment_-_Report.pdf

One of the main features of Wayand is that it is home to a larger proportion of Adivasi population of Kerala. The total Adivasi population in Kerala was 426,204 (according to 2011 census) and the Wayanad district has the maximum share i.e. 36% of the total Adivasi's in Kerala[5]. Paniyas, Kurumas, Adiyars, Kurichyas, Ooralis, Kadans, Kattunaikkans are the main aboriginal tribal groups found in Wayanad and they constitute 17.4% of the total population of Wayanad district with the Paniyas numbering the highest among them (C.S and P.M, n. d).

Another important feature of Wayanad is the much larger section of the migrated people from rest of Kerala. These migrants were on the lookout for settling in fertile lands and greener pastures. Gowders from Karnataka also settled here and built Jain temples all around the district. This large population of settlers has impacted the lives and traditional livelihood options of the Adivasi population in Wayanad and particularly in the last few decades what we see is the absolute marginalisation of the native tribal community (Jacob: 2006). A local resident of Wayanad and a police constable by profession, Mr. Udhaya Kumar confirmed to this viewpoint and added that we have imposed our way of life on the Adivasi's through force and superiority. The interesting thing is our models of development are not at all sustainable but their knowledge systems and practices were completely centered on ecological balance[6]'.

Vythiri, in Wayanad is both a taluk and a gram panchayat, located in the south-western part of Wayanad district and it is the entry point to Wayanad from Kerala acting as a small gateway village to Wayanad. The name Vythiri is derived from 'vazhi' meaning way and 'thiri' meaning turn; therefore, it suggests a 'turning point'. Indeed it is literally a turning point in the landscapes across Kerala with unique climate, natural and ecological advantages. Vythiri enjoys a special status for its landscape, cool climate, flora, and fauna within Wayanad district. The district itself is blessed with tropical biodiversity, wooded hills and evergreen forest along with lush paddy fields, large acres of tea, coffee, banana and pepper plantations and pine trees which add to the green majestic feel of this region. In the recent years, people have started growing vanilla and rubber too.

---

[5] 2011 Census, Government of India.
[6] Interviewed on 26.02.16 at Kalpetta in Wayanad

Map 1.Wayanad district

Source: Google Images

But Wayanad Prakruthi Samrakshana Samithi - an environmental organisation's senior activist Mr. Badushah says "these blessings are getting wiped out at a fast pace as the years pass and their diversifying options are also getting limited due to crash in the prices. All respondents in this research commonly agreed to this point that Wayanad is on the verge of a huge environmental disaster, sooner or later. And Vythiri, among other places in this district, is the most vulnerable point as it is situated right above the pass"[7]. The entire conservation of the ecology of Western Ghats is inter-related to the ecological condition of Wayanad thus the tremendous importance of conservation efforts that are required and on-going in Wayanad cannot be stressed more and this forms a pertinent section in this chapter.

Hence, the case of Vythiri is not so different from that of Wayanad's with regard to tourism and environmental issues and cannot be understood in isolation from that of Wayanad so the chapter objective would be to sketch the socio, cultural, environmental and political context of tourism development in Wayanad and the conditions that led to the shift to tourism development and how it is organised presently, with special reference to Vythiri.

---

[7] Interview; Bhadushah, 03.03.16, Wayanad

The tourist arrivals to Wayanad are a glaring example of the special status Vythiri enjoys in terms of its geographic location and climatic condition. This can be affirmed from the available data as given in the table 4. 2, where we can infer that Vythiri is the most preferred tourism destination in this region. In the year 2012 (latest available data in District Tourism Promotion Council [DTPC] - Wayanad), Vythiri alone received 5,79,353 tourist when the whole of Wayand region received 12,00,555. This means more than 50% of the total tourist to Wayanad district, does not leave the district without seeing Pookode Lake[8]. Vythiri is roughly 700 meters above sea level, and there are 18 villages in Vythiri taluk – Achooranam, Chundale, Kalpetta, Kaniyambetta, Kavumannam, Kottappadi, Kottathara, Kunnathidavaka, Kuppadithara, Muppainadu, Mutil North, Muttil South, Padijarethara, Pozhuthana, Thariode, Thrikkaipetta, Vellarimala, Vengapally [9]. And some of the important towns here are Lakkidi, Chundale, Old Vythiri, Kalpetta, and Meppadi, in which Lakkidi receives about 4,500 mm. of average rainfall; this is the highest in Kerala.

Table 7. Tourist arrivals in Wayanad & Kerala

Year	2013 (Wayanad)	2014 (Wayanad)	% of variance	Total arrivals in Kerala		% of variance
				2013	2014	
Domestic	5,13,306	564,274	8.66	10,857,811	11,695,41	7.71
Foreign	10,844	11,795	8.77	858,143	923,366	7.60
Total	524,150	576,069	-	11,715,954	2,092,907	-

Source: Kerala Tourism Stats 2014, Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Vythiri and Wayanad region is filled with resorts and homestays. Vythiri has an area of 47.84sq. km and in this some of the popular accommodation providers are Vythiri Village, Vythiri Resort, Upavan Resort, Windflower Resort, Vythiri Greens, Lakkidi Village Resort, Pepper Wayanad Gate, Vythiri Meadows, Little Home Resort, Rain Country Resort, Annapara Homestay, Orchard Holiday Resort, Globe Trotting Holidays Inn, Rest in Nature Resort, Naturecampz, Tea Terrace Vythiri, Stream

---

[8] Data collected from DTPC, Wayanad Office. Pookode Lake is the only government tourist centre managed by Forest Department and District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC) in Vythiri where such data is collected and maintained.

[9] More details on the website of Vythiri Panchayath, Local Self Government institution in Kerala.

Valley Cottages, Greenex Farms, Jaziel Rose Garden, Girassol Serviced Villa are the few.

Table 8. Tourist arrivals at various tourist points in Wayanad, Kerala

Sl. No	Government Tourism Projects	Year	Total Tourist
1.	Pookode Lake, Vythiri	2008-09	4,06,421
		2009-10	4,13,803
		2010-11	4,56,456
		2011-12	5,23,498
		2012-13	5,79,353
2.	Pazhassi Tourism	2008-09	16969
		2009-10	9805
		2010-11	12553
		2011-12	9115
		2012-13	12224
3.	Wayanad Heritage Museum	2008-09	29855
		2009-10	43721
		2010-11	45817
		2011-12	45578
		2012-13	49723
4.	Edakkal Caves	2008-09	249987
		2009-10	307158
		2010-11	150689
		2011-12	314257
		2012-13	351232
5.	Kuruwa Dweep	2008-09	83089
		2009-10	50569
		2010-11	196685
		2011-12	183061
		2012-13	208023

Source: Collected in person from District Tourist Promotion Council (DTPC), Kalpetta during the field work.

Vythiri is one of the three taluks in Wayanad, the other two being Sultan Bathery and Mananthavady. This is divided in such a way for ease of administration, however, the administrative headquarter is Kalpetta. And for electoral purposes, there are three constituencies for legislative assembly (MLA) elections – Kalpetta, Sulthan Bathery

and Mananthavady and one constituency as a whole of Wayanad for Lok Sabha election (Member of Parliament election).

Wayanad as a district is the only district in Kerala which is remarkably fully blown into tourism industry and heavily depended on tourism and thereby, it has tourism centres and activities into the length and breadth of the district. Mr. Sam Mathew, a member of CPI – ML party and a provider of tourist taxi services in Wayanad opined that "Wayanad district is one among many places with maximum tourist centres with minimum geographical area or territory."[10]

Tourism starts right from the entry point to the district [from Kerala], that is, the Lakkidi View Point which gives a mind blowing view of the Thamarasherry pass and other significant spots in the district are; Chain Tree, Pookode Lake, Chembra Peak, Soochipara Waterfalls, Edakkal caves, Kuruva Islands, Banasura Sagar Dam, Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary also known as the Muthanga Wildlife Sanctuary, Tholpetty Wildlife Sanctuary, Pakshipathalam, Thirunelli Temple, Uravu Bamboo processing centre, Sentinel Rock Waterfalls, Valliyoorkavu Temple, Sita Lava-Kusha Temple, Thrissilery Shiva Temple, Pallikkunnu Church, Sulthan Bathery Jain Temple etc. apart from activities such as trekking, boating, cycling, plantation walks, bird watching, tribal community interaction and bird watching among many others.

Therefore, tourism in this region was a natural phenomenon as evidently seen from the above narratives of its geographic and climatic conditions. Vythiri is first among other places in Wayand to receive touristic prominence and continues to be the preferred spot in Wayanad. However, the publicity and the role of development of tourism in Wayanad were taken up initially by a Wayanad Tourism Organisation (WTO) to give a further boost to tourism projects here and it was much later the state government's tourism department identified the tourism potential of Wayanad and stepped in through their decentralised DTPC offices.

Thus, in short, this chapter would aim to sketch the socio-economic background of the people here at the destination, sustainability of tourism and a narration of its development experience through tourism and resultant implications for the environment and Adivasi communities.

---

[10] Interview; 02.03.16, Wayanad

3.2 Socio-Economic Profile

Vythiri and Mananthavady were the two oldest townships in Wayanad which have an agrarian base with tea estates but after district formation, Kalpetta emerged. Mr. Vishnudas[11], an ornithologist by profession noted that 'Now Vythiri is on a decline as per its agricultural productivity is concerned. Now small scale traders are the chief characteristic of Vythiri and population is increasing that of migrants from nearby Malapurram district who are nowadays going to Gulf countries and the remittances form the major economic base'.

A distinctive phenomenon witnessed by the Wayanad region was the migration from the plains and nearby states which are also known as the Malabar migration and this has a direct influence on the social and economic organisation of today's Wayanad. The first wave of migration happened during 1940's and till late 1970's before it slowed down and it was primarily sourced from Travancore region. The land's high fertility was the main reason for migration and thus the settlers took up the task of de-forestation initiated by the colonisers with the aim of cultivation (Jacob: 2006).

The other reasons behind this were: - a) the food shortage that emerged due to the conquest of Burma by Japanese forces, on which the poor peasants were heavily depended. Thus the increased price of essential items including land and its scarcity forced them out b) the conflict that emerged out of Christian bourgeoisie and landowners with the monarchy and its close aides such as C. P Ramaswamy Iyer[12] carried out massive repression and imperialist stooge using Travancore Police. In this, the Christian bourgeoisie lost money and the peasantry faced brutal attack by the police. c) government support in the later year under the banner of 'Grow More Food' campaign, this legitimised the deforestation for cultivation purpose (ibid: 2006). This context is particularly important to keep in mind to understand the contradictory situation and threatening the state of affairs which Wayanad is witnessing now. Deforestation continues even today in an aggressive manner for a combination of many reasons but tourism industry does not play a crucial role in that, said Vythiri

---

[11] Interview; 8th August 2016, Kalpetta
[12] C. P Ramaswamy Iyer - a Tamil Brahmin by origin and lawyer by profession was the effective ruler of Travancore during his term as the Diwan of Travancore from 1936 – 1947.

Panchayat member, Ms. Beena.[13] Thus, the role of hospitality and tourism industry always seeking more and more space to grow is not conceptualised thoroughly and not seen as a direct polluter of the environment and at time we see in the name of tourism development it gets legitimised because it is believed that the revenue generated will trickle down to all the sections of the society and tourism industry will create jobs for the local population. But by late 1960's serious implications of the above policy decisions to go the economically viable route as discussed above had started showing signs of its impact on the Adivasi communities. The settlers bribed them with alcohol and tobacco to learn the basics of living in an adverse environment with wild animals, diseases like malaria and rough terrain (ibid).

However, today the earlier inhabitants of the land are severely marginalised and alienated from their own resources. Presently, almost all main religions are represented well here; Hinduism (49.48%) is the religion of majority but Islam (28.65) and Christianity (21.34) also flourished here, apart from this Animism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Sikhism also marginally exists here (Census 2011). The concentration of religious minorities in this district is exceptionally higher when compared to the state average[14].

Figures at two levels for Vythiri are available through government documents and they are at the level of i) taluk (sub-district) and ii) gram panchayat. At the first level, Vythiri taluk has places of both urban and rural settings, altogether there is a total population of 2,61,417 (1,27,349 males and 1,34,068 females) with an area of 61,118 hectares. There are 38,213 (18,738 males and 19,475 females) members of Scheduled Tribes/ Adivasi community and 16,127 (8,113 males and 8,014) belong to Scheduled Caste community; however, strikingly there is a literacy rate of only 80% in this sub-district where the Wayanad district's literacy rate is 89 % (2011, Census, GOI). **There are only roughly 15% of the total population of Vythiri sub-district and 22% in Wayanad district who are affected by cultivation, in this some are directly impacted and others are indirectly involved. This portrays the onset of a gruesome situation which threatens the sustainability of agriculture in Wayanad, and this is quite a paradox given that this district once used to thrive on agriculture and apparently derived its name from paddy fields.**

---

[13] Interview; 7th August 2016, Vythiri

[14] Referred - *'A Baseline Survey of Minority Concentration Districts of India – Wayanad'* prepared by Institute for Human Development - Click here to access.

At the second level, Vythiri gram panchayat is a rural setting which has a total population of 18, 305 of which 8,815 males and 9,490 females. A total of 4,159 households exists in here in which the working population is of 6,565 (4,532 males and 2,033 females). The most intriguing fact is that there are only 222 (192 males and 30 females) main cultivators in this panchayat, 43 marginal cultivators (25 males and 18 females), 271 agricultural labourers of which 142 are male and 129 females (ibid). This low number of cultivators supports the earlier argument of questioned sustainability of agriculture in the district.

It is also understood from the above figures that roughly, around 15% of this sub-district is constituted by Adivasis and any narrative of this region devoid of their socio-economic situation would be incomplete. Accordingly, we see that in the ancient times Wayanad region was occupied by wandering tribes who had their own set of self-government, techniques of farming, cultural practices, and institutions. But as we have seen from the seventeenth century onwards there was a mass migration from planters and farmers from the plains mainly due to the climatic suitability for growing cash crops like coffee and pepper. This influx of a vast number of settlers negatively affected the tribal way of life, especially their subsistence farming and hunting. Even today, there are some tribal sects those practise their ancient traditions and live a secluded life cut off from the rest of the world.

The various tribes of Wayanad have a distinct position in the hisstory of Wayanad. Though some agree on being descendants of migrants to this region most of the tribal people in Wayanad like to claim that they are the descendants of early migrants and few believe they are the original inhabitants of Wayanad region. As per a report submitted to Kannur University in Kerala titled 'Participatory Tourism Development in Tribal Areas – A study of Wayanad' under the research project 'Development of Malabar', the principal researcher B. Vijaya Kumar lists out the major tribal sects in Wayanad.

He locates that the *Kadan's* in Mananthavady Taluk is believed to be the descendants of 'Nair' class, who were migrated to Wayanad along with Lord of Kottayam. The *Adiyans* and *Kattunaikkans* were migrated from Karnataka. The *Oorali Kuruman* and *Mullakuruman* came from Cheramandalam. According to his work, the *Kurichyiar's* resembles with the Nair community in their appearances and

rituals except in few cases. The *Kurumar's* asserts the lineage to a princely dynasty of Wayanad. The Wayanadan Chettis were the ones who migrated from Tamil Nadu and they accepted agriculture as their livelihood option. The *Adiyans* are closer to Paniya, as they are the slave tribal sect. The *Paniyans* is a majority tribe in Kerala, they were sold along with plantations by the landlord, and thus they were bonded labourers. Paniyas of Wayanad has close resemblances to Negroid race of Africa in appearance and 'Sickle Cell Anaemia' is a disease correspondingly found among Paniyas of Wayanad also (Kumar: 2005).

A resident of Wayanad and CPI District Committee Secretary Mr. Vijayan Cherukara remarked that "only one or two communities of these tribes have own land. Most of the primitive tribal groups like Paniya, Adiya, and Naikkan are landless and they have nothing but a thatched roof over their head. They don't have a system of possessing a land; rather they lived in tune with nature, engaging them in farming. The fruits of their hard work are reaped by the outsiders who pose a threat to the lives of these primitive tribes. Tribes who were the majority in Wayanad shrank to 17% of the total population post-2000. There was a lot of migration from Christian, Hindu and Muslim communities. This statistics is enough to estimate the change that has happened in the livelihood of tribes in Wayanad[15]."

However, one thing common in all these groupings is the role of rice in their sacred customs and traditions. It is quite evident from the name as cited earlier also, Wayanad meaning the land of paddy fields itself suggest the importance they have given to rice cultivation. There are roughly around thousand varieties of rice which are native to this region and its history of land and development dates back to thousands of years. They consider seeds as god's gift and hence believe it as sacred. More than a seventy variety of rice could be grown in any kind of climatic or soil settings and this has the immense capacity to endure difficulties posed by drought and flood. 'Valicha' is a special technique of rice cultivation seen in Wayanad, especially for the summer season. Similar to the culture of fishing in Kumbalangi village in Ernakulam district despite low catch and price rise, here it is paddy which means more than a simple grain to them. They believe rice keeps the body and soul together and hence the sole reason for their existence. They pray, remember, respect and

---

[15] Interview on 02.03.16, Kalpetta in Wayanad

acknowledge gods and ancestors at all stages of paddy cultivation. In this way they were protecting, preserving and developing the varieties of rice and at the same time, they were the guardians of the rich biodiversity of this region. Ms. Suma Vishnuds a researcher at M. S Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) elaborated about Mr. Raman – an Adivasi farmer who still passionately pursues agriculture and who have been successful in preserving around 45 types of seed and his venture also have started attracting tourism lately. MSSRF has played a role in identifying his potential and giving him further assistances needed for patenting and for preservation.

Wayanad is situated in one of the high rainfall regions of Kerala, agricultural prospects and irrigation are comparatively better than other parts of Kerala. But heavy rainfall situation coupled with the market value of cash crops forced the farmers to ignore paddy cultivation however tribal's still depends on the forest for their livelihood. Badushah said "the land is so fertile in Wayanad has the potential to support the whole of Kerala's need for vegetables which can be cultivated without pesticides. Similarly, its peculiar habitat provides a ground for spices like cardamom, pepper, turmeric etc. It can be cultivated organically and sold as 'animal-friendly spices' which will, in turn, open up a great market". However, he added that the gross marginalisation of the environment friendly culture of Adivasis, unplanned over consumption, mono-crop cultivation and overuse of chemicals and pesticides have rendered Wayanad to chronic indebtedness, imbalance of prices, declining fertility and contamination of water resources which gets manifested in the series of suicide cases among the medium and small scale farmers.

3.3 Adivasi Land Struggles in Wayanad

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 is a result of the long-drawn-out fight by tribal population by exerting pressure over governments on their rights and access to their dependent resources. This is a milestone achievement for Adivasi's across the country as it seeks to restore deprived forest rights, meaning to give right over land and ownership over common resources. However, without proper monitoring and implementation mechanisms coupled with the lack of awareness and assertion from Adivasi's these laws are circumvented by the oppressors.

"The tribes of the northern part of India are more flexible and hence they become Maoists to survive in their situation whereas the tribes in South India especially Wayanad live with a lost identity. They believe that they shouldn't have been born where they are now. The majority of the tribes don't have land in their own homeland. They are not entitled to sell their land if at all they have."

- Vijayan Cherukara, 02.03.16.

Though lately there are reports similar to the Muthanga incident[16] of violent revolts and agitations by Adivasi's, year after year, the number of landless families is still on the rise in Wayanad. In 1976 there were 3,549 who possessed land but by 2001 there was a seven-fold increase in this number to 22,491 (Bijoy and Raman: 2003). This shows the gross state of affairs with regard to displacement and dispossesses of land assets from the hands of tribal communities. It was at this juncture during 2001 that C.K Janu and Geethanandan as a part of Adivasi Dalit Samara Samiti (Tribal Protest Forum) started massive agitation for Adivasi rights.

But it was in 2001, these leaders formed the Adivasi Gothra Mahasabha (AGMS, Tribal Grand Assembly) aiming to reach a compromise pact with the state government which sought to complete the land re-distribution for Adivasi's during the calendar year of 2002. This agreement guaranteed 5 acres of land to those Adivasi's who owned less than one hectare of land and then the formation of a Tribal Mission to oversee the implementation of this pact.

As a result of government's mismanagement, the AGMS led Adivasi's forced themselves to occupy land in Muthanga Wildlife Sanctuary. This led to a violent clash between police and Adivasi's killing an Adivasi and a policeman. As we see above, there has been immense records of land struggles and politicization of legitimate claims of the Adivasi population here but unlike the northern parts of the country, we do not find separate struggles for the Forest Rights Bill (Chemmencheri: 2013). This urge was never felt because the state government from time to time were legislating

---

[16] The Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS) gathered in Muthanga and protested against the government delay in allotting land which had been agreed in 2001 for Adivasi's. Kerala Police opened several rounds of fire against them and killed two people including one police officer. This incident is a huge blackspot in the history of Kerala and came to be commonly refered as the Muthanga incident of 2003.

toothless, disingenuous and two-faced enactments which acted as a pressure release valve, says Vijayan Cherukara, Secretary, CPI District Committee[17].

Picture 2. A displaced set of people as a result of tourism projects

- Manmathan Paaly (a Paniya hamlet of 28 families)

Source: EQUATIONS – *On the Brink: The tragedy of forest governance: A Status Report on Forest Governance and Tourism*, 2012

3.3.1 Tribal land related legislations of Kerala

Kerala state government have passed many land related legislations in the past as given in the table below. The 1963 – Kerala Land Reform Act was one of the foremost legislations for redistribution of land but this was condemned for not benefitting the Adivasis whereas the non-Adivasi's got the advantage. In the year 2003, Bijoy and Raman cites episodes of an emerging trend which saw short term lease agreements were made by the non-tribal sections for cultivation which they later

---

[17] Interview; 02/03/16, Kalpetta, Wayanad

converted by registering as being tenants of the land to claim titles to the land. This process disposed of the tribal land owner.

Table 9. Tribal land related legislations passed in Kerala

1963	Kerala Land Reform Act
1972	Kerala Private Forest (Vesting and Assignment) Act
1975	The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act
1999	The Kerala Restriction on Transfer by and Restoration of Lands to Scheduled Tribes Act
2006	Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Rights) Act of India

Source: Chemmencheri, 2013

Similarly, other laws as listed above in the table also were implemented but without any effectiveness. In the year 1972, about 23,000 ha of land were identified as per the Kerala Private Forest (Vesting and Assignment) Act. This exercise was aborted soon until the year 1975, when Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act was passed. Ms. Suma Visnhudas[18] summarised that this Act quashed all the land dealings made during the period of 1960-1982, that means it had a retrospective effect on reinstating land to the actual owners but rules under this Act came after a decade since its inception. It anyhow managed to put a serious ban on transferring tribal lands to non-tribals.

However, to claim this Adivasi's had to pay a compensation amount which was almost same as the original amount obtained by them when they sold their lands.

---

[18] Interview; 08/08/2016, Kalpetta

They were eligible to avail a loan from the state government to pay this and repay the government in 20 years time but these conditions became impediment for them to get their land back (Bijoy: 1999). The 1999 Act, 'The Kerala Restriction on Transfer by and Restoration of Lands to Scheduled Tribes Act' stated to condone the encroachment of land holdings up till two hectares of land, negating the need for recovery of alienated lands. There was also a provision to assign land elsewhere to those claims which were below two hectares. This law had the consensus of all the political parties in Kerala as there was a general belief that the Act of 1975 was disadvantageous to the non-tribal settlers of Wayanad.

3.3.2 Decentralisation through Forest Rights Act

It was in the year 1992 that convened an era of participatory democracy through 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments added Part IX of the Indian Constitution. As per the Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA) of 1995 the title of 'Panchayats' were extended to cover Scheduled Areas. This led to the formation of village councils or panchayats in the tribal areas of the nation. Community Forest Management Programmes and Joint Forest Management Programme were the guiding courses of action on which efforts were made to decentralise. However, criticism stirs up from various quarters due to limited participation of communities in the entire process of decision making. Forest Department's reluctance to devolve power was a key concern in this entire process because this was the only way in which state government could exercise their control over forest resources.

This approach shed light to the actual political intentions of the government, however, as a response to the extensive campaigning by tribal rights groups and others from the civil, the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill was introduced in Parliament on 15 December 2005. The Bill, drafted by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, was passed on 18 December 2006 however it took a period of one year for this Act to get published in the Gazette of India on 31st December 2007.

The JPC[19] which reviewed the draft bill emphasised the relevance of this bill saying this stood to fulfill the constitutional mandate under DPSP 39(a), 39(b) and 46. Thus the Act (FRA) states "the guarantee to tribal and other forest dwelling communities the rights to live, fish, extract minor forest produce, graze animals, conserve forests and secure tenure including the right to convert patta (lease) from the government to titles. The process involved in FRA starts by the constitution of FRC's (Forest Rights Committee's) through an election in the neighbourhood group or also known as 'Orukoottam' having people from the same tribe or different. The FRC facilitates the filing of claims by tribes for titles followed by a joint survey which is conducted by the Panchayat Forest Department and Revenue Department, and claims are finalised. These are then passed on to the Sub-Divisional Level Committee (SDLC) and then the District Level Committee (DLC) for approval and issuance of Records of Rights. Petitions against the decision of the FRC can be filed to the SDLC and those against the SDLC to the DLC. The DLC is the final authority on the Record of Rights" (Chemmencheri: 2013).

Figure 1. Organisational Structure of FRA Institutions
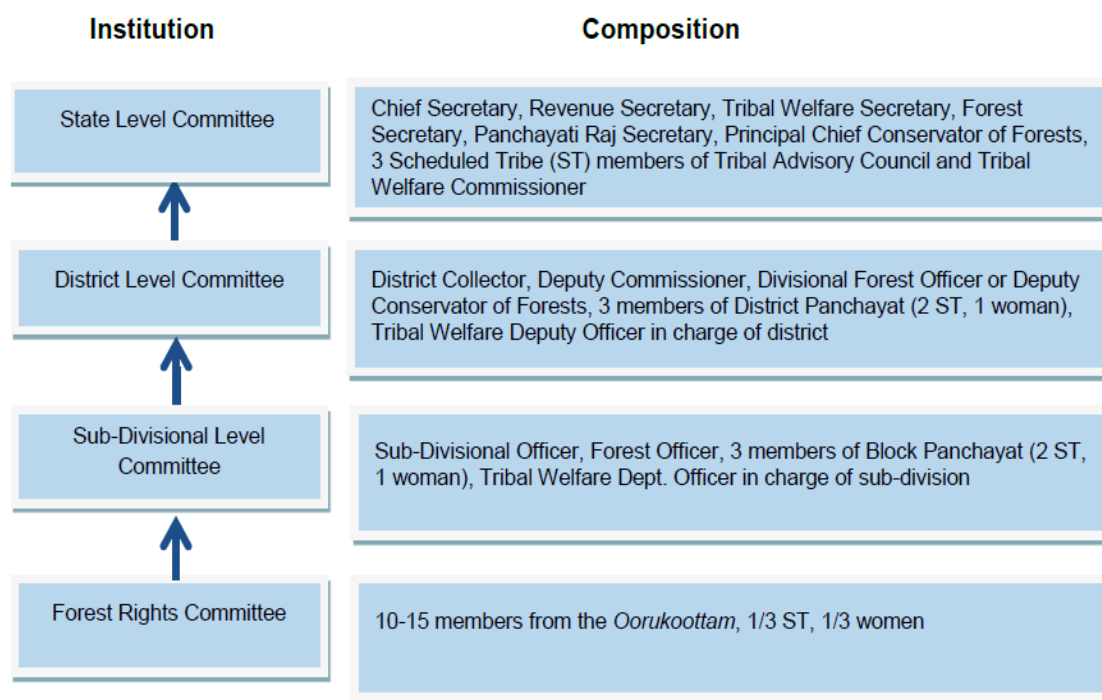
Source: Chemmencheri, Sudheesh R. (2013)

---

[19] Joint Parliamentary Committee

Moreover, through the Panchayat Raj Act, gram sabha has the right to take decisions but the special order has been passed against this by getting a stay to this and by approaching central government to landfill any field and construct any building. According to the new order passed on February 28[th,] a land could be converted into leasable land by paying the three-fourth amount of the determined rate by the government on the land. The government has earned crores in this deal by arranging a platform for the tourist mafia. Today gram sabha has no role in this because a special order from the secretariat against the gram sabha decision's can turn it null. Gadgil report was passed as a milestone in this issue as it points out the emphasis on this topic is in public opinion. According to Gadgil report, the power to decide what to do with the land should be ensured to the native people rather than relying on special orders.

"Gadgil report saw a huge protest against it by the left and right wing parties of Kerala. Congress, Muslim League and Janata Dal who are the allies of UDF and also CPM, CPI, BJP, Catholic Congress are the supporters of this mafia which is ruining the land. They were against the clause that special act holds no value and the right completely remains to the gram sabha regarding what to plant, how to plant, build resorts, turn it into a tourist area or build small houses."

- Sam Mathew (interview; 02.03.16)

According to this report, the authority should be ensured to the local people and this was resisted by the powerful masses. Hence gram sabha holds no importance in this situation and decisions are not taken here. While "Kerala is struggling to settle land rights issue of Adivasis, tourism which is land intensive continues to grow. In August 2012, an amendment has been made to Section 81 of the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1963, according to which up to 5% of plantation land may be diverted for other uses including tourism. These plantations are usually on the boundaries of Sanctuaries, making them perfect tourism destinations and a lucrative business option for plantation owners. By this amendment, 9,874 hectares may be used for tourism and other uses. According to 2003 data, applications for land restoration up to 9,365 hectares are lying with the government. That plantation are being privileged is obvious and by an Act which has been hailed as one of the most progressive laws of independent India. Therefore while Adivasis have been denied access to forest and the

lands bordering the forests, plantations may increase their income manifold. This has resulted in the Adivasi communities taking an antagonistic position vis-a-vis tourism. Prices of lands near tourism destinations have increased. For e.g. in the Chembra peak region, the price of land which was Rs. 5000 per cent is now Rs. 1 lakh per cent. People from outside the region are buying land to later develop as resorts. Finally, a person said that tourism is becoming a back door entry to activities which otherwise do not find state and/or social approval. For e.g. there is a fear tourism projects might be developed as Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) projects and traded on the carbon markets".[20]

3.4 Advent of Tourism in Wayanad

Wayanad Tourism Organisation's (WTO) role was crucial in the development of tourism in Wayanad. It emerged from planning and initiating steps to develop tourism in Wayanad, it is also a forum for local tourism entrepreneurs to express their shared concerns to find a solution through their collective effort, to act as a medium to connect the newly emerging local tourism players and ventures to get connected with the government's tourisms agencies like District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC), mainly for promotion of tourism in Wayanad and its management.

"We also try to inculcate a culture of Responsible Tourism and sustainable tourism that would be more responsive to local ecological and social problems, to expand, evolve, improve the standards, chalk out ways to generate money for the functioning of their association to carry out its activities, and not to divert the generated revenue for any other purpose other than the above objectives."[21] However, as discerned from interaction with members of WTO, this organisation is actively involved in advertising of Wayanad to gain more and more benefits for tourist resorts/ homestays by increasing tourist arrival, a pure business venture for mutual benefit.

In that respect, they conduct several events to reap attention for Wayanad and its unexplored beauty. Splash - monsoon tourism carnival and MTB (Mountain Bike Rally) in Wayanad are the two main programmes conducted by WTO. Splash is a joint venture by Wayanad DTPC, district administration, Kerala tourism department and

---

[20] EQUATIONS – *On the Brink: The tragedy of forest governance - A status Report on Forest Governance and Tourism, 2012.*
[21] Interview; K. Ravindran, 28.02.16

WTO. This is conducted annually, mainly to showcase the tourism possibilities during monsoon period – football tournament in rainy season and another event known as Splash B2B meet takes place which is a meeting place for all buyers and sellers in tourism industry – hoteliers, homestays, agents/ companies and owners in tour operations, medical tourism, resort owner etc. exhibits their products and properties. Similarly, MTB – Mountain Bike Challenge is also conducted to give popularity to Wayanad tourism[22]. In this entire process, WTO's central aim is to maximise profit and does not find tourism as a polluting industry, for there is no harm in the commodification of the environment. Government supports their initiatives whole-heartedly with the conviction that tourism is the only development option left for Wayanad.

This advent of tourism immediately resulted in a decline of conventional livelihood means in Wayanad by heavily impacting the environment. As noted in the field work, there is an over-crowdedness of tourist traffic in national parks and wildlife sanctuaries that disturbs wildlife, and the unrestrained building constructions for the sake of tourism, this alone contributes to much larger concern and worry for the destination community. Since Wayanad is a backward district, tourism projects and initiatives turn a deaf-ear to the tribal people in terms of job opportunities for them and have turned parasitic on the environment to package all that is 'beautiful' into the tourism industry. Here the agrarian base of the economy is rapidly getting superimposed with the tourism development model. This means utilisation of environment for the purpose of tourism projects which also means less land for agriculture and more land for hotels and resorts (Jacob: 2006). The latest plans and proposals in this ecologically fragile zone are the coming up of skyscraper flats and apartments, this design of illegal constructions will mark the beginning of colossal destruction[23].

As a result of the above discussed large-scale, public opinion on tourism, one of the first seminars regarding tourism was organised by organisations like Uravu, EQUATIONS, Pazhassi Raja College and the Tourism Department in the early 2000's. It was a three-day seminar where issues in tourism and revival of

---

[22] ibid and Business Line, July 2013
[23] Interview; BabuRaj, 29.02.16, Wayanad

communities' traditional livelihood options in the context of tourism were discussed. Babu Raj, the executive member of Uravu said "Wayanad Prakriti Samrakshana Samiti was completely against the idea of development through tourism and opposed vehemently, Uravu did not want to negate tourism but wanted to use it in a better way for the people of Wayanad. We wanted panchayats/ local bodies to get more power. Traditional farmers and handicraft workers should have a say in the kind of tourism development which the local bodies put forth. Our main demand was to decentralise tourism".

However, much later in 2007, the government intervened with RT. It was believed to solve all the issues in tourism and spin around the discontents and resentments of the public and create a favourable environment for the tourism development. Today, RT in Vythiri has been extended to Ambalavayal too. The District Coordinator of RT, Mr. Sarish, said "RT has two souvenir shops, Samrudhi units, one eco-shop (not operational now), village visits and we run other campaigns aimed at the removal of plastic from the destination points and initiatives to protect against land sliding dangers, for these activities we work closely with the industry for overall support and gets sponsorships from them. Therefore, today tourism is run under two modes in Wayanad, the first one is the mass tourism spearheaded by DTPC and the RT mode which is again heavily depended on the tourism industry.

3.5 Tourism in Vythiri & Wayanad – A Symbiotic Relationship with the Environment?

Tourism's central claim is about its capacity to transform the local economy through community inter-linkages and economic benefits has given the industry and the government an over-riding power to disregard other impacts. As an example, in the work – 'Tourism and Livelihood – selected experiences from Kerala' (published by KITTS), the parameters used for stating success of tourism initiatives are merely; tourist arrivals, income from transport service and income from homestays but its destructive impact on the ecology [though it] is becoming increasingly visible but conveniently ignored in the context of Wayanad and this beckons a thorough study on the political ecology of development and similarly in other places too. The question that emerges now is - what is the multiplier effect of tourism with regard to its impact on the destruction or conservation of the environment and can the impact on the

environment be undermined due to its overall impact on lives and livelihood expressed in the form of revenue generation alone?

As seen in the previous section on Malabar Migration, the continuation of deforestation practices initiated by the colonisers transformed into an extensive clearance of forest by the settlers, especially during the times of Second World War. "These forest ranges which were previously under different Devaswom Boards[24] were cut down for the cultivation of plantation crops and cash crops. This system of monoculture plantation with its use of pesticides, insecticides, and other practices exploited the soil of Wayanad. These came along with quarrying and deforestation practices for tourism expansion and monoculture plantations which further disturbed the ecological balance. These atrocities aggravated the already existing environmental imbalance. This imbalance was reflected in the reduced harvest in terms of cash crops and gradually affected the plantation. This situation persisted where agriculture failed to produce a profitable harvest even when the market rates were high. It is marked by the advent of the tourism industry in its full vigour"[25]. In the recent times, the tourism industry is on the constant search for more and more destinations and thereby resulting in the growth of hotels and resorts in the adjacent regions as seen in Vythiri where the households have reduced due to mushrooming of resorts.

In Vythiri, Lakkidi is a mountain peak which received rain in abundance. "Due to illegal constructions over the hill, rain has rather become rare. These constructions and projects are acclaimed as developmental projects by the government after receiving crores as bribes which have no developmental motive other than money. These projects are undertaken without a prior study on its repercussions on the environment and the local people. Wayanad, which was previously an agricultural area, fails to produce resources for its own needs due to the variation in topography and climate. An evergreen place like Wayanad faces water scarcity; such has been the fearsome level of environmental degradation here"[26].

---

[24] A government/ society/community owned trust with nominated trustee members to manage the socio-religious affairs of Hindu temples and to ensure smooth administrative functioning on lines of traditional rituals and customs.
[25] Interview; Badushah, 03.03.16
[26] Interview; Bhadushah, 03.03.16, Wayanad

Similarly, Kuruva islands is another famous tourism destination in Wayanad, entry to 7 islands was reduced to 2 islands owing to the agitation put up by the local people recognising the environmental degradation. In some areas, people are evicted from their houses in the name of tourism and not yet completely rehabilitated. In Muthanga, which has now become a business zone, wild animals are hunted down, thousands of rupees are looted under various social forestry projects and illegal trafficking of ivory and sandalwoods from Satyamnagalam and Bandipur are carried out. These are carried out under the garb of tourism projects. Projects like the walking path for elephant is being agreed out now despite the known fact that elephants don't normally take up roads for their search for food and water but this circuit is made for tourist attraction. Crores of rupees are stolen through these rather worthless projects. Muthanga offers big hopes for eco-tourism advocates and hence the current aim is to evacuate the local residents to extract maximum advantage out of the resources there. Illegal brewing is another rampant problem which is conducted in large scale inside the deep forest with the help of officials of the forest department. These are the activities carried out under the larger banner of eco- tourism" says the leader of Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha - C.K Janu.[27]

Likewise, Karapuzha tourism project has evacuated many tribal families without providing proper rehabilitation facilities and this is same in the case with Banasura Sagar Dam Project. Tourism projects have put many lives at stake in various sites in Wayanad. Offers with regard to employment and re-allocation of land remains unfulfilled even after years. Struggles for the inclusion of tribal people often lack public support within the locality because exclusion of tribal people helps the inclusion of non-tribal natives. Most of the employment vacancies which were offered for the tribal people are filled by general category in these tourism projects. Since the swearing in of P K Jayalakshmi[28] as the minister for welfare of backward communities, people of Kurichya tribe started getting jobs at Kuruva islands tourism projects. The local tribes of Vettakuruma and Adiya community who have better knowledge about the local environment were ignored over Kurichya community for the posting of staffs. Suma Vishnudas, a senior researcher at MSSRF agrees to the points made above and further says Tribal Vana Samrakshana Samiti (VSS) had given

---

[27] Interview; 27/02/16, Vellamunda, Wayanad
[28] First minister from Adivasi community (Kurichya tribe) in Kerala government from 2011-2016

jobs to Adivasis here and there are people who do jeep safari at Muthanga and Tholpetty wildlife sanctuaries, they get income from taking tourist around but apart from these marginalised sections like Adivasi's have got no regular permanent jobs.[29]

Picture 3. Sign board signalling the introduction of Elephant Corridor project near Tholpetty, Wayanad

Source: EQUATIONS Report – '*On the Brink: The tragedy of forest governance - A Status Report on Forest Governance and Tourism*'

She added that job irregularities are more pronounced in the case of Pookode Diary Project where non - Adivasi people are given jobs under ST reservation category. This project is yet another example of gross violation of the Forest Rights Act, which sought to enable land ownership for the tribal people. Eventually, neither jobs in the Diary project nor land were given to a large number of Adivasi's. Much of tourism projects in and around Wayanad aims at snatching of land from tribal people and ends up in a land struggle. Projects offer tall claims like better employment opportunity and development which ends up as mere offers for local people,[30] said Bhadushah.

CK Janu further says that Pookode Lake in Vythiri was channelized to drain off water and plans were made to set up plantations on the adjoining mountains and also to construct road around the lake. These plans were prevented and the lake was protected by the 'Wayanad Paristhithi Samrakshana Samithi (WPSS)[31]' along with

---

[29] Interview; 08/08/2016, Kalpetta, Wayanad
[30] Interview; Badushah, 03/03/16, Wayanad
[31] A non-governmental organisation aimed at protection of environment in Wayanad.

few other groups. The coliform[32] level in water still stands high as equal to that of wastewater even after several preventive measures. The lake won't sustain if the present condition persists. There has been no benefit for the people in and around the lake. It is made to be a private property of the District Tourism Council and completely digressed from the local people. The only motive has been to make money out of the lake and a great amount of construction work has been done around the lake ignoring the sustenance of the lake.

Kuruva islands are freshwater islands situated at the origin of Kabani River, unlike other freshwater islands which are situated more towards the ocean. It has an extraordinary range of flora which is surrounded by primitive tribes. These tribes are harassed and commented by tourists who come to visit the Island. It has a complex habitat due to the repeated divergence and joining of different rivers which constitute a group of islands supporting different types of forest in it. It has an amazing range of biodiversity providing a home for rare flora and fauna. This heartland has been tried to destroy by constructing a medicinal plant garden which was opposed by the 'Wayanad Prakriti Samrakshana Samiti'. The retained resources at Kuruva are commercialised and destroyed in the name of tourism. As mentioned earlier, with the escalation of tourism industry in Wayanad, building of residential flats began in the locality without considering the surrounding environment and demography of the place. There is a deplorable change in the climatic conditions. Different tourism projects disturb the natural balance in Wayanad which is reflected through climatic variations. Previously unoccupied areas are mushroomed by concrete buildings which are indeed alarming transformations and single earthquake on slopes will engulf the whole valley with debris.[33]

Tourism projects are often evaluated on the basis of foreign exchange earnings, income generated, high-rise and plush resorts, the number of staffs employed, the number of rooms and types of amenities that could be offered to the guests etc. "The extent of land destruction in tourism is much lesser compared to mining because from the environment point of view insinuations emerging from tourism industry are far better than the coal mine industry is the argument from tourism industry's side"

---

[32] Coliform bacteria are mostly used to show the quality of water and food.
[33] Interview, C.K Janu, 27.02.16, Panavelli, Wayanad

articulates Ms. Swathi Seshadri[34]; Area Coordinator at EQUATIONS, an organisation working on tourism issues. However, its effects on the environment and livelihood of the local people are often considered dismal thus neglected comfortably.

Picture 4. Multi-storied hotels and flats in environmentally fragile areas in Wayanad

Source: Wayanad: A case of Kerala's environmental degradation, accessed online. Click here to see more

This neglect has led to an acute agrarian crisis and the main reason is the stumbling of ecological balance. Managing director of Wayanad Agriculture and Spices Producer Company (WASP), Mr. Narayanan's[35] views are in conformity with Badushah's views here when they say that in India, the agrarian crisis is not a rare phenomenon as it is found throughout the country and reasons are many but Wayanad's case is a bit different as it has emerged as a result of the disturbed ecology. Agrarian crisis in Wayanad points to the disturbed ecology in terms of its endemic topographical atmosphere along with fall in the price of crops unlike in Vidarbha where the collapse of the price of crops solely affected the agriculture. The destruction of its unique environment supplemented by its terrain, grasslands, rain, springs, and altitude in Wayanad has literally made agriculture impossible.

---

[34] Interview; 29/01/16, Bangalore
[35] Interview; Narayanan, 26/02/16, Panamaram, Wayanad

The Kerala Biodiversity Board's report findings show that Wayanads agro-ecosystem had lost 160 varieties of rice, 12 varieties of pepper, 13 types of banana, and numerous vegetables and tubers (GoK, 2011). "An emerging tourism industry in the district is now creating new conflicts over land and other diminishing resources. Higher land prices and a growing population are increasingly limiting farmers access to cultivable land, agricultural land is being sacrificed for the tourism business. All the districts farming communities are experiencing high levels of alienation of land and resources, and Wayanad is currently witnessing large-scale emigration by farmers. Kurichya joint families are still maintaining their cultivable land as a healthy ecosystem, with rich biodiversity and water under collective ownership. However, mainstream development processes and state land governance laws that do not recognise collective ownership are coming in conflict with the Kurichya system and exerting pressure on them" [36] (Suma: 2014).

At a more micro level, places like Vythiri, Mupainad, Mepadi are the most affected areas in Wayanad district. Vythiri panchayat and Mupainad panchayat are the two areas which are prone to the dangerous geographical phenomenon known as land slipping because most of the mountains and hills are destructed and landfills are found. This is affecting the sustainability and weather condition of Wayanad and today, there are various resorts and homestays coming up in these forest areas. They use generators at night, light and sound from these resorts travel up to a range of kilometers inside the forest areas. This sound and light produced along with the smoke generated by the kitchen factories pull out the wild animals from the interiors of forest and as expected, this causes an unpleasant atmosphere inside the forest.[37] This situation would lead to man-animal conflict and thereby the rise in demand from Adivasi's to have a safer place for them to stay.

There are resorts built even on the land of Adivasis. Naturally, when the wild animals evacuate out of the interior forest they destroy the agricultural fields resulting in a miserable living condition in the forest areas. We can never see such a scenario in the history of Wayanad which affected the agricultural sector as well as the wild

---

[36] A study titled '*Customary vs state law of land governance: Adivasi joint family farmers seek policy support: The case of Kurchiya joint families in Wayanad, southern India*' by MSSRF and International Land Coalition, November 2014. To see the study click here
[37] Interview; Sam Mathew, 02.03.2016, Wayanad

animals. There are two major problems related to this. First one is the unpleasant atmosphere in the interior region of forest due to these activities. The second one is the unpleasant atmosphere in the surroundings of the forest. Along with this comes the afforestation programme of government which has turned the forest into barren regions. Foreign trees planted inside the forest like eucalyptus, acacia, and mahogany in the name of afforestation has denied food for the wild animals from the forest which result in the evacuation of animals from the forest areas. This situation along with the attack caused by tourism development activities becomes the reason for the dreadful situation of wild animals attack. Such different types of attacks due to tourism are affecting Wayanad region today.[38]

The second one is that the small scale industries are least beneficiaries of this as it completely benefits the large scale resort mafia. Tourists are intercepted from the local shops and stalls as they provide food and all the requirements inside. Small scale shops are benefited only by the tourists who live in the local homestays and lodges but these are very few in numbers. Thus, it is not at all benefiting the small scale industries of Wayanad. Tourist centers and governmental bodies like DTPC, tourism department are the only beneficiaries in this. Its benefits are not coming into the common shopkeepers as they provide with all the facilities starting from the basic one to the most modern high tech facilities. They provide alcohol, vehicles, prostitutes and charge inside their compound which intercepts their customers from the local shops which benefit them with high profit (ibid).

Therefore, tourism cannot ensure development for a locality or a society as it impacts the environment negatively. The only return through tourism is the monetary benefit for the government. Tourism restricts the sustainable model of resource collection done by tribal people within the forest. The traditional cultivation was rice cultivation which has become a rarity in Wayanad owing to the new rules and regulations. Apart from few odd jobs, most people go to Coorg for its employment needs where they work in farmlands and they are exploited by land owner by supplying liquor to make them work longer and also to compensate for the lesser wage. The environment is the rudimentary base of Wayanad's all development options as it is interconnected with the lives and livelihoods here and as seen above

---

[38] Interview, C.K Janu, 27.02.16, Panavelli, Wayanad

that tourism projects destroys the life and livelihood of the immediate locality apart from its ecological balance. As per cited above examples, projects destructing the local environment are favoured over ones which protect and preserve the natural habitat thus raising serious questions about tourism's symbiotic relationship with the environment in Wayanad.

3.6 Politics of Local Resistance against Tourism Initiatives

The Edakkal caves were the first tourist point to attract the first tourist to Wayanad, these are a significant ancient rock art, one among the two rock art centres in the world. Studies on these rock scriptures have not yet been complete which should have been recognised as a historical legacy. Quarries have been set up around these rocks thirty years back destroying these ancient scriptures. Drunken tourists destroyed the scriptures by overwriting on them. This ruination of historical legacy was put to an end by creating a committee including renowned Historians and activist which decided to guard the rock scriptures with an iron gate weighing 1000 kg. It was decided that people should not enter to this area and its key was submitted to the collector. It was the collective effort of around 60 people in a day to carry the gate up the hill to prevent further damage to the Edakkal caves. There was also a struggle to close down the quarry which posed a great threat to the cave. The collector who ordered for the close down of the quarry was transferred and the order was cancelled by the Government of Kerala under K. Karunakaran. It was the effort of historians like Romila Thapar and Irfan Habib, who was the then members of Indian Council of Historical Research, which resulted in an order by the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to close down the quarry. Later the key was collected by DTPC and destructive tourism resumed. There is no move to conserve the Edakkal complex protecting the rocks except for few merchants who are local people and there is no much benefit for the native people including the primitive tribes by the tourism.[39]

Another instance was when Social forestry was carried out by planting Acacia on Brahmagiri Hills, Banasura Hill and Chembra Hills in 1985. These plants were planted on the slopes of these hills which will result in soil erosion under heavy rain. Wayanad Prakriti Samrakshana Samiti (WPSS) as a collective group went and

---

[39] Interview; Thomas Ambalavayal, 01.03.16, Meenangadi, Wayanad

uprooted these plants after two vain requests to Social forestry group to remove these saplings. It resulted in a huge turmoil and the activists were charged for uprooting these saplings and case was carried out for almost ten years. These acacia trees would have been responsible for the destruction of these hills if they were allowed to grow on these hills.[40]

Vythiri has seen disputes, protest and resistances when the government allocated the Adivasi land for the purpose of Kerala Veterinary and Animal Sciences University (KVASU). As we have seen the natural disasters like Uttarakhand in 2013, landslides in Pune during 2014 and earthquakes of Nepal in 2015, the District Collector issued restrictions to control the illegal building of high rises in the hill district in June 2015 and he was quoted as saying;

"...high rise buildings are posing threat to environmental sustainability of Wayanad district. It is a cause of environmental degradation. The presence of high-rise buildings in a high altitude landscape can cause landslides and earthquakes. The threat is serious and devastating as it will cause the destruction of human life, flora, and fauna along with the collapse of surrounding landscape, in the case of a landslide or earthquake."

He could do this by invoking the provisions of Disaster Management Act, the then District Collector restricted buildings to a maximum of 5 floors (15 meters) in the municipality areas, environmentally vulnerable Lakkidi areas to2 floors (8 meters) and other areas in the district to 3 floors (10 meters). "He had directed secretaries of all panchayats, municipalities and other authorities to refrain from giving permissions for new construction of any structures beyond certain height limits"[41]. This soon turned out to be a political issue when the then CM of the UDF government in Kerala took exception to the case and said his government does not favour the collector's policy which was taken in haste and passed an order lifting the restrictions.

Lately, "there has been an attempt to declare Wayanad Wildlife Sanctuary as a Tiger Reserve. While the procedure to do so has not yet been initiated, displacement from the Wildlife Sanctuary using the Centrally Sponsored Scheme (CSS) of Rs. 10

---

[40] Interview; Abu Thalipuzha, 02.03.16, Kalpetta, Wayanad
[41] "Proceedings of the Chairman, District Disaster Management Authority and the District Magistrate, Wayanad 2014/21178/12/H3, dated: 30.06.2015", available online: Click here.

lakh package to relocate people has already begun. The forest department has tried to convince most villages inside the Sanctuary and the periphery of the forests to relocate. Some of those who agreed like Palli Vayil have already been relocated using this scheme. There, however, is resistance from most of the villages. In Wayanad, political parties and people's movements are the 2 most impactful groups who intervene on the issue of forest rights. The CPI and CPI (M) have mobilised and worked on the issue. In terms of people's movements, the Adivasi Aikya Samiti is currently actively working on the issue of forest and land rights in the district" (EQUATIONS Report; 2012).

3.7 Role of Women in the Tourism-Development Rhetoric

Tourism industry projects a participatory role for women and under the banner of Responsible Tourism which works in tandem with projects like Kudumbashree in Vythiri, Alleppey, and Kumbalangi added with the constitutional provision of thirty percent reservation for women in panchayat etc. has undoubtedly enabled the general women participation in the society. Uravu's role is significant in capacity building aimed at revival of traditional livelihood options of Adivasi's by selecting women and giving them training on methods of bamboo processing and then later these women started imparted training. In other tourism initiatives also we find representations given to address the issue of gender equality in terms of participation in society. However, moving away from these novel attempts we see token representations too. Mr. Vishnudas opined that we find more vulnerability hidden for women in this sector primarily because the tourism policy does not talk directly about women participation, regulations and safeguards. When tourism industry talks about job creation, or women it has got limited to kitchen and housekeeping jobs in resorts and as cleaning staff at the destinations managed by District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC)[42]. For that matter, DTPC - Wayanad itself has no women representation; it's an all men organisation. A visit to one of the main destinations centre of DTPC i.e. Pookode Lake revealed after discussion with the staff present there that there were 35 staff in total of which 5 men were permanent staff of DTPC and rest 30 women were temporary cleaning staff arranged through the support of Kudumbashree administered by Community Development Scheme (CDS).

---

[42] Interview; 08/08/16, Kalpetta, Wayanad

Mr. Badushah, an environmentalist, and social activists, feels that resorts and homestays force the communities around them to facilitate a mode of tourism called sex tourism. Agents or middlemen encourage this and it becomes a business own its own. Tribes including women indulge in drinking and cases of rapes have also been reported. These incidences and practices have emerged out of their impoverished conditions and are considered early indicators of the extinction of the tribes. Local governing body like panchayath doesn't interfere in these practices which pose a great challenge to the sustenance of an entire ecosphere. Homestays are mushrooming everywhere and in some cases, it ends up in prostitution which eventually affects the tribal community. He further cites an example without revealing many details that recently a DTPC guide in Muthanga, along with few national and international tourists created a ruckus in an area by giving alcohol to tribal people and tried to abuse them. The youth among the tribal tried to respond and they were charged for 'disrespecting the guests of the nation'. On another occasion in Kuruva, few tourists tried to abuse tribal women and it ended up in a fight between tourists and local people where the local people were again charged for disrespecting the tourists[43]. Ms. Suma Vishnudas, a researcher at MS Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) said: "I did hotel management course but after doing an internship for a month I decided that I will never return to this industry".

When these issues exist in the tourism world the RT initiative started kicked off well by engaging Kudumbashree women in their community – industry interface setting but in the last few years, the number of participating hotels/resorts in RT has reduced. The women participants of RT said there has been an increase in their income comparatively and feels good about the initiative but this has not reached a wide section of the population. The RT shops have slowly diversified to a range of products and not just locally made products which they sell to the resorts and thereby defeating the purpose but too much reliance on the mainstream tourism industry itself has caused this situation.

---

[43] Interview; 03/03/16, Wayanad

3.8 Politics of Tourism in Wayanad

"An emerging tourism industry in the district is now creating new conflicts over land and other diminishing resources. Higher land prices and a growing population are increasingly limiting farmers access to cultivable land, agricultural land is being sacrificed for the tourism business. All the districts farming communities are experiencing high levels of alienation of land and resources, and Wayanad is currently witnessing large-scale emigration by farmers. Kurichya joint families are still maintaining their cultivable land as a healthy ecosystem, with rich biodiversity and water under collective ownership. However, mainstream development processes and state land governance laws that do not recognise collective ownership are coming in conflict with the Kurichya system and exerting pressure on them." [44]

As learned from the overview, socio-economic profile, issues, and evolution of tourism in Wayanad we see tourism here is a product of political motivations and aspirations guided by the economic stimulus. This is achieved through displacement of the Adivasi community, environmental degradation, and agrarian deprivation. But the co-existence of mass tourism and RT had given rise to a vibrant situation in Vythiri and Ambalavayil through the interplay of institutional actors in this field. They are the state government (in the form of DTPC and RT), panchayat and the tourism industry itself (comprising of hotels and resorts).

The DTPC is the decentralised administrative decision-making body of the state's tourism department within Kerala but for the purpose of decentrailsed development, panchayat is also technically entrusted as the main unit of governance at the local level. DTPC is mainly engaged with development, promotion, and management of destinations. Mr. Hari, Manager of DTPC – Wayanad said we take up conservation roles as well and our functioning is well within the principles of RT. In fact, "RT was first functioning under DTPC which later got shifted to GTPAC as nodal agency then to KITTS[45]". This was out rightly negated by Mr. Saroop Roy who said RT initiative was never with DTPC. He added, "once RT started getting recognitions worldwide like the UN Ulysses Tourism awards there are various groups

---

[44] Customary vs state law of land governance: Adivasi joint family farmers seek policy support: The case of Kurichya joint families in Wayanad, southern India, MSSRF and International Land Coalition, November 2014.

[45] Interview; 01/03/16, Wayanad

trying to corner this as their achievement[46]". This shows the rift between these departments and as a result at the ground level also they operate separately. In this context, panchayats changing role is important here.

Kerala is a place where on paper all the powers rest with panchayats with regard to economic activity, licenses and constructions etc lie with the local self-governing institutions. Ex-panchayat president of Vythiri, Mr. Gagarin says "panchayat has the final power to approve a resort project and for its construction but before coming to the panchayat level, a district level committee is formed to decide upon this and then it is forwarded to panchayat for permission. It is not that the decision is taken completely upon by the panchayat level. Only when certain issues come up we look back. Initially, the only requirement is let the development happen by building and construction of new projects and resorts and then later when various issues come up we make necessary interventions. We make sure that if any inappropriate steps are taken by such projects then local society also do take up role and do come out to protest. Vythiri panchayat is one of the richest panchayats because of the revenue generated from these resorts as building-tax and so on, from a panchayats point of view this is a significant source of income which cannot be discounted."[47]

The present panchayat president of Vythiri, Ms. Usha Kumari remarked that the "knowledge and information regarding tourism as development is really important and at the panchayat level we are not so well equipped. Those people who understood tourism and made a switch to tourism make benefit out of it. We at the panchayat level do not even have an account of how many tourists visit our villages at various destinations."

This is in conformity with Principal Tourism Secretary Mr. Venu views reported in the work by Ms. Vidya Rangan (2011) that panchayats rarely exercise their powers. Panchayats are coming into grips with their powers so they cannot be expected to work in an orderly and matured fashion while implementing policies. Most of the times they ask for technical support with regard to tourism projects as they hold no expertise." Both the presidents and a member Ms. Beena who were

---

[46] Interview; 22/02/17, Thiruvananthapuram
[47] Interview; 01/03/16, Vythiri, Wayanad

interviewed feel that panchayats role should be that of a facilitator for expansion of tourism industry where there will be mutual benefit.

However, though the RT movement successfully generated a discourse of panchayats role in giving space or playing the part of an interface setup between the industry who are the dominant actors and the local population. Mr. Saroop Roy, Assistant Professor at KITTS and person-in-charge of RT and Mr. Roopesh Kumar, the state co-ordinator of RT remembers the enthusiasm with which Mr. Gagarin welcomed RT to Vythiri and how actively he participated in the whole initiative during his term as the panchayat president. Despite all these efforts today direct control over the tourism economy rests with tourist resorts without much-concerted efforts to revive or strengthen the RT discourse.

3.9 Conclusion

The act of travelling existed since time immemorial but when it takes the shape of a huge business enterprise it becomes threatening. Tourism persisted for various reasons like for knowledge or to vent out the natural drive for movement etc. As the world developed, pilgrimages began. But recent day tourism has made travel as a big industry where the rights of marginalised communities get questioned and compromised as in the case of Adivasis of Wayanad. Tourism is often circulated as a pollution-free industry when it actually pollutes the air, the water, and the soil as any other industry or even more than any other industry. Tourism and environmental conservation can never go hand in hand as it also pollutes the society which is left unaffected by other industries. Ideally, tourism should not interfere in a society like Wayanad. The conventional mode of life is disturbed by the interruptions caused by the tourism industry by means of industrialization and business enterprise.

The new venture marketed as Responsible Tourism though comes with the intention of setting up community inter-linkages they get thwarted under the existing power EQUATIONS which is dominated by the clique in the tourism industry and resort mafias. Local governing bodies like panchayat welcome tourism without putting any restrictions and do not interfere with their activities. There is no voice for public opinion on the setting up of a resort and no such discussions are mediated by the governing bodies and eventually affluent magnates surpass any kind of troubles

with their money and establish their ventures. Thus tourism in Wayanad has been the case more of tribal displacement, environmental degradation, and agricultural deprivation.

CHAPTER – 4

Kumbalangi: A Receding Fishing Village &

A Dwindling Tourist Spot

Kumbalangi is a small traditional fishing island village in the Ernakulam district of Kerala. It is located in the south-western part of Kochi city bordering with Alleppey district. Apart from the operational aspects of tourism here, the attempt to transform Kumbalangi from an agrarian village to a model tourism village and its development experience is the primary subject of enquiry in this field based chapter. This region also later became a testing ground under the aegis of Responsible Tourism Initiative in Kerala which is an off-shoot of the developmental policies of state-government. The certain interesting context in which tourism evolved in this region, its organization, commodification of its rural distinctiveness and resources, tourism's scale and scope throws open more questions than answers and certainly this points towards the political intensions along with socio-economic implications which is very much embedded in the tourism development process here.

4.1 Overview of Kumbalangi

Kumbalangi used to be a quiet agrarian and fishing island village on the outskirts of Ernakulam district in the state of Kerala before identifying its tourism potential. Tourism development process took shape here in the name of Model Tourism Village to advertise its rustic beauty and since then the village is subjected to aggressive marketing strategies to draw more and more tourist to this tourist spot by both public and private agencies. To the outside world, Kochi (the Queen of Arabian Sea) is a much more known city and a tourist destination in Ernakulam district but Kumbalangi's 'model tourism village' is the latest addition to the list of tourist attractions here alongside Kochi. It is the southernmost point of Ernakulam district and lies adjacent to Alleppey district. For administrative purpose, both these places – Kochi and Kumbalangi fall under Ernakulam district which in the year 2014 alone

accounted for 3,72,997 tourist arrivals[1] (Tourism Statistics, 2014, GOK) which makes this district with the highest tourist arrivals in Kerala.

Kumbalangi alone also has seen steep rise in its tourist visitors over the years and this is primarily because of its close proximity to the Kochi city. Apart from that, it has quite a long stretch of appealing ardent backwaters and is well connected to the waterways and roadways transportation system of Kerala. By road it is 45 kms and 15 kms from Kochi airport and Ernakulam railway station to this village, respectively. At present, this panchayat has got a land area of around 15.21 sq. km and consists of 17 wards. The panchayat stretches for a length of 5.21 kms and width of 1.5 km and this island village is connected to mainland Kochi with a bridge[2].

Table 10. Tourist arrivals in Ernakulam district

Year	Tourist Arrivals
2011	2,351,631
2012	2,169,426
2013	2,897,887
2014	3,097,715
Source: Tourism Statistics, Government of Kerala – 2012, 2013 & 2014.	

However, despite the vantage point it held in terms of its touristic value the island village's inception to the overall tourism activity is of recent origin. There are three parts to Kumbalangi island – Kumbalangi, Kallancherry and Anjilithara. This island is connected to "backwaters of Perumpadappu and Kannamaly in the north, Ezhupunna lake in the south, Eddakochi and Aroor backwaters in the east and Chellanam – Pandikudy road, Kannamaly and Ezhupunna backwaters in the west" (Abraham: 2011). Historically, Kumbalangi region was ruled by Edappally kingdom which later got acquired by the Kochi kingdom. It is learned that Travancore kings also waged wars for Kumbalangi and ruled over some parts but Kallenchery region always

---

[1] Tourist arrivals in 2013 was 3, 52,314 to Ernakulam district, thus by 2014 there was an increase of _%. (20,583 visitors)
[2] Census data - 2011 and Panchayat records

belonged to the British under their Madras province (ibid). It should also be stated here that there are very few books written on Kumbalangi, among them few are: Kumbalangi Grammam Charithrathintte Edukalil (1988) written by Bercumen J, Professor K.V Thomas have written four books based on real life situations and humorous stories of Kumbalangi people, they are; Kumbalangi Flash, Kumbalangi Varnangal, Ente Kumbalangi, Kumbalangi Kaleidoscope: Nerum Nerampokkukalum. All these books cut across life and lifestyle of the people of Kumbalangi and draws vastly upon the sustainable rustic beauty and rural distinctiveness.

Map 2. Kumbalangi near Kochi in Kerala
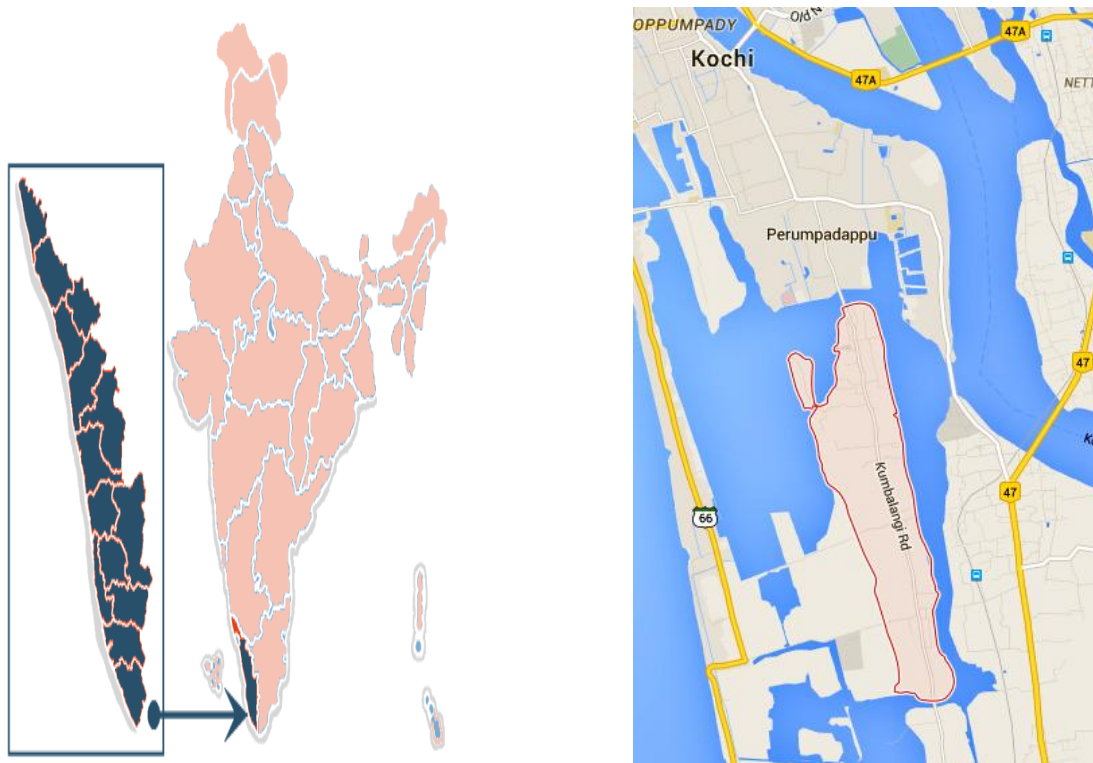
Sources: Maps of India and Google map website.

Kumbalangi as a region is not just unique mere in terms of its rural distinctiveness but the kind of traditional livelihood options, local cuisines, coir looms, fish farms, prawn culture, crab farming, country boat building and cruises, masonry, traditional art/ dance forms and practices of people here and the projected prospects of tourism here constitute a great deal to its distinctiveness. Apart from agriculture, coir spinning and indigenous fishing used to be the two main traditional sources of livelihood for the local people. Fishing was in so many different methods like handpicking

(thappipidutham), hooks and lines, chinese fishing nets (cheena vala), traps, cast nets (veesuvala), seines (neettuvala operation) and gill nets etc and traditional dance forms included parichamuttukali (sword and shield dance), chavittu nadakam (stamping drama) and kaikotikali (play by clapping hands). Pearlsport (Karimeen), Tilapia, Prawns, Crabs, Shellfish, Paral, Mussels[3] and Oysters etc. are the types of fish/ marine resources which constitute the main share of fauna here and coconut tree, areca nut and mangrove forest[4] forms the major share of flora. Clam meat from edible molluscs continues to be a speciality and it used to be the villager's forte in the technique of separating clam meat from its shell, this used to be a popular traditional activity which could be easily sighted at any nook and cranny of the village. Apart from these, pokkali paddy fields (a system in which paddy and shrimp are grown alternately in the same field), cashew nuts, orchids etc. are also seen at large here and are sights of tourist attraction. Thus, this panchayat used to be home to farmers, fisher folks, coir spinners, boat builders and toddy tappers but today the majority work force are industrial and construction workers for the growing nearby Kochi city's demand.

With these picture perfect set of ingredients to display a village and picturesque landscape, discussions on transforming Kumbalangi to a tourist hotspot started in early 2002 and consequently, Kumbalangi Integrated Tourism Village Project was launched during 2003 with the idea to transform this small fishing rural community to a tourist spot by projecting the charm of a traditional fishing village, which has not yet been taken over by high rise buildings and sky scrapers and to generate income from this serenity. Opening up the village for tourist to completely appreciate and relish in the variety of natural beauty and ecological balance of this place. The main tourist spots in the village were identified as pokkali paddy fields, coconut processing units (kopra), fish ponds, crab and prawn farms, Chinese fishing nets, recreational park, St. Joseph's church, Sacred Heart church, St. George church, Shri Bhuvaneswary temple, Shri. Subramanya Temple, Illickal Arthanareeswary temple and tourist activities include from bird watching, nature walks/ village tour, participating in tourism fest organized annually and every day cruises in the country boats. Usually, November to February is the peak tourism season in Kerala; this remains same in case of

---

[3] Mussels"are the largest marine phylum, comprising about 23% of all the named marine organisms. Numerous molluscs also live in freshwater and terrestrial habitats.

[4] Mangroves are shrubs or small trees that grow in coastal saline or brackish water. The term is also used for tropical coastal vegetation consisting of such species."

Kumbalangi as well, however, due to the proximity to Kochi seaport, Kumbalangi gets bulk of its visitors from ships round the calendar year.

Tour packages, village tours and accommodation business are now mainly taken up by agencies/ homestays like Kallancherry Retreat, Gramam Homestay, Lal's Backwater Homestay, Arshatheeram Resort, Palette Green Homestay, Edakkattu Villa, Michael's Land Resort, West Wind Homez, Aquatic Floating Resort (Asia's first floating resort) etc. There are roughly 20 licensed homestays in Kumbalangi[5] however this research could find only West Wind Homestay, Kallanchery Retreat and Lal's Backwaters under the Kerala tourism department's list of classified homestays but most of these are locally owned and one resort (Aquatic) owned by Chennai based private (Poppys) hotel group. And very soon this village started getting promoted in the global tourism circles and there were impulsive and overwhelming praise and recognition for such an eco-friendly approach to tourism.

However, the development of Kumbalangi as a tourism destination was not natural because tourism did not develop on its own here. Though it was premised on the serenity and tranquillity but it was the result of a conscious political decision through a policy intervention since the turn of the millennium in the name of 'Kumbalangi Integrated Tourism Village Project'. The need to convert an agrarian village to a prime tourist hotspot was created aiming to popularise the village in Kerala and to achieve a special status among other villages in Kerala. The idea was to promote Kumbalangi or to package Kumbalangi differently to the outside world such as 'Model Tourism Village', 'God's own Village', and 'Eco-tourism Village' etc in-order to make it visible among the other tourist destinations of Kerala and also to make it appealing in the name of sustainable rustic tourism. In this endeavour Kerala government was whole heartedly supported by the government of India.

However, the degree of tourism activity remains un-comparable between Kochi and Kumbalangi but being an adjacent pristine island village and due to several marketing strategies used now there is a steady increase in the number of tourist to Kumbalangi village.

---

[5] From interview with John Pazheri, 02/02/16; license from the local panchayat.

Picture 5.Aquatic Floating Resort, Kumbalangi

Source: Official Resort Website

Consequently, this panchayat was identified and later won the Nirmal Gramam Award and in the year 2006, Kumbalangi Tourism Village bagged Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) - Gold Award for Ecotourism (keralatourism.org). This project was jointly funded by the government of India and UNDP. Adding more flavour to the set of awards and recognitions, recently the architect of Aquatic Floating Resort in Kumbalangi, Thommen Mathew has won a special acclamation for his design at the Indian Institute of Architects Awards for excellence in architecture, according to the newspaper reports.[6]

"Only 10 percent of Kumbalangi Model Tourism Development – a dream project of Prof. K V Thomas is accomplished and the rest is yet to happen".

- M. P Shivadattan[7]

---

[6] May 13th, The New Indian Express.
[7] Interview; 08/02/2016, Thoppumpady, Kochi

Picture 6. Demonstration of coconut dehusking at Kallanchery Retreatin Kumbalangi

Source: accessed a tour guides (Biju's) personal photos

But the point of inquiry and contradiction here is that, when more than 90 percent of the project is lacking and when about 90 percent of villagers are untouched by tourism as observed from field work, and interviews conducted with two ex-panchayat president's of Kumbalangi village confirms to the Model Tourism Development Project as an incomplete and failed project, there has to be serious contentions for the awards and recognitions showered on this village. Nevertheless, there has to be severe levels of implications arising from the kind of tourism development the village is witnessing or the way in which tourism activity is organized here.

Tourism as organised here and perceived by tourist before visiting this village is an activity where a trained guides takes tourist outside for countryside walk, auto rickshaw tour of village (aka. Tuktuk tour) and cycling tour to experience and see

local temples, churches, heritage spots and toddy tappers at work etc. A peek into the lives of village life where the guest would get a feel of villagers engaged in their traditional sources of livelihood activities and it is advertised[8] like wise to the outside world by private players and the District Tourism Promotion Council, Ernakulam – a decentralized agency for tourism promotion at the district level.

But in reality what is more jarring is that, the above mentioned tour agencies and homestays arrange a demonstration of coir yarn processing, copra processing, crab farm visit, clam meat processing, Chinese net operation, toddy tapping, weaving coconut leaves, country boating, casting of nets etc. which is indeed more a sign of unsustainable traditional livelihood activities. It raises more questions than answers to sound minds. This because the scope for actual production or any form of community linkages are limited here and if there is any sort of production then it not owned by the marginal fisher folks of the village. Their involment in tourism itself is controlled by the local clique here. Lakshmi Sharath captures these issues quite succinctly in her travel blog.

"We spent a few more hours talking to many locals who were amused at the attention given to them. Old Elizabeth was very happy when I took her picture and she mentioned that a couple of foreigners had done the same as well. She cracked up as a couple of other women told her to pose and she mentioned about how pretty she looked in her youth. Her golden earrings, she mentioned were very characteristic of her community – The Latin Catholics and so was the dress she was wearing..When I thanked her, she said, 'What only thanks...Nothing else?' I smiled and we got talking with another family. I asked them a bit about Kumbalangi and they said, there is nothing really here...just walk around, relax – there is fishing and lots of foreigners come over."

- A travel blog of an Indian backpacker, November 2010

From the above quote, it is clear when the old woman asks "what only thanks....nothing else?" because this is a very colloquial way of asking for more

---

[8] To see more on the nature of advertisement for sustainable rustic tourism, visit - http://heritagemethanam.com/kumbalangi/,http://www.kallancheryretreat.com/homestay. htm,http://kumbalangy.com/, http://www.arshatheeramresort.com/kumbalangi.html, http://gramamhomestay.com/

money. This an interesting point of entry and insight in commercialisation of traditional livelihood activities more than any initiative to redress the socio-economic distress situation. As a result of the commercialization of their resources and traditional livelihood activities now there has developed a new class out of the tourism development process and the weaker sections have got alienated from their surroundings and culture. They merely act it out for their daily wage rather than enjoy it or own it. The destination community members who are economically and socially marginalized are relying on these demonstration acts for daily wage in contrast to their earlier days where they were the producers or owners of these activities. Rather than an act this used to be the real source of livelihood. Thus, to analyse the sustainability and provide a narration of its development experience through tourism and its implications is the subject of this chapter.

Picture 7.Demonstration of coir spnning at Kallanchery Retreat in Kumbalangi

Source: accessed a tour guides (Biju's) personal photos

4.2 Socio - Economic Profile of Kumbalangi

According to 2011 census, Kumbalangi village has a population of 42,367 with a literacy rate of 87% out of which 20,968 are males and 21,399 are females. A total of 10,034 families live here. Here, 88% of the men and 86% of the women are literate. There are 2550 people belonging to scheduled caste and 41 belonging to scheduled tribe. Though traditionally the village was characterized for its number of fishermen folks but the numbers have drastically reduced in terms of their sole dependence on fishing, however, fishing remains to be an activity that is inseparable from their life and culture.

Similarly, farming also used to be an equally significant occupation among the villagers. The latest reports from the Department of Town and Country Planning's survey of land use[9] of Kerala shows that there are [in Kumbalangi] around 900 acres of residential land, 7 ha[10] of agricultural land, paddy or wetlands of 301.2 ha and water bodies of 865.15 ha however during the field work it was observed that most of the villagers owned land between 5 – 10 cents. The Kumbalangi Panchayat has a gross area of 1,577 ha wherein net residential area is 88.84% and net developable area not including wet lands, paddy fields and water bodies is 410.64 ha. And there were absolutely no land used for parks and accessible open space for the general public and tourist until recently[11]. Now lately there is a Model Tourism Village Park right at the entry point to the village near Perumbadappu Road in North Kumbalangi.

Right from the bridge that connects Kumbalangi to main land in the north, this village is predominantly occupied with Latin Christians i.e., more than 70% of the residents of the village are Latin Christians thus any narrative on the social setting of this village should focus exclusively on them. In figures, there were 31,301 Latin Christians in as of 2011 census. No narrative on Kumbalangi will be complete without an intense narrative of the Latin Christians, hence that is provided below. Hindus constitute around 25% from different caste hierarchies such as Nambuthiri, Ezhava, Pulayar and Vedan castes i.e., 10,594 members in total. The social implications emerging out of these caste hierarchies are not so pronounced here as there is a 70%

---

[9] The latest available data on the land use pattern survey by Department of Town and Country Planning is of the year 2009.
[10] Hectares in ha
[11] Data sourced from Development Plan for Kochi City Region, 2031.

share of Latin Catholics here who are converts from Dalit community to Christianity. Hindus are followed by a sparse representation of Muslims (420) here and surprisingly, this village is also home to nine people belonging to Sikh community and one each from Jainism and Sikhism[12].

Within each religious groups for the whole of Ernakulam district, Ezhavas constitute 23% and Nairs with 10 % in Hindu religious community and followed by Syrian Catholics with 4,74,572 members (around14%) and Latin Catholics with 2,60,258 members (approx. 8%) act as a dominant Christian community[13] due to the church's influence and control on their people. However, for the state of Kerala, "the Syrian Christians dominate the political scene in Kerala compared to their fellow Christians in the state. [But] The Latin Christians are also powerful enough to decide the fate of elections in some constituency". (Pillai: 1987) And Kumbalangi is one such place where Latin Christian's strength has got consolidated over the years and convincing enough to decide the outcome of an election.

As stated above a vast section of the Latin Catholic members resides in Kumbalangi and as similar to the rest of Latin Catholics of Kerala, occupationally they constitute the major portion of the fishing community of Kerala. Kerala government has classified Latin Catholics as under the 'Other Backward Caste' community due to the primary reason of their deprived social and economic status. "The Latin Catholics are the descendants of coastal fishermen from the lower castes-the pulayas and parayas, who once were slaves. Although slavery per se was abolished in the mid-nineteenth century, serious discrimination, sanctioned by Hinduism, continued. Conversion to Latin Christianity played an important role in emancipating the less fortunate from the worst indignities of the caste system. Yet, unlike the privileged Syrian Catholics, the Latin Catholics retained no loyalty to the practices of the Hindu religion" (S. I. Rajan and K. S. James: 2000). Thus, it is learned that more than half of their population belonged to Dalit community who later converted to Christianity in the 16th century A.D during the period of Portuguese occupation of India to escape from the clutches of caste system.

---

[12] Data retrieved and deduced from Census Data - 2011
[13] ibid

"The Church is the main institution around which the social organisation and the community of the Christian fisher-folk is organised. The priest is the main leader who looks after not only the religious concerns, but also the socio-economic concerns of the community. In many cases, the Church levies a tax on the fishermen, which is usually 5% of their income. This right to collect tax, the 'Kuthuka' is auctioned and usually goes to someone better off, who hands this money to the Church." (Dietrich and Nayak: 2002)

Thus, this caste identity factor or the feeling of 'oneness' under the patronage of the church has made the Latin Catholics of Kumbalangi politically unified and this has made their presence count in the larger electoral politics of Kerala, and it is believed during elections Latin Catholics can easily decide the outcome of an election thus candidates for the Legislative Assembly (MLA) and Member of Parliament (MP) elections for this region (Kochi and Ernakulam constituency, respectively) usually belongs to the Latin Catholic community from either sides of major political fronts i.e. Left Democratic Front and the United Democratic Front. Thus, as an interest group they are more than capable enough of exerting pressure to the political system of Kerala.

However, the fishermen community of Kumbalangi remains to be poor in the 21st century also. This is not just confined to Kumbalangi alone but all along the coast of Kerala in the case of Latin Catholics and "their low status in society has been traced to their geographical isolation and being concentrated in the coastal areas, in slum-like and crowded settlements" (Ram: 1991) but they are very "adventurous, aggressive and creative compared to the other two religious communities. It is often said that the Christian fisher-folks are the 'real' fisher-folk of Kerala" (Hapke: 2001; Kelkar–Khambete: 2012). But they remain to be the most economically weak and marginalised section in Kerala.

From the economic perspective, villagers here were traditionally occupied in fishing, coir spinning and agricultural activities in a village which possessed paddy or wetlands of 301.2 ha and water bodies of 865.15 ha. The general trend of agriculture losing its relevance in India and Kerala has impacted this village too, forcing villagers to seek non-agricultural jobs outside their village. The three major reasons for the present severe crisis in agriculture in India are understood as a) crash in price of

agricultural products, b) indebtedness and c) drought, disease and depletion of water resources (George and Krishnaprasad: 2006). On the one hand, there was a deliberate attempt to prioritize rice cultivation to achieve self-sufficiency in food grain production for the state (Narayanan: 2003) but on the other hand this policy back fired due to rise in cost of rice production as the technology saw advancements and the inputs needed also kept rising in terms of its price and these issues were faced with a low price for the agricultural end product due to shift towards agriculture supporting policies and thus rendered the entire process futile and unprofitable (MS Swaminathan Research Foundation Report, 2007). From 2010 onwards, Krishi Bhavan and Fisheries University in Panangad guides Kumbalangi grama panchayat to plant seeds in the 'pokkali' type of farming. This is a cost effective technique of simultaneously cultivating paddy and doing fish farming. However, the depressed state of affairs and forced agricultural labourers are on a look out for new opportunities in new avenues and this clearly does not indicate any sort of benefits accruing from pokkali farming.

These issues emerged largely out of the neo-liberal policy shift undertaken by the central government in favour of the foreign markets by opening up of the fragile economy that saw repercussions as discussed above and the labour force moving more towards the construction sector guided and dictated by the real estate industry and in this process, the trend of sustainability of development process getting compromised is evident and in Kumbalangi, the tourism led development narrative is a fitting example that exemplify this critical situation.

Resultantly, as an implication of the neo-liberal policy, we see the construction sector in the nearby emerging metropolitan city of Kochi booming and rapidly absorbing most of its labourers from Kumbalangi. These people who work as industrial labourers and construction workers used to be the farmers and fisher folks of Kumbalangi village, prior to the turn of the millennium. Today, a person can easily earn 1000 - 2000 rupees in other sectors of work per day, if he (only he, no she) works over time or roughly 700 per day for regular working hours, especially in construction works. But this wage can be never paid to a person working in coir spinning sector or by doing fishing.[14]

---

[14] Interview, Damien Thomas, Palette Greens, 18.02.16

"75-80 percent is employed in the construction sector and they seek jobs outside. A good number of women work as domestic helps in the city," says Josy Edamuri, vice-president of the Kumbalangi panchayat".

- The Indian Express on 20th July, 2015.

Similarly, women from lower income groups are finding new avenues of domestic work in the city which also pays much better than what agriculture and coir spinning can offer. A woman working in the construction sector or in the industries will never get paid equally as her male counterpart but still they are increasingly forced for it. The coir industry also like agriculture faced setback due to various array of synthetic substitutes and sisal[15] like other natural fibres and cut throat competition from countries that produce coconuts. This situation was made graver with gradual slow down in availability of green husks and limited warehouse renting facilities for this industry[16]. Apart from fall in demand and price of coir based products the tedious nature of work which was involved in coir yarn also added as a reason to its decline.

"from morning if one person spins coir, he can earn a maximum of Rs.35 per day only but a person willing to do domestic work in Kochi city (flats) would earn Rs.300 per day. Fall in price for coir and coir products have made people shift out of this business and jobs, people are going more and more to construction industries, which is booming in Kochi city or anywhere around Kumbalangi these days. One person can earn around Rs. 700-900 per day so obviously people are moving to those business. Coir industry failed badly here so people moved to new avenues. There were roughly 1000 coir making units (kayyar ratt's) in Kumbalangi but now there is not even one functional unit other than those reserved for demonstration purpose when tourist comes there".

- Mr. M.P Shivadattan, Ex- Pachayat President, Kumbalangi.

However, fishing activity continue to pervade in this village despite massive reduction in catch over the years but mainly, for the people of Kumbalangi, traditionally, fishing is not just a livelihood act but it is very much part of their

---

[15] Natural fibre that is too coarse for clothing and upholstery, sisal is replacing glass fibres in composite materials used to make cars and furniture.
[16] EPW – Commentary, Coir industry – Deepening crisis, Vol. 19, Issue No. 16, 21st, Apr, 1984.

cultural life and lifestyle. "Fishing community too got affected due to rising price of fish and reduction in catch in these areas. Prices have increased by roughly 10 times. They are also forced to look at alternate economic options because no one does specialization of work these days like earlier times. People are occupied in 2-3 types of jobs in a day to meet their rising demands"[17]. A recent field work visit took note of mushrooming of Chinese fishing nets around the panchayat even though the nets are owned by people in and around Ernakulam, they mostly employ inter-state migrant workers to operate them. Nowadays, per house there will be one Chinese fishing net, on an average, in Kallinchery at least. These afore mentioned economic reasons would eventually affects the fish consumption patterns of the fisher-folks themselves. They would either reduce their consumption to give more fish to market or they may consume more from their catch. Therefore, their household consumption largely depends on their type of fishing and seasonality along with the issues of isolation from markets and transportation that affects food security if fish cannot be sold (Mcgoodwin: 2001, p. 152). Unpredictable weather conditions and constant threat of Tsunami are two other concerns of constant worry for fisher-folks. Thus, fisher-folks can no longer rely on fishing as the sole occupation so fisher-folks in Kumbalangi foresaw these impacts that they could face and few of them looked out for alternatives to multi-task. Though there is mushrooming of Chinese nets, there are very few families that solely depend on fishing.

People tend to do multi-tasking here, no one does just one job these days. The person who operates a Chinese fishing net has to wait for half an hour to one hour for another catch so he does other jobs in between. And 50% of profit is for the labourer and the rest 50% is for the investor. But even today, there are so many houses here in Kumbalangi who depend on Chinese fishing nets as their main source of livelihood option (Interview – Biju, Tour Operator, Kumbalangi on 5/02/2016). The summation of above narration defends the case of a thrust to tourism led mode of development as the next big alternative for the villagers. It also supports the case of an unnatural shift to tourism hotspot because in the next section we will see how political motivations out took advantage of the agrarian and fish farming distress situation to promote tourism in the village.

---

[17] Interview, M. P. Shivadattan, 08/02/2016

The above section took note of the social and economic context which indirectly played a role in transforming Kumbalangi to a tourist village, hoping tourism will bring respite to the challenges and dilemmas that the village was facing out of its rural setting. It is learned here that when agrarian crises set in to Kerala, a miniscule section of dominant agricultural class hoped for change, explored all possible alternatives and set their foot on to tourism. In this process, the political class aided them in this transition for their political motives. However, the poor agricultural labourer and fisher folk remained untouched with these processes. Earlier they worked on land for agricultural production but now they are in homestays and resorts mainly as security and cleaning staff, their predicament remains same without much alternatives or opportunities whereby, their vulnerability is on the rise every day. With these thoughts in mind, we will unravel how tourism originated, organised now in Kumbalangi and its undertone implications for development.

4.3 Kumbalangi Tourism Development Process – In Stages

The impetus that spawned for tourism was convincingly conveyed to the people of Kumbalngi through grama sabha meetings, given the distressful socio-economic context there was not much opposition from any quarter. The efforts undertaken by the panchayat president, members and officials got encapsulated into a project titled "Kumbalangi Integrated Tourism Village Project". Though there are various stages and reasons involved in conceptualizing this project but the apparent and immediate reason or event was a study organised by the Kerala Forest Research Institute known as the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) which later pioneered in commencing a new eco-tourism project at Thenmala, in the Western Ghats for the first time in India. This was India's first planned eco-tourism destination or anything of this kind and this indeed had a catalytic effect on Kumbalangi project too or to the idea of a 'model village'. This is because immediately we can find similar replication agenda's of planned tourism project on the cards in the policy making, the Department of Tourism (DoT) initiated the frantic search for suitable villages for testing the concept of 'model village'.

Consequently, Kumbalangi was identified as a spot for village tourism project (an integration of model village concept and tourism projects) however this remains as the apparent reason in relation to other factors that played significant role in the

making of India's first model tourism village. It is only after this phase, the policy of 'Responsible Tourism ' came into place where the focus now is to minimize the negative economic, environmental and social impacts of tourism. Initially in the first phase; Kovalam, Kumarakom, Thekkady, Wayanad were listed as the RT destinations of Kerala and in the second phase Bekal in Kasargod, Kumbalangi in Ernakulam, Vythiri and Ambalavayal in Waynad and came under its ambit (EQUATIONS, Annual Report 2013-14).

Thus, evolution of tourism process in Kumbalangi and its several stages and events are the main focus of this sub-section as they will reveal more forces and factors which played crucial role. Here the objective is to naturally lead to the next section which talks about the politics of tourism development because an overview of the processes of tourism development in Kumbalangi discloses the deep rootedness of political stimulus over and above any economic or environmental incentives in adopting the policy of transforming a traditional agrarian village to a tourism hotspot.

Here through 'Kumbalangi Integrated Tourism Village Project' the intention of the government was to integrate tourism projects to the concept and objectives of a **'model village'**. The concept of model village emerged due to several failed government schemes and the idea was to envision for a holistic development where the focus was on the village as a unit. It is believed that resource deficits in each sector can be better addressed in this way and the special needs of a village would receive adequate focus.

The major objectives of a 'model village' concept which could be extrapolated are to a) "prevent distress migration from rural to urban areas, which is a common phenomenon in India's villages due to lack of opportunities and facilities that guarantee a decent standard of living. b) make the model village a 'hub' that could attract resources for the development of other villages in its vicinity. c) provide easier, faster and cheaper access to urban markets for agricultural produce or other marketable commodities produced in such villages. d) contribute towards social empowerment by engaging all sections of the community in the task of village development e) create and sustain a culture of cooperative living for inclusive and rapid development". (Swaniti, Concept note on Adarsh Gram: A Model Village)

17

The idea of a 'model village' or 'Adarsh Gram' has been envisaged through the schemes of central government known as 'Pradhan Manthri Adarsh Gram Yojana' (PMAGY) which was launched during the year 2009-10. This scheme was initially introduced as a pilot study in 1000 villages in the states of Tamil Nadu, Rajasthan, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Assam with a first allocation of Rs. 10 lakh per village after which the amount was raised to Rs.20 Lakh. The criteria set was that those villages selected should have minimum 50% of its population belonging to the scheduled caste community (ibid). This scheme was aimed at a direct control of villages by the centre through M.P's and by making Dalits the beneficiary community, the congress led UPA government aimed at strengthening their vote bank in these areas.

Figure 2. Key Elements of A Model Village

Sustainability
- Better health – with special focus on maternal and child health
- Practical and smart education
- Housing & livelihood
- Capacity building of all stakeholders
- Clean drinking water & sanitation
- Environmental sustainability

Community involvement
- Planning for Village Development
- Mobilizing resources for the Plan, with active engagement with elected representative
- Monitoring the utilization of government funds to increase accountability
- Influencing personal and community behaviour

Model Village

Technology
- Delivery of government services
- ICT and space technology in the aid of farmers
- Remote sensing for resource mapping and better utilization of existing assets
- Land records modernization
- Biometrics for better targeting of services such as PDS, insurance, pension

Connectivity
- Physical connectivity to towns and other places through roads
- Easy and cheap means of transportation
- Digital connectivity and mobile connectivity
- Augmenting power connectivity through off-grid renewable sources
- Financial connectivity

Source: Swaniti, Concept note on Adarsh Gram: A Model Village.

However, the outcome of election in 2014 shows that the scheme did not benefit them and in the same year 2014, P.M Narendra Modi initiated a different rural development programme on similar lines known as the 'Sansad Adarsh Gram Yojana' (SAGY) which aimed at developing a model village aimed at social and cultural development and to spread motivation for social mobility among villagers by implementing existing and new schemes specially designed for the villages, varying from village to village. And also to develop models of development that is capable enough of replication in other villages. The focus given to village development by government after government irrespective of their political repercussions shows the significance of village as a unit in the continuous process of rural development.

Under these schemes, an MP has fund allocations from the existing schemes such as National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM), Backward Regions Grant Fund (BRGF), National Health Mission (NHM), Sarva Shiksha Abhyan (SSA), National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana (RKVY) and mid-day meal schemes. Apart from this, he has Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme (MPLADS) funds[18], Self Hep Groups (SHG's) and Panchayat has the provision of raising subsided loan amounts under various state and central schemes but it is upto him to rightly channelize it to the different sectors such as health, education, skill development, livelihood etc. depending upon the special needs of his village. It is his responsibility to identify the model gram panchayat, facilitate the planning, mobilize resources according to the plan and use his MPLAD fund wisely where ever the need arises. However, when he chooses the model grama panchayat from his constituency, it should be a potent panchayat in terms of finanace, functions and functionaries, it should have close proximity to any urban centre, it should have the right potential for testing pilot developmental projects and it should have a diverse set of population from varied groups. And the most important guideline for the propose scheme states that an MP cannot adopt the same village as of his own village or that of his/her spouse.

---

[18] CSR funds, sourced from companies, of which a much larger corpus is available after the latest amendment to the Companies Act, could also be used for the purpose of infrastructure development in the constituency.

However, what we see in the case of Kumbalangi is quite different. The entire tourism development process can be classified into three stages under the auspices of crucial 'agent of change' in each phase as discussed here below:

<u>Stage I – Charisma & authority guided shift to tourism as development (2002 - 2005)</u>

Tourism as a development option was flagged off in the discussions during the year 2002. People of Kumbalangi, undoubtedly and unanimously associates this shift i.e., the transformation of their quiet village to a tourist destination and credit it to the charisma and efforts undertaken by one personality, Prof. K.V Thomas. He is presently, the Member of Parliament from Ernakulam constituency, and used to be the chairperson of the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) during 2013-15 in Indian Parliament before which he has served as minister for several ministries in Kerala. Though presently he does not reside in Kumbalangi, it is his hometown and incidentally, the development process of tourism in Kumbalangi draws parallel with him and portfolio and tenure as the Excise and Tourism Minister in 2001 to 2004 during which his portfolio changed to Minister for Tourism and Fisheries after a point. He imagined and highlighted then the potential of his own constituency in becoming a tourist centre of attraction in Kerala.

"His intention was to develop basic infrastructure and to generate benefits for community from tourism".

- John Pazheri, Ex- Panchayat President, Kumbalangi.

For this purpose, he adds, the very basic need was to create general awareness towards tourism highlighting the benefits that would accrue from it. One whole year of 2002 was dedicated for raising awareness among general public. Panchayat conducted regular meetings with local community and all party meetings were conducted to define development through tourism. It was at this juncture that Prof. K.V Thomas mooted his idea of 'Model Tourism Village', something on the lines of Poble Espanyol[19] – a museum or a model village in Barcelona in Spain. In one of his

---

[19] "The Poble Espanyol now features contemporary art, architecture, crafts and gastronomy. The museum was built in 1929, for the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition as a synthesis of architectural and cultural of Spain. The idea was promoted by the Catalan architect Puig Cadafalch and the project was realized by architects Francesc Folguera and Ramon Reventós, the art critic Miquel

international tours, he came across this project which literally means Spanish town, where there are 117 buildings, where the Iberian village have been recreated with parks, traditional houses, streets, school, restaurants, museum, theatres and artisan workshops. This is situated in a quiet, safe and peaceful environment and nowadays, it is a centre of great attraction in the city. Vehicles are not allowed in this village and all traditional art forms, cuisines, houses, livelihood options etc. are retained in this village in Spain but with all new facilities for people and tourist in this village.

He further adds, Prof. K.V Thomas was highly impressed with the idea of 'retention of traditional art forms and practices' and this he wanted to replicate this for his own constituency first and later he felt other Indian villages should also replicate this. Thus emerges, his idea of a model tourism village having the foundational principle as 'when government is investing in tourism then the real benefits should go for local community at destination' with focus on development of basic infrastructure like roads, clean environment, water, electricity etc. and in addition, traditional art forms/ practices/ cuisines/ to be revived and to market it to the outside world in the name of tourism to generate income.

This period saw active engagements in tourism - its impact on environment and the debate of local economic benefit. In the year 2004, a national conference on rice was conducted in Kumbalangi, where about 57 organizations participated in it. This also corresponded with the Second International Year of Rice, 2004 and this conference brought out a declaration known as 'Kumbalangi Declaration' or also known as 'Save our Rice' declaration, which held that:

- "The way forward is to adopt, protect, sustain and promote traditional, ecological agriculture, community wisdom and local specific practices and methods.
- That chemical inputs and pesticide use in rice cultivation be banned.
- That incentives and supports be provided to support organic and traditional systems of farming.

- That the introduction of genetically modified organisms and lab-hybrid varieties be banned.
- That the germ-plasm of rice collected from farmers of this country in the last 40-50 years and preserved in the research institutes of the country and international should be given back to the communities and the information about this precious wealth should be put in the public domain.
- That any forms of legislation at any levels intended to patent/monopolise life forms, products, processes, traditional knowledge and practices should not be allowed.
- That agriculture should be excluded from all present and future trade agreements.
- That we shall work collectively to sustain rice".

- Kumbalangi Declaration, December, 2004.

But most importantly, the role of women in agriculture was stressed in this conference. Rice and women or paddy cultivation and women were traced to have a close connection and the role played by women and the difficulties they face in paddy production was highlighted in one session. It was noted here that women are kept aloof from the decision making process in agriculture albeit they still play a major role in rice production. They face inequalities of many kinds and often their role is understated. "The newer forms of agricultural techniques and usage of chemicals have impacted women to their disadvantage than to men. Now in the present context of contract farming and conversion of paddy fields for horticulture, women are put to more dangerous options of either quitting the field or taking up more hazardous work as pesticide applicators in floriculture, for example. In any given situation, the special needs of women are not taken into account while policy is framed and planning is done. This forces the women to migrate to urban centres and work under exploitative conditions which impact both mentally and physically. Even though many studies have been done about women in the country the loss of dignity which women face when she is taken out of her knowledge base, as in agriculture, is very less

understood" (Indian Workshop on Rice[20], Kumbalanghi, Keralam December 9 -11, 2004).

All in all, this period took note of the existing problems and challenges faced by the village. It identified the loss of livelihood from traditional activities of village, growing problem of women in village, migration issues to urban centres, environmental challenges, loss of a firm agricultural base, reduction in catch for fisher-folks and rising price etc. This period was followed by a phase which aimed to address some of these issues.

Stage II – Panchayat's role in conceptualizing tourism development (2004 – 2010)

The discussions and debates centred on tourism hard-pressed the panchayat and its office bearers to greater responsibility and they identified the key concerns or roadblocks to tourism essentially as narrow roads, water logging issues, no street lamps, disturbing issue of waste management etc. apart from the existing problems of village as discussed above. Tourism was thus identified as the main alternative through which many of the above problems could be addressed. The first big step was to improve Kumbalangi – Ezhupunna road and built sewage system and this was done with the state government's assistance[21].

"It was understood that decomposing waste at its source would be the best way to get rid of waste management issues which usually cities face. Subsequently, Biotech, a company dealing in biogas plant was contacted for the purpose of installing biogas in each house in Kumbalangi. Initially, there was a scant response from people to the idea of biogas plant thinking this will stink and spread diseases. Later, we (panchayat members) ourselves installed biogas in our homes and demonstrated the benefits so slowly people started accepting and now Kumbalangi is the village with maximum number of biogas plant installations", says Shivadattan.

"Each biogas plant takes 1 square meter and this can decompose all sorts of food waste and produce gas for our cooking. In a family of 5 people, minimum there will be 5 kg of waste per day and this can produce gas for minimum 2 hours and at

---

[20] The Kumbalangi Declaration document - click here to see more details

[21] Kumbalangi panchayat received Rs. 2 crore in the year 2003 from the state government – M.P Shivadattan.

the same time we get organic manure from this. This is the best initiative so far by our panchayat because we are decomposing our food waste and as a by-product we are getting gas and organic fertilizer from this so in one go we are getting 3 things. The other cooking gas (1 cylinder) which used to run for 3 months now lasts longer so I am saving there also".

- Mr. Biju, Tour Guide & a resident of Kumbalangi village.

Thus, "during 2005 to 2010, around 2500 – 3000 biogas were installed in this village. Now there is a massive demand for biogas because initially tourism department gave huge subsidy for this. In 2005, one biogas plant was for Rs. 7500 and people used to get it by paying Rs. 1500 but now the price has shot up to Rs. 14,000 without much subsidy, so there has been a setback in terms of demand too", says Usha Pradeep (Ex-Panchayat Presient, Kumbalangi).

After biogas, the next big step was to ban plastic bags in the village and to replace it with cloth / fabric bags. This was undertaken with the help of Kudumbashree[22] units and in return women employed in Kudumbashree would get a continuous task to work upon. Other main initiative was to encourage the idea of homestay and bed and breakfast, which was received by villagers very slowly but now continue to exist. There are roughly 20 licensed homestays/ bed and breakfast in the village. Mr. Shivadattan says "initially, people were reluctant to this idea of sharing their homes with the strangers mainly due to security issues but slowly they opened up. Everyone feared nuisances from tourist, alcohol issues, drug abuse etc. They feared their village would invite problems which tourist spots like Goa is facing today. But in the last 15 years we have not faced any sort of issues of that manner. We compelled few people to start homestay and whoever started homestay business in early period have good business even now. Other than economic gains there is a cultural exchange between the tourist and the local people and it is all positive".

---

[22] Kudumbashree programme, launched by the Government of Kerala in 1998 for wiping out absolute poverty from the State through concerted community action under the leadership of Local Self Governments, Kudumbashree is today one of the largest women-empowering projects in the country. Built around three critical components such as micro credit, entrepreneurship and empowerment and providing women a dignified life and a better future. Literal meaning of Kudumbashree is prosperity (shree) of family (Kudumbam).

A park for tourist near the bridge at the entrance to village, which is functional even today, was the next project. Certain other projects were devised but not accomplished such as a tourism circuit around Kallencherry island – a country boat cruize. Another idea was a 5 km long road which stretches from east to west for village tour but this also didn't commence.

Similarly, Kalagramam is another project which couldn't be completed, there is a fish pond in Kallancherry of 16 acres, and the idea was to reclaim land up to 4 acres for this purpose. The idea was to showcase traditional fishing equipments and various art forms to exhibit as an art gallery along with a walk way around the fish pond for the tourist. But there was a huge protest and local people were against this project to save the pond and with change in government and resultant non-allocation of fund this project was abandoned.

This period by heavily relying on the tourism potential to improve their existing infrastructure initiated projects as discussed above. The panchayat office bearers feel these projects brought a mindset change in people towards tourism that it could work in favour of villagers too and it is not just for the rich tourist who comes to visit their village. However, the proposed project of "Kumbalangi Integrated Tourism Village Project" was incomplete and in the words of Mr. Shivadattan, "only 10% of the project was undertaken by the panchayat" before completing the project, the ruling government changed and the new government's priorities were different o they did not show much interest to Kumbalangi – the first model tourism village of India.

Stage III – State government's role in publicizing 'Model Village' and its response (2010 onwards)

The phase of aggressive efforts by the Panchayat soon gave way to suspicions regarding the actual benefits of tourism - who is actually benefiting from tourism and the serious implications it has for the village. From 2010 onwards, there was an increased presence of Tourism Model Village in the promotional pages of District Tourism Promotional Council (DTPC) but without any actual support towards the betterment of the infrastructural facilities at the village from the government side.

"What is there to see here? is a question that we face every day. Government has made us responsible for giving answers to tourists about this village by vehemently publicizing about this model tourism village. Here people are coming to visit but they feel cheated. Usually, it is difficult to get tourist but here it is happening the other way round. Guests are coming see all the promotions but they feel cheated by the time they return. There are no simple walk-in tourist spot or eating joint or rest house here. On short notice, food is a big problem here".

- Damien Thomas, Palette Greens, 18.02.16

T.D Judeson, an ex- panchayat member feels that it has helped only a few homestays and tourism operators. "The hopes were very high, initially. Tourists do come in flocks, during season. They visit here and go back. But it has not generated jobs. Some homestays are making a good business. But many could not survive the competition and had to be closed". However, state government accelerated the rate in which they were publicizing 'Model Tourism Village' and resultantly, write ups of Kumbalangi village started to appear in the state and national tourism documents, pamphlets, posters and websites[23].

At this juncture, in the year 2010 it was identified that nature and rustic rural backdrop was the only tourism attraction of Kumbalangi and there were voices that opposed manmade interventions for the sake of tourism which would degrade the natural quality. This was reported in the Town and Country Planning Departments report. Further the 'Development Plan for Kochi City Region[24] - 2031 document highlighted the statement "whatever development actions are envisaged should be to enhance the quality of natural beauty of the place."

Thus, on the one hand, "construction of multi storeyed concrete buildings, modern structural glass facades, vehicular traffic – if at all permitted, they should be based on planned routing without adversely hindering pedestrian traffic - pompous western influences in outdoor and indoor finishes and embellishments of buildings, conversion of water bodies and wet lands, indiscriminate disposal/throwing of wastes, dwelling

---

[23] The DTPC website can be accessed here here.
[24] For more see here

26

units without arrangements for sanitary disposal of sewage etc." (ibid) are those pointers which should be avoided.

On the other hand, "the detailed land use planning on cadastral maps, vernacular architecture, horticulture and gardening, parks and open spaces, water based recreational facilities, mini play fields, actions directly contributing to enhancement of the quality of water bodies and wetlands, buildings of not more than two or three storeys, commercial activities at a modest scale, actions to improve sanitation and hygiene, support schemes for the improvements/construction of the dwelling units of the native poor, tourist accommodations and related facilities at modest scale etc. Considering the do's and don'ts suggested above it is obvious that Kumbalangi panchayat area requires tailored development regulations which would aim at enhancing the quality of nature and reduce negative impacts" (ibid) are those pointers to be emulated.

This was a major break in the understanding of tourism development in Kumbalangi, and resultantly, many issues started cropping up – sooner or later. Among them the serious one were that of water logging – most of the water canals which connect sea water to the island were clogged due to heavy land reclamation and illegal encroachments.

Country boats cannot easily ply in these backwaters during low tide due to low depth, especially near the bridge that connects Kumbalangi with Palluruthy. This estuary is the important space for overall marine resources of Kumbalangi backwaters. There are more than 1000 people who live with Chinese fishing nets alone who depend on the inflow of rare estuarine species of fish. And over the years a lot of fish varieties have undoubtedly diminished in this location.

- Damien Thomas, Palette Greens, 18.02.16

Though the panchayat had initially planned to dredge[25] the canals to ensure smooth flow of water and use the same dredged sand to build Kalagramam, but this never materialised. And the raising concern of the villagers that, backwaters of

---

[25] "Dredging is the removal of sediments and debris from the bottom of lakes, rivers, harbours, and other water bodies. It is a routine necessity in waterways around the world because sedimentation—the natural process of sand and silt washing downstream—gradually fills channels and harbours."

Kumbalangi have become a dumping yard which raises the problem of backwater pollution here – an emerging environmental threat which is quite visible through the village. This dumping of waste is also affecting the vast stretch of mangrove forest here; they are fast disappearing and creating an overall imbalance to the traditionally blessed eco-system of Kumbalangi. The model tourism village welcomes you with decently maintained main road but has most of its in-roads and by-lanes as un-motorable offering the tourist a tough ride.

Thus, we see large scale opposition to tourism projects in the village from many quarters. The objectives that tourism development aimed to address has started to reappear and there are growing issues of congestion and pollution apart from the fundamental question of who actually benefits from tourism?

4.4 The Political Context of Tourism in Kumbalangi

It is very much apparent from the previous section on *'development of tourism in Kumbalangi – in stages'* that the evolution and development of tourism had political motivations and political interference guiding its path more than any other economic stimulus it claims to generate for the disadvantaged communities in Kumbalangi.

Therefore, the prime political context to Kumbalangi is promotion of the dynamic leader, Prof. K.V Thomas to the helm of tourism affairs in the state which gave rise to the support for initiating a dialectic approach with regard to tourism development in his hometown village between the villagers and the panchayat. The assistance he could offer from the tourism ministry and the vision he had on the lines of Poble Espanyol was not limited. Though it was a politically motivated move aimed at image building he tried to bring forth his own village on to the tourist map of the state. However, his model of tourism development was well grounded in its principles at least on paper. He envisioned his model tourism village concept through the mechanism of political decentralization, whereby the role and significance of panchayat in the whole process of tourism development was pivotal. The changing role of panchayat, decision making power and empowerment of people through tourism are under the scope of this research and hence discussed here below.

The then panchayat officials claim that their concept of model village tourism predates the introduction of the concept of RT initiative in Kerala. This was simply because on paper model tourism village tried to revive the traditional livelihood activities such as fishing and coir making but as we analyse the way in which how tourism is organised presently in the village this trend highlights a departure from those initial fundamental principles and objectives. A tour package in the Kumbalangi village now means an arrangement of demonstrations; of coir yarn processing, copra processing, crab farm visit, clam meat processing, Chinese net operation, toddy tapping, weaving coconut leaves, country boating, casting of nets etc. There is no production in real terms, other than exporting of crabs, oysters and brackish water based rare estuarine fish species there is no other trading activity. In reality, only the tourist gaze is produced here and this does not signify revival of traditional activities but showcases more of the unsustainable nature of development that the tourism industry is headed to.

"The plan was to revive the traditional sectors, including fishing, coir-making and 'pokkali' paddy fields, along with providing a different tourism experience for the travellers. We said no to big projects that were first mooted and decided to keep the village clean and pristine while providing the basic facilities. The long-term project, however, got stuck midway and only 10 per cent of the plan could be realised."

- The Indian Express on 20th July, 2015.

It is clear from above statement that aspirations were very high among the villagers and clearly there has been a setback to this. Both economically and socially, the tourism development has not played a drastic role of an equaliser in the village. A small section of the population is actually involved or influenced by tourism in this geographically small village and in this; mostly old aged, retired men and women are employed in the privately run demonstration business rather than any model tourism village that beckons to be replicated. They are the main demonstrators, security staff and housekeeping staff, who are not given training for any sort of promotions, if at all.

"it has helped only a few homestays and tourism operators. "The hopes were very high. Tourists do come in flocks, during season. They visit here and go back. But it

has not generated jobs. Some homestays are making a good business. But many could not survive the competition and had to be closed."

- T.D Judeson, Ex- Member of Panchayat

In reality, we find that there are no government tourism projects at all in the village. The efforts taken were to visualize their village as a tourism spot and created a soft launching pad for the private tour operators and agencies to reap maximum benefit out to the players in the name of so called 'public-private partnership'. There is no source for revenue from any of the tourist site/ activities for the panchayat or state other than some building tax from resorts. And since in Kumbalangi, there is only one resort – Aquatic Floating Resort and the rest of all enterprises are in the name of homestays, mainly for tax exceptions. "In the case of Aquatic Floating Resort, panchayat has still not served them a building number hence they have not started paying tax, usually a tourism panchayat's revenue share from building tax is the maximum and it can be up till 60% but this is not happening here" (interview Shivadattan, 08/02/2016). Therefore, neither the government nor any of the traditionally marginalised groups are making any major benefits or advantages from the entire process of tourism development in Kumbalangi.

However, in this entire process the changing role of panchayat is noteworthy in their efforts to decentralise, conceive and initiate plans with a bottom-top approach and to take account of the decisions and the resistances of the local villagers regarding the nature of development they aspire for.

4.4.1 Democratic decentralisation

The "democratic decentralisation in Kerala is of unique significance to Indian history for it establishes a politics of social change which transformed and restricted various systems of power, of production and of relations, between the state, government and people who imagines the alternatives and build them" (Raghuram: 2000). It was through the People's Plan Campaign held in the year 1966, which introduced the decentralisation of power and devolution of resources to the local governments in Kerala. This was a landmark step taken by the then Left Democratic Front to improve the relationship between the state government, local government and

the people. The prominent features of decentralisation in Kerala was that of fiscal devolution of 35- 40 percent, legislative amendments such as Kerala Panchayat Act, 1994 and Kerala Muncipal Act, 1994 and other measures for institutional rearrangement that sought autonomy and powers for the local governments for effective working and here planning was understood as an effective means for 'social mobilisation', given the public and social action tradition that exists in Kerala (Oommen: 2004, Issac and Franke: 2000).

The Kerala Pachayati Raj Act, 1994 entitled the gram sabha, "that is the foundational unit of local government with rights and responsibilities with absolute powers for identification of functionaries, social audit and prioritizing local developmental needs" (Vijayanand; 2009, Vidya; 2011). Here, the case of Kumbalangi is also an excellent example for decentralised planning at the micro level. The political, social and environmental consciousnesses of the villagers are quite high that enabled them to participate in the gram panchayat meeting, which are periodically convened to discuss the development issues and concerns. People of Kumbalangi identify the gram panchayat as the agency for development so their aspirations and demands are more from panchayat than from the state government but they do recognise the limited role a panchayat could play without significant support from the state and central government. But over the years, the role of panchayat is only on the rise, given any discourse of local development in the village.

In Kumbalangi, Indian National Congress (INC) continues to dominate the grama panchayat elections during the last 15 years. In 2015 local government election, 11 out of 17 wards were won by INC so they are clearly the major political party as they enjoy unconditional support from the Latin Christian community as discussed earlier in the case of Ernakulam district.

4.4.2 The crucial role of panchayat

As discernible from above, the role of panchayat is in constant debate and it is in state of flux, changing rapidly however, decentralisation of power has earned prestige for panchayats. In the tourism development perspective, a resort or homestay requires certificates such as residence cum owner certificate from panchayat, house plan, possession certificate (from village office), no-objection certificate from nearest

police station for setting up. After obtaining these certificates it is the local self governing institution which grants pernission for any sort of construction. However, final granting of license and classification for homestays and resorts are done by district tourism promotion council (DTPC), which is directly the tourism department of the state government. It is understood that panchayat and district tourism department (DTPC) has its own important role in this process but mighty presence of state government makes it difficult for local level resistances to have its impact at the panchayat level, in short panchayat usually succumb to the pressure from above. Thus, in reality bottom top approach gets impacted.

In this regard, V. Venu, ex-tourism secretary[26] of Kerala opined that "the state government should just look into promotion and marketing and panchayat should be given power to regulate alone". This suggests the uncertainty lingering around bureaucratic and administrative setting with regard to tourism sector. What has to be understood is the nature of roadblocks created that affects the political participation and decision making of citizens at the ground zero level. It is the people at the destination community to define what kind of development their village needs and there should be efficient mechanism to document and reflect their aspirations, [in this case] with regard to tourism.

4.4.3 Political participation and decision making power

Decentralisation has special meaning in India because this is accompanied by the fundamental principle of shifting the decision making centres closer to people at the ground level and to begin a bottom to top approach. Our constitution has held this view ever since the inception by adding it in the directive principles of state policy; which directs all state governments to create local governments under the framework of Panchayati Raj through the method of an election. However, it was only in 1989, the first step in making this directive a constitutional obligation in the form of the 64th constitutional amendment bill, that later got translated as the 73rd and 74th amendments in the year 1992. (Sheshagiri: n. d)[27]

---

[26] In a conversation with Ms. Swati Sheshadiri, Area Co-ordinator at EQUATIONS inBangalore
[27] Decentralisation of Education in India: Reflections from Kerala and Rajasthan - Sheshagiri K.M. accessed online on 12/06/2015. Click link here.

But in Kumbalangi, the distress in agrarian and fishing occupations has landed the poor and marginalised communities in a much more vulnerable position. They now merely dance to the tunes of the new land owning or property owning class who not only has land or property but has a lakeside view or a share of backwaters connected to their compound or property. It is clear when one resident here comments that "*homestay business is good but this will succeed only if you can provide the backwater view and utmost privacy to the tourist otherwise homestays doesn't run well and likewise so many have closed down here in Kumbalangi*".

The newly emerged tourism class are powerful and are the key decision makers in the village. Though this is a miniscule section, they were the dominant agricultural class, the advantaged class who were in a better position to switch to tourism alternative and in this process they were aided by the political class too, they did more for their political motives such as to convince the villagers that tourism is an all beneficial activity, tourism would play the role of an equalising agent and it is the new dimension of development. The agents involved in tourism aims to maximise profit and this is incongruous with the betterment or welfare of all the section of society. Thus, the poor and distressed population remained vary to tourism development. They were not capacitated enough to benefit from this business, never been in a position well enough to make a decision regarding their own village.

4.4.4 Politics of resistance to tourism

"Tourism is present here and it is said that Kumbalangi is spotted in the list of world tourism map. But it doesn't make a noticeable difference for common man in Kumbalangi".

- Shan Madhuran (interview – 25/02/17)

In Kumbalangi, the general perception of tourism that it is going to liberate the entire village does not run across all the sections as very few people are involved in the business. Hence, though people are not overtly hopeful or dependent on tourism bust they are not opposed to the idea of development through tourism, however, any form of construction that violate the rules and tries to reclaim the backwaters have

seen stiff opposition. There are few important cases of series of resistances to rampant vision less expansion of tourism after the inception of model tourism village.

As discussed above in 2005, under the Endogenous Tourism project there was a proposal to construct an island to be named 'Kalagramam' to showcase the art and dance forms in the middle of the backwater. The panchayat had partially reclaimed about 4 acres of backwaters. Later in 2008, the Department of Local Self Government directed Kumblangi to cancel the building permits granted to Aquatic Floating Resort as they defied rules. The issue of reclamation of backwaters was pursued by EQUATIONS[28] along with other local activists they could stop the construction process for some time.

4.5 Conclusion

Despite the vantage points Kumbalangi village held in terms of its touristic value the island village's inception to the overall tourism activity is of recent origin. The development of Kumbalangi as a tourism destination was not natural because tourism did not develop on its own here. Though it was premised on the serenity and tranquillity but it was the result of a conscious political decision through a policy intervention since the turn of the millennium in the name of 'Kumbalangi Integrated Tourism Village Project'.

The need to convert an agrarian village to a prime tourist hotspot was created aiming to popularise the village in Kerala and to achieve a special status among other villages in Kerala. The idea was to promote Kumbalangi or to package Kumbalangi differently to the outside world such as 'India's First Model Tourism Village', 'Model Tourism Village', 'God's own Village', and 'Eco-tourism Village' etc in-order to make it visible among the other tourist destinations of Kerala and also to make it appealing in the name of sustainable rustic tourism.

When agrarian crises set in to Kerala, a miniscule section of dominant agricultural class hoped for change, explored all possible alternatives and set their foot on to tourism. In this process, the political class aided them in this transition for their political motives.

---

[28] A non-profit organisation which carries out research and advocacy work on tourism issues

The poor agricultural labourer and fisher folk remained untouched with these processes. Earlier they worked on land for agricultural production but now they are in homestays and resorts mainly as security and cleaning staff, their predicament remains same without much alternatives or opportunities whereby, their vulnerability is on the rise every day.

The changing role of panchayat is noteworthy in their efforts to decentralise, conceive and initiate plans with a bottom-top approach and to take account of the decisions and the resistances of the local villagers regarding the nature of development they aspire for. However, the distress in agrarian and fishing occupations has landed the poor and marginalised communities in a much more vulnerable position.

The newly emerged tourism class are powerful and are the key decision makers in the village. Though this is a miniscule section, they were the earlier dominant agricultural class, the advantaged class who were in a better position to switch to tourism alternative and in this process they were aided by the political class too, they [political class] did more for their political motives such as to convince the villagers that tourism is an all beneficial activity, tourism would play the role of an equalising agent, projected it as the new dimension of development eventually for vote bank politics. However, the poor and distressed population remained vary to tourism development. They were not capacitated enough to benefit from this business, never been in a position well enough to make a decision regarding their own village and hence tourism development in Kumbalangi does not suggest any holistic development but it show cases more of political gimmick in the name of development.

Thus, we see many other agents and factors affecting the rise in tourist arrivals without any concrete tourist activity in the village. Though this has not directly impacted the decline of traditional sources of livelihood but it has definitely not yielded to revival of traditional activities like farming and agriculture on which the poor and historically marginalised used to survive. Tourism development has benefitted a miniscule population and the rest is left to all the vulnerabilities the tourism industry will produce in the future without sufficient political participation in the local self governing institution.

CHAPTER – 5

Politics of Tourism as Development: A Critical Appraisal of Impacts on Community, Livelihood, and Environment

This chapter in the first section looks into the nature and role of state where it is learnt that the state is moving beyond its role of consensus building towards that of a facilitator for the mainstream tourism to thrive on. As a result the states focus has shifted to markets role and investment returns and thereby prioritising the aspects of tourism marketing and advertisements. The second section highlights the conditions of environmental crisis that led up to the inception of RTI in Vythiri. The third section deals with the counter-productive role that RTI played and this suggest ineffective community participation and challenges of livelihood and market expansion. The fourth section talks about the cliques formed in these destinations where they control the marginalised section's extent of participation in the tourism process. And lastly, the powerful forces of globalisation and economic capitalism forces the global conception of tourism in to localities like these and functions on the process of capital accumulation where the historically marginalised at further excluded from this whole exercise of tourism as development rather they get alienated from their own surroundings and local resources by commercialising it.

5.1 Introduction

A study of the political implications of tourism requires revisiting of the stages and process of tourism development in Vythiri and Kumbalangi. In the above chapters, various implications spanning from historical, social, cultural, environmental and economic implications were drawn out and analysed. We can argue that the mass tourism led to the formation of elite groups within the tourism industry which was powerful to steer the growth story of tourism and control the scope of local benefit from tourism. However, the state intervened with RT in Vythiri to enable the narrative of local participation and diluted the claims of tourism being theorised as a form of capitalism under the mass tourism. The RT exercise instead helped the mass tourism by removing the guilt factor from the minds of the tourism industry, the governments at the state level and the panchayat and now continues to

benefit the private sector without significant community linkages. This chapter deals with the critical analysis of political implications of mass tourism and RT in both the cases of Vythiri and Kumbalangi.

5.2 Nature and role of the State: Moving beyond Political Consensus

In tourism, the state is conceptualised as a field of competing interests. It has to be studied to learn more about these values and interests to see which plays take the dominant position and the resultant consequences that arise (Hall and Jenkins: 1995). The institutional arrangement and the role of the state are important for tourism but without giving primacy to different contexts around the tourist places and people impacted world how do we make sense of this (Urry: 1990; Britton: 1991). The institutions of modern states may take numerous forms and responsibilities but the state's role varies depending on the socio-political, economic and constitutional provisions and the actual tourism development scenario of a country (Hall and Jenkins, 1995). However, the changing role assumed by the state under the sphere of tourism development is an important area of enquiry in this research. In the existing literature tourism as development is conceptualised as:

a) as a form of capitalist accumulation by reproducing existing power hierarchies;
b) fosters unequal economic growth; and
c) the critical perspective given by the dependency theorists who postulates that tourism is an exploitative activity and it results in wide disparities between the developed (north) and the under-developed and developing nations (South).

For the latter theorists; the social, environmental and cultural costs are in fact much larger when compared to the meagre economic gains from tourism. This results in amassing of wealth without any responsibility for an even development, guided by the free market economy.

This study has shown in the previous chapters that the rhetoric of RT, in case of Kerala, is a process through which the tourism industry reinforced its strength and counters the challenges posed against them. In this exercise, the industry does not

engage in any activity voluntarily but expects the state to perform such measures, as witnessed in Wayanad.

The state's role is limited to marketing for the private sector which is immersed in the process of accumulation bypassing the significant discourse of local economic benefit, community participation and environmental conservation (as discussed in chapter 4 and 5). In short, the destinations get advertised by the state and in return derive revenue through foreign exchange, especially in the case of foreign tourist. The low number of foreign tourist visiting Wayanad region is a typical example of states lack of promotional activities undertaken for the central and south Kerala destinations. Mr. Ravindran, a local tourist resort owner was of the belief there is a nexus which lobbies against promotion of tourism in the Wayanad region and promote the backwater – beach circuits.[1] However, from the total number of tourists visiting Wayanad an incomparable size of tourist arrivals are aggregated by the private companies, resorts and tour operators as opposed to the RT community visit packages. Community participation is the least priorities of private sector as they promote enclave tourism. The idea is to provide all that is required for the tourist within the premises of the resort boundary wall. Here, it is the interests and priorities of the communities in Wayanad and their involvement in the tourism activity which alone suffers.

The state seems to be following this kind of model of tourism development. In a conversation with the Kerala Tourism Principal Secretary, Mr. V. Venu that "the government should focus only on advertisement and marketing and pull out of the tourism business and leave it for the private sector to do business."[2]

This confirms to Britton's argument that state performs facilitation role for the reproduction of accumulation. Giving incentives, marketing a region, enabling a good environment for investments and coordinating varied interests of different actors etc are the major role. He maintains that apart from rent collection, the state intervenes with genuine welfare and public goal and also to sooth differences and settle conflicts. Right to wage regime, private property and privatisation are regulated by the state and

---

[1] Interview, Owner of Pranavam Homestays, 28/02/16, Pozhuthana, Wayanad
[2] Interview; 21/02/2017, Thiruvananthapuram

by legalising holiday, tourism and leisure get sanctioned economically and culturally; tourism becomes a pointer of social classes (Shaw and Williams: 2004).

Besides, the state's rigorous promotion exercise also takes place with market support. For this purpose, in the context of Kerala, Stark Communications Private Limited is the advertising agency that deals with marketing and promotional programmes for Kerala Tourism. The one of the most significant and widely known campaigns or tourism tag is 'God's Own Country' itself but followed by the several other campaigns such as 'Your Moment Is Waiting', 'Kerala – World Travellers Bloggers Capital' campaign, Great Backwaters campaign, Promote Bekal Fort campaign or Bekal is destination next in God's own country campaign etc. are some of them. Some glimpses into the Kerala tourism advertisements undertaken by the state itself are as given below.

Apart from these, Kerala Travel Mart, both national and international road shows, presence in world travel mart events, Indian International Boat shows, celebration of traditional folklore, festivals, dance and music in different parts of the world, making Kerala tourism brochures available on flights and ships etc. bring tourist's attention to Kerala. In addition print media, online media and television media are used to build a brand out of the available resources in Kerala and marketed vehemently to the world outside Kerala for consumption. Road shows are held in various parts of the world by Kerala tourism and promotion through participation in a whole range of fairs and festivals around the globe.[3]Even the news pieces that says 'Kerala Tourism advertisement won the Prague International Advertising Film Festival Award (PIAF) for its campaign on 'your moment is waiting' under the print campaign category' and 'The state tourism department also bagged a bronze medal in the category of state as an advertiser' etc are further used to enhance the visibility in the international tourism markets. On one hand we have seen above the half-hearted efforts for implementation and lack of funding for RT and on the other the state chooses to spend on advertisement and marketing and refrain from other traditional roles of governance.

---

[3] Road shows were conducted in the major cities of India, Saudi Arabia, Australia, Scandinavia and other European markets like Berlin, Marseille, Milan, Madrid and London. To know more on Kerala tourism's global presence and international awards won.

The tendency to privatise the tasks which were earlier performed by the government is a phenomenon quite in line with the global initiatives. It did happen in case of Europe as well from the early 1980's up till recently till the times of the global financial crisis. This had impacted tourism sector also in many governments across the globe in a significant way. The philosophy which led to this shift are referred as the 'New Right' or also known as the corporate governance (Hall: 2010). The way in which governments over the time in Kerala is poised is the one which suggests that of the above model where the emphasis is in 'reducing debt' and more focus laid on 'greater efficiency'[4].

---

[4] This philosophy is also known as 'Reaganism' in USA, 'Thatcherism' in UK and 'Rogernomics' in New Zealand.

Picture 8. Snapshots of Kerala Tourism Advertisements
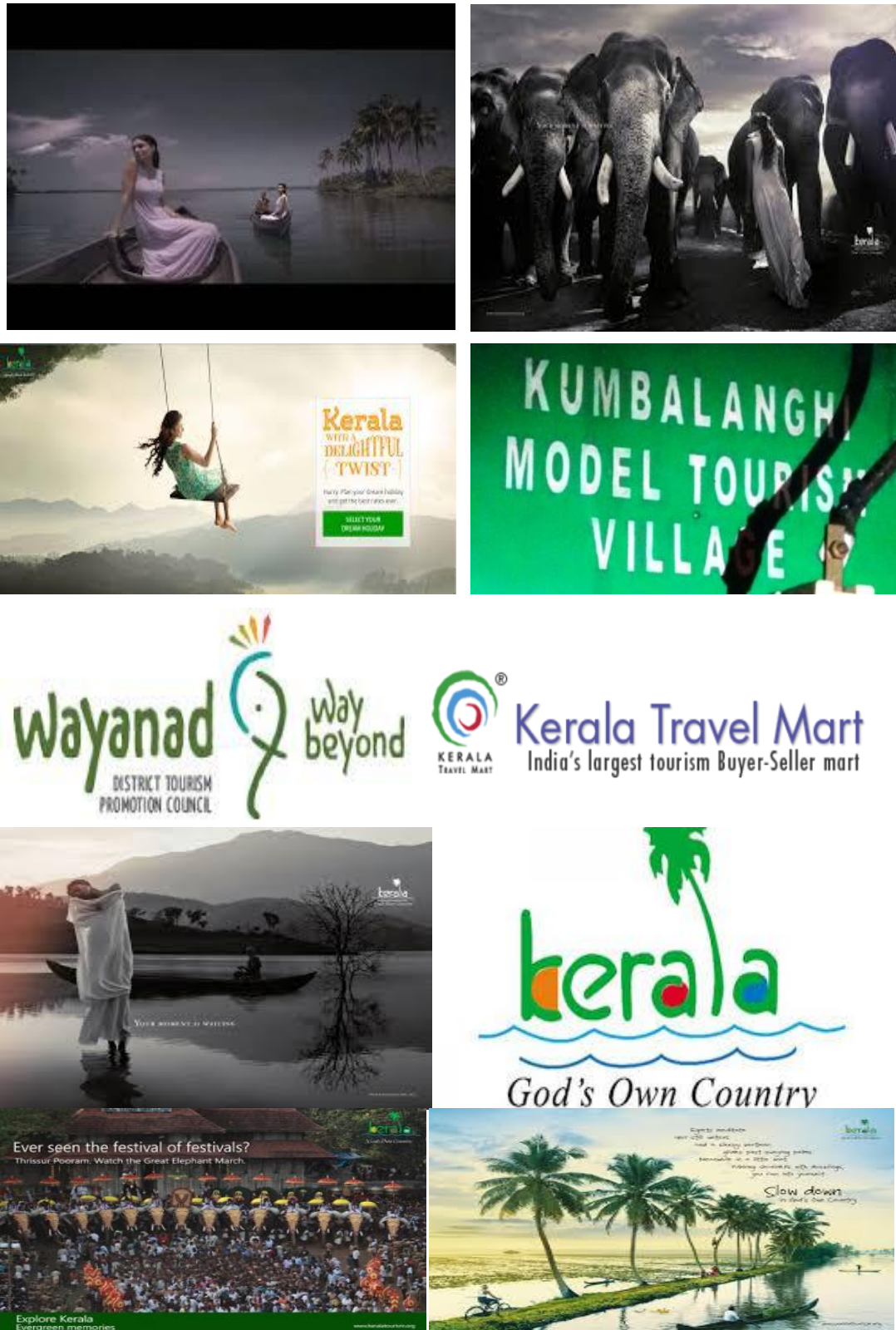
Sources (clockwise): Picture1, 2 & 8: stark.in, 3: Kerala tourism twitter page, 4 & 12: thisisstarkblogspot.com, 5: self-clicked, 6: Keralain360.com, 7: DTPC Wayanad website, 9: Kerala government tourism logo 10& 11: http://creativedesignarea.blogspot.in/

Likewise, there has been a shift in the last 25 years from a 'traditional' public administration way of governance where the government stood for implementing the policies which had an equalising impact among the communities or that stood for common good but now there has been a shift to the corporatist model where market's role and the relation with dominant players in the industry matters more. Every decision boils down to the matter of investment returns and this is characterised as the industry in itself (Hall: 1999, 2008; Dredge and Jenkins: 2007). The Kerala model of tourism is also very much in line with such management initiatives as we have similar strategies adopted as discussed above in the case of extensive focus on advertisements for tourism promotion for arguing this case.

It is true that across all policy areas, including RT, there has developed dilemmas in the recent past. There are increasing demands for limited influence of the government and its interference. State must create suitable environment for support in the form of subsidies and enhanced role for the industries dominant stakeholders in policy formulations. Hence, the state favours them and allocates funds, and in return it is the industry which prioritises promotion and marketing among other compelling impact aspects.

What one can see today in tourism policy is that, the dilemma is solved by streamlining of national and regional tourist organisations. The state would decrease the planning, policy and other development roles and raise the standards and funding for marketing and promotion functions. It also gets engaged a wider network of partnerships and concerted relationships with stakeholders. In other words, the state remains yet withdraws gradually from its various functions, as show above. This particular phenomenon was characterised as 'hollowing out' of the state by Milward (1996).

In this the state has been under-going change from one hierarchical control to a more dispersed form of governance which gives emphasis to a separate and non-government entities. Rhodes (1997) says this is the type or method of governance otherwise a changing situation of structured rule which gives more prominence to network structures (Hall: 2010).

In India, the 1990s were regarded as a reformation of the relationship with metropolitan capital, asset cutting of the state through measures of privatisation and more important and recently the aggressive expansion of the top notch Indian capital to the other parts of the world. This on-going phenomenon of capital expansion happening over the last two decades since 1970's lead to an important change in the role of the state in terms of its 'zones of intervention and non-intervention'. The changes were a reaction to the consequences of strengthening of the constraints that India started with at independence – agrarian, capital and fiscal (Dasgupta: 2016).

In tourism, in the context of Kerala as well, it was seen that in the name of good governance the role of the state has undergone rapid transformation. The state decides to perform only selective interventions in order to make way for the private sector to flourish by not engaging in the traditional model of governance but by limiting its role and stressing on returns from investments, advertisement, marketing, primacy of market and relationship with the dominant stakeholders.

5.3 Tourism, Environmental Crisis, and Local Communities

To understand the crisis that mass tourism faced we need to look back at the cases of protest and resistances to the tourism industry in Vythiri and Kumbalangi. Wayand has seen a lot of active struggles and most of them were for the preservation and retention of the sensitive geographic areas. In this, Vythiri region is the most ecologically fragile region where tall structures will put this places to the risks of environmental disasters, especially during the natural calamities like landslides and earthquakes, says C.K. Vishnudas, an ornithologist at the National Centre for Biological Sciences.[5] The Ex- Panchayat President Mr. Gagarin[6] adds 'tourism in its earlier stages was in small scale during 1989-1992 but with the coming in of large scale flats and tourism constructions the environmental problems started, since then oppositions to tourism also started'. Both of them agree on this point that tourism developed so much after DTPC started taking control of destinations and started promotion rather than conservation. There are numerous instances when the vibrant local civil society, NGOs and other activists have resisted some projects that could challenge the ecological setting of this place. The mains issues in Vythiri is with the

---

[5] Interview; 08/08/2016, Kalpetta, Wayanad
[6] Interview; 01/03/16, Vythiri

over-crowding of tourist near Pookode Lake, increased usage and dumping of plastic in the destinations, cutting of trees, quarrying and construction of new ecologically inconsistent buildings on the slopes etc. A local resident of Vythiri, Mr. Reghu[7] said these days the Lakkidi part of Vythiri has no households; they have got replaced by tourist resorts and homestays.

Green Cross is a voluntary organisation which reports in newspapers and meets authorities. A painting artist and the secretary of Green Cross, Mr. Abu Thalipuzha said "we file cases in the courts against environmental violations, land grabbing etc. Paddy lands can be reclaimed if the owner or spouse does not have a house but this provision is misused so we are protesting and have raised our complaint with the collector. There are cases going on in Madras High Court in the Green Tribunal regarding this. Pookode Veterinary College was instituted in an entirely wrong place by levelling hills and there has been a protest against this. At several intervals, these processes were stopped and now the case is with the Green Tribunal. There is a demand to construct walkway around the Pookode Lake with granites for the tourists. The demand to cut more trees has grown to make way for the tourist to come inside and enjoy the Lake. We formed a Lake conservation group and have conducted numerous 'dharnas'. We even fought against the rampant planting of cheap acacia trees by forest department which creates asthma, allergy and drought. So we proceeded to stop planting of this and we cut the planted ones too[8]". The Pookode Lake, DTPC Manager Mr. Ratheesh Babu[9] said "the effort of DTPC now is to open other tourist destinations within the district to take pressure off Pookode Lake. As a result, we have opened Karlad Lake recently". The tourism department recently approved Rs. 1 crore for setting up Karlad Lake. The priority will be for renovation of toilets, waste management, construction of pathways, installation of lighting facility, tourist information centres, protective measures for boards and other safety measures etc will be carried out.[10] But as long as these concerns are not implemented well and setting up of more and more destinations across the district will lead to tourism industry's growth which would then invite unscrupulous investors who lacks knowledge about the social, geographical and ecological uniqueness of Wayanad and

---

[7] Interview; 05/08/2016, Pookode Lake, Vythiri
[8] Interview; 02/03/2016, Vythiri
[9] Interview; 05/08/2016, Pookode Lake, Vythiri
[10] The Times of India – October 12th, 2016. (Kozhikode City News)

they would engage in illegal constructions to capitalise from the increased needs of tourists.

Picture 9. Collapsed building in Kalpetta

Source: Mathrubhumi News

It is in this context that the collector Keshvendra Kumar IAS passed an order in the year 2015 "invoking the Section 30 (2) III and V of the Disaster Management Act, 2005, which authorise the DDMA to take necessary steps for prevention of disasters. He had directed secretaries of all panchayats, municipalities and other authorities to refrain from giving permissions for new construction of any structures beyond certain height limits."[11] This soon turned out to be a political issue when the then CM of the UDF government in Kerala took exception to the case and said his government does not favour the collector's policy which was taken in haste and passed an order lifting the restrictions.

---

[11] Proceedings of the Chairman, District Disaster Management Authority and the District Magistrate, Wayanad can be accessed here.

However, Ms. Usha Kumari, the present Panchayat President says 'court upheld the collector's decision barring a couple of building which got panchayats permission for construction before 30.06.2015. They continued their constructions above the limit after court giving them relaxation. This is beyond the control of panchayat but post the order of collector no new constructions are made without adhering to the prescribed height limits'[12]. This was a landmark case where an NGO, Wayanad Prakrithi Samrakshana Samithi's (WPSS) role was instrumental but we learn that even today illegal constructions have not stopped here and the most recent example is the collapse of a building near Kalpetta bus stand on 12th July 2017. On the whole, tourisms invisible hand has been identified as a crisis by the local people but as long as it supports the local economy they do not challenge tourism but the local groups attack the lone cases of environmentally disastrous policies here.

Picture 10. Sight of Aquatic Floating Resort constructed in backwaters

Source: International Business Times Website

---

[12] Interview; 09/08/16, Vythiri

Whereas in Kumbalangi there were two major instance of protest. The first and the major resistance came against the idea of a floating resort in the backwaters of Kumbalangi by Poppy Private Limited, a Chennai-based group. Though collector initially directed to stop the proceedings but later succumbing to political pressure the construction work began. A large area of mangrove trees was cleared and pillars were constructed in the lake to construct this resort which is operational now under the name Aquatic Floating Resort.

Another instance was against the project 'Kalagramam' (part of the Endogenous Tourism Project) was believed to pose a threat to this region and thus became a controversy. It was conceived in a 4 - acre land where museums of livelihood and traditional occupation, the performance of art and dance forms, and food stalls etc were planned. It was decided that the soil procured from the dredging of the lake will be used to build the project but after spending a lot of money on this, mud was found from beneath the lake and not sand thus budget allocated for this was wasted without benefitting anyone. Later, two crore rupees was spent on this project again and the lake was further dredged. Due to lack of planning a lot of mismanagement of budget was done. This project depleted the major water resource, marine resource and thus affected the traditional livelihood option of the villagers, that is, fishing. (EQUATIONS; Keraleeyam, March 2008). This project lost its appeal after protests increased from all quarters and thus was aborted.

Saroop Roy (Assistant Professor, KITTS and Coordinator of Centre for Responsible Tourism), recalls prior to RT there was a period of local antagonism and other models like eco-tourism had failed so there was a need felt for community linkages and community to benefit from tourism. However, these incidents narrated above highlight the opposition mass tourism faces and this contributes to a crisis situation in the state. The local people have already created an ill-feeling towards tourism. They have got averse and alienated from this process of holiday making, more towards the disliking of resorts and hotels than the tourist themselves. A local resident in Kumbalangi, Mr. Rajesh, a fisherman by occupation said "the resort manager does not like the local people walking around their resort and us entering their premises is beyond our imagination. It is true that I don't like to go there and neither they like seeing me loiter around here but prior to this resort coming here we

used to walk freely around here and now it is out of bounce area"[13]. These attitudes of local people are not rare of uncommon across destinations in Kerala.

From the policy point of view, in smaller economies the natural resources are often limited so this means a heavy reliance on the imports with the added extra transportation cost; the per capita spending of the government is slightly on a higher side to provide the basic facilities of administration schools, hospitals, police and waste management etc., tourism industry and the local economies brings in the specialised services from outside; local productions are usually put out from business as we cheaper import substitutes, as a result, we see large scale unemployment (H.J de. Blij et.al: 2012)[14].

These issues are pertinent at a point when the state was contemplating about tourism model of development. Resistance and voice of dissent from tourism as development is not acceptable any longer if we are to proceed in this direction. Therefore, a moral responsibility was already felt by the government to address the issues that tourism sector was facing and there were series of discussions and conferences that pushed for regional inter-linkages and setting up of community interfaces and this initiative came to be known as RTI.

5.4 Ineffective Community Participation, Challenges of Livelihood and Market Expansion

In the year, 2007 the government intervened in the tourism sector with RT. It was believed to solve all the issues in tourism and spin around the discontents and resentments of the public and create a non-opposing and suited environment for tourism development. It was in the year 2007 that RT got kick started by a state-level workshop named 'Better Together' was organised in partnership with International Centre for Responsible Tourism (India) and EQUATIONS. Other participants included Panchayat representatives, tourism industry representatives, NGO's, bureaucrats etc. to chalk out guidelines of RT and also for its adoption.

---

[13] Interview; 05/02/16, Kochi
[14] The World Today: Concepts and Regions in Geography, Academic Internet Publishers, 2012.

The first destination level meeting was conducted at the Green Gates Hotel, Kalpetta, Wayanad on 21st July 2007. Initially, Uravu – a bamboo skill training institution, M S Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) and Wayanad Tourism Organisation (WTO) were active partners for the implementation of RT along with the technical support body, GITPAC[15] in Wayanad. The inclusion of a national level organization - EQUATIONS into this process by the Kerala state government was to achieve a larger consensus for the RT movement (Rangan: 2011) at the state level. This approach was practised in Wayanad as well. In both the cases, the NGO's pulled out of the RT movement after a period of time by citing lack of effort from the government side towards RT's goal achievement and implementation strategies.

Today, RT in Vythiri has been extended to Ambalavayal too. The District Coordinator of RT, Sarish, says "RT has two souvenir shops, Samrudhi units, one eco-shop (not operational now), village visits and we run other campaigns aimed at the removal of plastic from the destination points and initiatives to protect against land sliding dangers, for these activities we work closely with the industry for overall support and gets sponsorships from them.

The Samrudhi unit's in support with the Community Development Society (CDS) which collects the agricultural and other products like tea powder, pappadam, kondattom (chilli and bitter gourd), honey, cashew, lemon grass oil, pepper, cardamom, nut maize, clove, star flower, nut mug, cinnamon, kismis, chilli powder, coriander powder and jack fruit etc. from the local people. It creates interfaces with the tourism industry to buy their products.

However, the challenges before the inititatives under RT like Samrudhi are manifold (like pricing, quality of the products, timely availability and so on). The Samrudhi group supplied 64 items from March 2009 onwards where eight items were supplied once in two months and twenty-eight items were demanded almost each month. Above all, despite the state initiatives preference of the industry is still to buy branded products from ITC type companies etc."[16] Samrudhi like RT initiatives are

---

[15] GITPAC was the nodal agency for RT from 2008-2010 (RT Wayanad website) and from 2011 onwards KITTS became the nodal agency up till present.

[16] Interview; 04/03/16, Wayanad

also heavily depended on the tourism industry for its functioning. Without the support of industry they cannot susutain on the mere suppot from the state.

GITPAC Report, 2010 states that there were 8 hoteliers who signed MoU under the RT initially but only 3 started participating actively. Under this MoU there were expected to work in close association with the government's RT initiatives. However, by 2010 the number of hotels increased to 10 then later to 15 but the participation of some hotels was not wholehearted. Higher prices were stated as a reason for their non-participation and thereby reducing the number to 4 hotels in the later period. However, there is a feeling of RT products of being poor quality then delivering on time, shortage of vegetables, and unavailability of lease land for farming, climatic variations and threats from animals in destroying the crops. The major problem is regarding the will of the hotels in participating in RT, the number of hotels now stands at four and keeping in lieu of repaying loans

Both the GITPAC report, 2010 and the RT District Coordinator agrees on two points that the purchase managers of hotels and resorts manages to obtain some side income from commission given by reputed brands and they also give longer credit period to them. These incentives work against the expansion strategies of RT at the ground level. These are the two main factors for the resort's and hotel's non-engagement with the Samrudhi group. The GITPAC report June 2010 shows the list of hotels that signed the MoU in May 2008 and the list of hotels that supported RT the most by purchases as given under the table below.

In other words, the government initiatives under the RT program had to compete with the already established strong market players in the tourism field. Various limitations of the state program and other problems gradually resulted into either shutting down these initiatives or becoming almost non-functional. Consequently, the idea of supporting the local industry and people became a redundant idea. It also resulted into a grdual shift of these industries towards teh private sector players instead of working with the RT programs.

The present Panchayat President Usha Kumari says, "RT has not impacted tourism in any way but it provided business for the local community. However, politics governs all spheres including RT so marginalised groups cannot benefit in this

too. Knowledge and information is a pre-requisite to benefit from tourism and without this one cannot benefit from tourism."[17] Since right from the beginning of RT initiatives Kudumbasree was a part of this, it continued to act as a nodal agency at the local level to implement its objectives. Initial years it worked extensively but due to some of the above mentioned challenges no new units have been formed under Kudumbashree for implementing RT.

Table 11. List of hotels that signed the MoU in May 2008 with RTI in Wayanad, GITPAC Report, 2010

SI No	Accommodation	Category	Number of rooms
1	Wynberg Resorts, Thrikkaipettah (Vythiri Taluk) and Kuzhivayal Estate (Sultan Bathery Taluk)	Not classified	13+28
2	Hotel Haritagiri, Kalpettah (Vythiri Taluk)	3-star	35
3	Vythiri Resorts, Vythiri (Vythiri Taluk)	3-star	39
4	Green Gates, Kalpettah (Vythiri Taluk)	3-star	34
5	Edakkal Hermitage, Edakkal (Sultan Bathery Taluk)	Not classified	7
6	Pranavam Homestay, Vythiri (Vythiri Taluk)	Silver House	4
7	Ente Veedu, Kayakkunnu (Mananthavady Taluk)	Gold House	4
8	Hill View Home, Vaduvanchal	Gold House	4

Table 12. List of hotels that supported the RTI through their purchases in Wayanad during 2008, GITPAC Report, 2010

SI No	Name hotel / resort	Items purchased	Value of purchase made in 2010 (Rs)
1	Vythiri Resort	Tea powder, pappadam, kondattom (Chilly and bitter gourd), honey, cashew, lemon grass oil.	170436
2	Hotel Green Gates	Pepper, cardamom, cashew, nut maize, clove, star flower, nut mug, cinnamon, kismis	114485
3	Pankaj Hotel	Chilly powder, coriander powder	7190
4	Greeshmam Resort	Tea powder, pappadam, cashew	68518
5	Rain Country Resort	Lemon grass oil	11735
6	Woodlands Hotel	Cashew	26650

---

[17] Interview; 09/08/16, Vythiri

Picture 11. Images from RT brochure of community visit tour packages
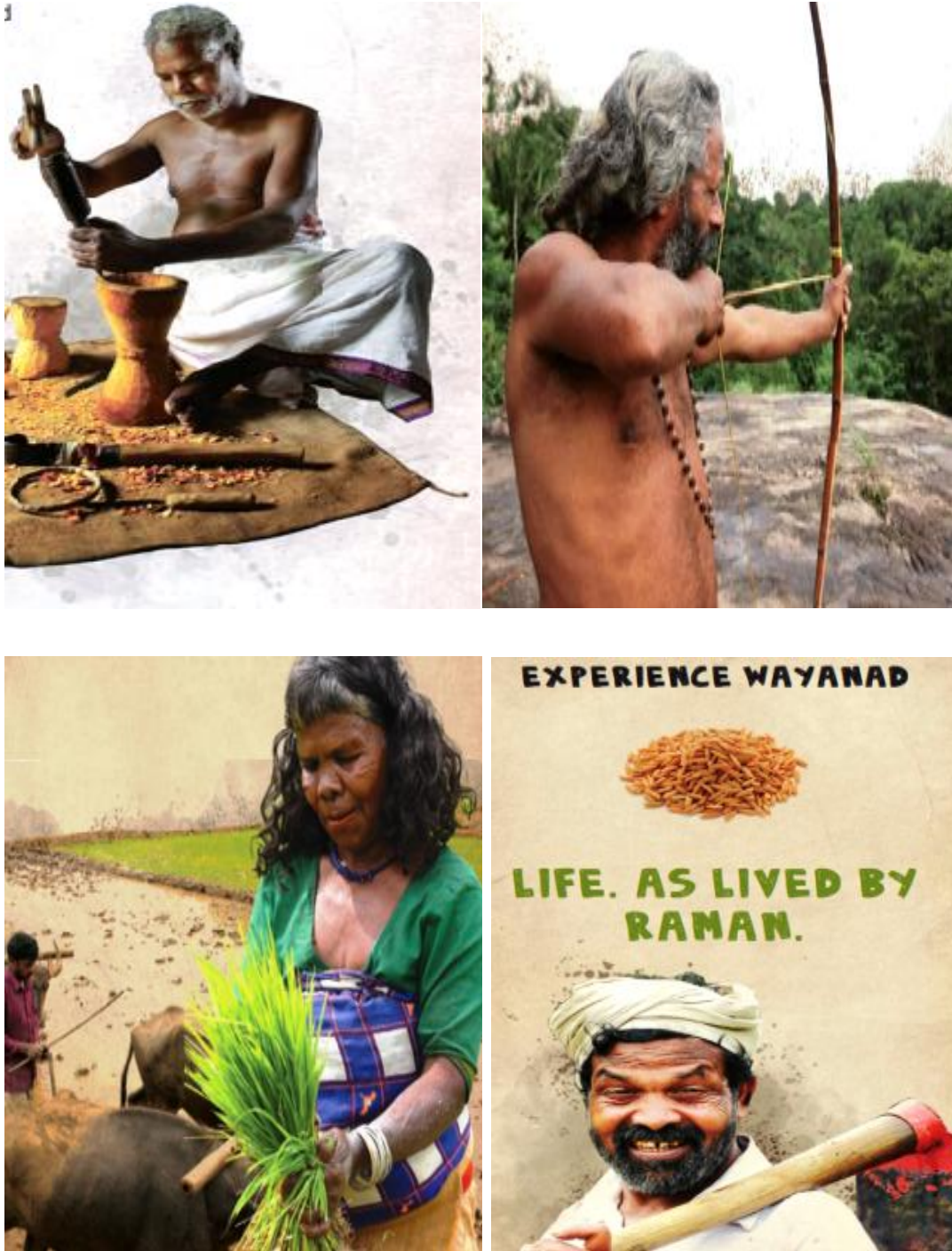
Pictures sourced from RT brochure (collected in person): P.6.1: Vellan making Thudi P.6.2: Govindan using a bow and arrow P.6.3: An Adivasi woman engaged in traditional cattle-plough farming technique and P.6.4: farmer Raman.

The CDS chairperson was reported as saying Samrudhi shops role was more about extending the RT philosophy to a wider community and to every family. But not many of them know about it. Low initial returns gave a setback to the whole venture as members could not get any revenue.

In order to overcome these challenges the people working under RT has started selling non-perishable products and products from outside too. Even though Samridhi outlets were initially conceived to sell only RT products but due to economic factors we are forced to do this now (GITPAC Report: 2010).

By looking at the brochure of RT it was understood that other major initiatives were the co-ordination of cultural groups and community visits tour package. Selected cultural groups are linked up to tourism industry so that they get more bookings and get paid much higher for their performances. There are four packages which includes visits to Chetiyalathoor, Valiyoorkav to experience life as lived by a farmer called Raman, making of Thudi, a tribal musical instrument at Nellarachal, Govindans collection of old weapons used by Tribals and his skill at bow and arrow, pottery classes from Chami and family, Sreedharans house for sumptuous traditional meal, school visits, crèches and Appu Mash's farm etc are the main highlights. Mr. Sarish said they are able to get about 80-120 visits in a year and the 100 percent benefit goes to the community, RT collects only 100 rupees per tour and the one day package costs Rs.2000. The balance amount goes to the community itself.

However, Suma Vishnudas – a researcher at MSSRF says "these programmes have in turn helped the tourism industry to diversify their options and they started offering similar packages but in their arrangements, the community does not get benefitted as much." Elaborating on the role of market and its gradual takeover of the community skills for personal benefit, sher further highlights "the resorts and hotels catch hold of a community person and get the village tour done at a cheaper rate but they will be charging their guest a much higher rate. The brand ambassador Mr. Raman – the farmer does not even have a functional toilet at his house. If the RT movement was serious they would have thought about constructing a toilet for the farmer Raman first or renovate his falling house before showing his life to tourist as a tourism product. As most of the people in the community tour packages as listed above belong to the Adivasi community, they are easily manipulated and cheated.

Adivasi population does not know these tricks and techniques and they fall prey to this but at the same time they are proud to be the ambassadors of RT in Wayanad as the brochure carries their pictures but they fail to understand the hidden implications"[18].

The case study of Vythiri reveals that the tourism department chose to partner with WTO, Uravu, MSSRF NGO, Panchayat and the Kudumbashree units to create social and political consensus in favour of tourism development in its initial phase. This was a political move to create a political consensus with involving multiple partners. However, as this research has shown above, and also seconded by the state level coordinator of RT, Mr. Roopesh Kumar said in a telephonic conversation, and as also mentioned in the RT-Wayanad webpage[19]; Uravu and MSSRF have withdrawn, Panchayat have not set up an RT committee after government change and Kudumbashree has also not constituted the new working committee for RT.

As seen in an earlier chapter, Wayanad receives roughly about 5 Lakh tourists in a year and if RT manages about 100-120 packages only in a year then RT's local economic contribution is meagre. Mr. Sarish adds further that "the RT cell is really active but lacks local support. In Wayanad, there is a system of marketplace being the farmers or producers house in itself, unlike other places where one has to produce then take it to a different place to sell it. This is a big problem as the local people do not wish to bring their products to the RT unit because it is a laborious task and more expensive".

From 2011 onwards as per their official website records, the number of hotels and resorts associated has reduced immensely. RT has been hailed as a successful model in Kumarakom, Kerala by highlighting the community involvement and local economic benefit. RT discourse has gained much acceptance without generating significant economic returns and inter-linkages - the good intentions of the RT are dented in its implementation phase. Apart from these, the lack of stringent policy measures and guidelines to regulate the tourism industry and lack of awareness of RT among the public underpins the entire discussion of RT's decline in Wayanad.

---

[18] Interview; 08/08/16, Kalpetta
[19] http://www.rtkerala.com/wayanad.php

In Kumbalangi, as discussed in chapter five, the RT initiative did not even take off properly. Mr. Saroop Roy says "In Kumbalangi we have conducted few training programmes and build few linkages with hotels in Fort Kochi but our activities have not started in full fling there. What is actually happening in Kumbalangi right now is not Responsible Tourism, setting everything inside a household and attracting guest is not acceptable to us. But they have been doing this before even we initiated this idea of Responsible Tourism . The local community or the workers of these homestays or resorts are not getting benefitted. These workers might not be getting any additional amount over their monthly salary so this is not Responsible Tourism."[20]

The case study of Kumbalangi identified that RT initiative was politically thwarted here. Mr. Saroop Roy[21] - RT in-charge and Assistant Professor at KITTS, Mr. V. Venu – Principal Secretary (Tourism) of GoK and Mr. Sarish – the local co-ordinator of RT in Wayanad, all of them disowned Kumbalangi as part of the RT initiative as of the time this study was conducted. They did not support the way tourism was organised there. Mr. Sarish added that "there were numerous attempts made by the RT initiative to start our programmes of setting up interface for community and industry linkages but these meetings which include local politicians and tourist resort owners never reach an agreement. RT was never allowed to be implemented here".

However, the Ex-Panchayat president Shivadattan[22] maintains that "they propounded the philosophy of RT even before the Kerala state got the idea. The shift to tourism was a sudden move here and both social and political consensus building for tourism was a forced one which helped the few land owning class aided by politicians who made most of the tourism venture. Here local participation is in the form of old men and women working on huge plots of land where they perform demonstrations of traditional livelihood activities of Kumbalangi without actual benefits for the villagers." Therefore, anything dealing with environment and traditional activities was RT for the people responsible of envisaging tourism in

---

[20] Interview; 22/02/17, Thiruvananthapuram
[21] Interview; 22/02/2017
[22] Interview; 08/02/17, Thoppumpaddy

Kumbalangi. They have not captured the real meaning and principles of RT but claims their form of tourism is responsible enough.

The state government picked up Vythiri in the first round then Kumbalangi in the second round of RT after highlighting the success of Kumarakom as a Responsible Tourism destination. As this was a top-bottom approach of policy intervention we see the formation of Panchayat Level Responsible Tourism Committee (PLRTC) at the panchayat levels as a political response but these are not even functional yet.

Roopesh Kumar, the state RT coordinator says, it was the tourism and the community linkages potential that forced the government to choose these two sites. But Sumesh Mangalasseri, Chairman & Managing Director of Kabani Tours maintains that RT debate diluted the debate of effect of tourism on the environment. There is a fundamental issue on considering the responsibility of an industry same as that of a local community. Thus, over the years RT initiative could not sustain itself because they were overtly depended on the sympathy of the tourism industry to function[23]. Even though it could not achieve so much community linkages and participation as how it was conceived, they counter-productively helped private tourist resorts and hotel to diversify their tourism products without any binding responsibility for community benefits. In this context, it is important to see how power manifests in this industry and who benefits from tourism and in this historical force have to be examined to draw out the common underlying characteristics of various economies (Britton: 2004).

5.5 Tourism as Development and Power Politics

The research carried out here understands the power dynamics that operate in Vythiri and Kumbalangi is from the interplay between the state governments (manifested in the form of DTPC and RT), panchayats and tourism industry (especially, big resorts and hotels). It is this power play that transforms local perceptions in favour of tourism and this has been a top to bottom approach by the actors but the instances of Samrudhi ventures and local tour packages etc shows engagement of (although very few token participants) local people in the tourism enterprise and this is a conscious decision they make, being hopeful of tourism.

---

[23] Interview; 25/02/16, Calicut

Choosing to opt for tourism by completely quitting agricultural activities and join to work in resorts or by introducing tourist to see their farming techniques and farms or by selling their produce to the resorts such as soaps, vegetables, handicrafts etc. were decisions they made.

The impact of tourism policy, nature of governments intervention or influence in the tourism sector, nature of government itself, structure of tourism organisations and the private sector, and the extent of community participation all emanate from a political process and this is constituted of players such as organisations, private associations, interest groups, and people compete to achieve relative power to be able to influence the policy process (Hall and Jenkins: 1995). Thus, we infer it involves the study of differences, consensus building and reconciliation of differences. These are crucial points to understand the political and social consensus for tourism in the whole of Kerala.

The political control of all the sections of a society is pertinent for any development programme but the dominant sections of the societies tend to exercise this control. The avenues of resistances are also the spaces of political control and cooptation rather it is an avenue of 'forged like-mindedness'. Thus the general understanding of 'tourism as development' is that of a favourable situation largely for the economic reasons than the social and political reasons for the destination community members in Kerala. And this economic reason supersedes the discourse of development at the village level. And the 'forged like-mindedness' towards tourism helps build social and political consensus towards tourism.

At a superficial level, tourism seems to be a clustering of a lot of commercial activities which are inter-linked but for Desmond, it is more than an aggregation of such activities, "it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition,; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" (Desmond: 1999: xiv) and Rojek and Urry, also warns against such tendency in tourism that sees tourism as a set of economic activities alone. Thus, Michael Hall and Jenkins (ibid) capture tourism as something "more than a consumer product or a mode of consumption but rather something that constitutes a phenomenon which structures modern life".

The Prakruthi Samrakshana Samithi's (PSS) activist Bahdusha says, "a group of people interfere in any kind of sustainable move and assert their political power to stop it. In the case of Muthanga, where there was an initiative to stop the service of around 30 private age old jeeps which took the tourists to and fro, replaced by a DTPC bus, it was strongly suppressed by political power. Tourism has always been a developmental agenda for political parties. They get bribed by resort owners and they maintain silence."[24]

A left wing political activist Mr. Vijayan Cherukara remarked "The primary motive of recreation is slowly transformed into business interest and assertion of power in the second stage which marked the beginning of tourism industry. The developmental agenda of all corporates is the exploitation of natural resources. Tourism becomes a product for business. Land and resources which can offer and supplement scope for tourism are being bought all over the world. All the rules and regulations pertaining to the trading of land are overcome by a group of Benami. Their only interest in these transactions is the profit. The grave effect of these actions on nature and the environment doesn't bother them and they don't have any social commitment in this regard. The government provides a background for corporates for setting up their ventures."[25]Thus, the case of Kumbalangi shows more of the latter type as Shan Madhuran, an anti-corruption activist and general convener of Kumbalangi Karshika Kakshi Samudaya Paripalana Jilla Yogam (KKKSPJY) said

> "*tourism in Kumbalangi belongs to them who have earned their livelihood from tourism - private groups are managing this. Even though government is allotting funds for this purpose it gets often diverted into individual hands. Farmers do not see the consequences of several development policies which in turn could be destructive to them. They initially support such policies but later their when they resist their voices are sidelined or dealt with force. The permission to open Aquatic resort, despite all the protest is a typical example.*"[26]

---

[24] Interview; 03/03/16, Wayanad
[25] Interview; 02/03/16, Kalpetta, Wayanad
[26] Interview; 25/02/17, Kumbalangi

Thus, power in tourism development exercise speaks of a sophisticated understanding of power and how it is exerted and maintained through various means of political nature those are democratic and undemocratic at times. The outcome of power politics through a series of political processes leads to co-optation of critical voices and in this the discourses of local economic benefit, social empowerment and local development by making panchayat, kudumbashree and resorts participate as partners for tourism development. However, without actually achieving all the intended objectives, tourism as got an acceptance across the sections of the society which needs further intriguing into the fast paced interlinking of the economies under the powerful force of global economic capitalism.

5.6 Economic Capitalism and Globalisation: Powerful Boosters

It was Britton who for the first time interpreted tourism as capitalism being governed by laws of capitalist accumulation and commodification of leisure in the year 1991. Each and everything could be commodified under tourism, which means appropriation of natural resources and human labour for the purpose of tourism experience creation and putting a monetary tag to each aspect. The trend of degradation and devaluing of resources and culture was understood better under this theorization.

Subsequently, Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt argues that "time–space compression provides a conceptual understanding of why this expansion (tourism) has taken place and why services, such as tourism, have become increasingly attractive as capitalism attempts to speed up the turnover time of capital and identifies elements of a new tourism critique a) intervention and commodification b) domination and control c) fetishism and d) aestheticisation."

Tourism as an industry is itself premised upon these factors and thus there are certain ways into which tourism is manifested itself as a form of capitalism. However, coupled with the burgeoning effect of globalisation and its ill effects are often not read along with the context-specific issues that tourism faces today.

"The changing patterns of tourism are connected to the broader cultural changes of post-modernism and related to the role of the service and middle classes.

What we are seeing is a universalisation of the 'tourist gaze' and increasing confusion between tourism as it is conventionally understood and a host of other social practices - shopping, sport, culture, hobbies, leisure and education." (Urry: 1990) There are "three phases of the development of capitalism and they are the liberal phase, organised capitalism and disorganised capitalism, however, the suggested last stage is not any 'random disorder' but a well organised 'systematic disaggregation and restructuration' of the capitalist system." (Urry and Lash: 1987)

However, politics is a persistent topic for discussion in tourism literature. Power allocation and exercise of power are the central elements in tourism. Governments are the central playmakers and they have a disproportionate role in the tourism sector in relation to the other sectors. The changing nature of globalisation, production and accumulation practices makes the understanding of nation-state's role even more interesting and important (O'Brien: 2011).

Scholars like David Harvey (2006), while discussing transitions in capitalism and neo-liberalism mentions that commodification of histories, culture, and intellectual creativity involves comprehensive dispossessions. But what is often felt is that debates and discussions over the implications of tourism are devoid of its political and historical contexts and reality and this has rendered this into the process of under-development of the newly independent states (de Kadt: 1979). And within these states, there are islands of poverty being formed due to the excess urban-centric focus of our development thinking. Tourism in rural areas leads to another undesirable by-product which is rampant consumerism. The materialist notions of tourism can be a destructive force both for the tourist and the destinations. This phenomenon makes tourism appear to be sinful, bad and even abominable (Singh: 2012).

Here, we need to understand globalisation which is a process that mandates tourism to be organised into a sectoral activity so as to be in tune with GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) through international negotiations to derive maximum benefits from tourism especially for the developing countries (Babu: 2008). This is now large scale under the effect of global linkages; in fact, this has led to mass tourism development.

Consequently, there has been a dependence on export markets, increase in degree of foreign control and dominance which later controlled the whole tourism sector (Khan: 1997), Khan further adds that if managed and planned carefully, eco-tourism can remedy some of the problems caused by it, but not replace it. However, we see that on one side, "places are drawn closer into the realm of global tourism and this promotes consumption of further unexplored areas. And on the other side, those areas that are unattractive are marginalised from the process of global interdependence. This is no simple process but rather a complex and symbiotic one. Therefore, tourism is both a cause and consequence with globalisation." (Mowforth and Munt: 1998)

But to make sense of ecotourism and its nature, practice and impacts there is a need to look into the macro-economic, social and cultural impacts that is a product of a mindless globalisation which is pushing beyond its sustainable limit. Issues of patency, related to traditional knowledge, seeds and strains of farming, and breaking the basics of survival bonds among the communities and these do not appear in the debates on the best practices, sustainability, and poverty alleviation. As a result, we see a larger number of cases that reports farmer's suicide in these agrarian belts leading to the disappearance of species and piracy (Rao: 2008). The rising number of farmer's suicide cases in Wayanad is a representation of such issues and we also see that Bouhdiba stating that

"tourism injects the behaviour of a wasteful society in the midst of a society of want. What the average tourist consume in Tunisia in a week in the way of meat, butter, dairy products, fruits, and pastries is equivalent to what two out of three Tunisians eat in an entire year thus the rift between rich and poor societies at this point is no longer an academic issue alone but an everyday reality" (De Kadt: 1979).

The tourism industry, nevertheless, has outgrown various challenges such as the existing financial crisis, climate change concerns, terrorism and security issues which the world is presently facing. With the growing number of tourist trips completed with total tourist arrivals touching 1186 million in 2015, the claim for being the largest service sector industry is gaining strength. This rising data on tourist receipts (USD 1260 billion in 2015) and tourist arrivals is an epigrammatic representation to the understanding of the history of globalisation.

However, within the scope of political economy study of tourism it is largely the 'tourism as capitalism.' The tourism industry is certainly a big money spinner, (according to the government records at least) however, its impact on the local economy is meager. In India, Rs. 1,55,650 crores have been earned through the foreign exchange which means a change of 15.1 percentage over the previous year. Kerala earned 7,749.51 crores from foreign exchange and total revenue of Rs. 29,658.56 during the year 2016. This according to government data shows an increase of 11.51% in foreign exchange earnings and 11.12% change in total revenue.

However, the foreign and urban investors usually manage to siphon off their share too. Financial leakages are skyrocketing in the tourism industry with about 85% of leakage in Africa's few least developed nations, 80% in the Carribean, 70% in Thailand and about 40% in India. This situation got further deteriorated with globalisation for poorer countries.

The negotiations that take place under General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of WTO and Free Trade Agreements (FTA) which are commonly of regional and bilateral nature are those platforms which are more often used by developed nations of North America and European Union to provide greater autonomy to trans-national corporations and pressurise the national governments to do away with their restrictions on foreign ownership (Pleumarom: 2013). And moreover, in the Indian context, during the past we have seen huge amounts been invested in hotel industry, huge concessions and subsidies given to this high end industry that of luxury hotels under the Hotel Development Loan Scheme where this industry was treated more than liberally in terms of foreign exchange allocation and import of 'necessary' goods such as from Scotch whisky, French wine to fork and knives were prioritised among other issues.

In fact, tourism industry further, again and again, stresses on reduction in corporate tax and withdrawal of tax incentives which they claim would lead to high collections through better compliance and as a result, India would turn out to among the best tourist destinations of the world. The Ministry of Tourism had enthusiastically sanctioned tourism projects by permitting capital subsidy of Rs. 50 crore including land cost in the year 2013. In the year 2013-14, there was a budget allocation of Rs.1282 to promote tourism by setting up projects like golf courses,

adventure sports parks, health and rejuvenation centers, convention centers, ropeways, theme parks and amusement parks etc[27] which increased to Rs. 1590 crore in the 2016-2017 budget and Rs. 1840 crore for the present fiscal year 2017-2018 (Budget, GOI).

Thus at the national level decision making, it is more about prioritising and conceptualising what tourism is all about and acknowledging its wide diversity and regional differences then having a clear course of action to manage and regulate it well where local community participation, environmental conservation, and social inclusive measures are prioritised in policies in the era of strengthened economic capitalism and forces of globalisation.

5.7 Conclusion

At the state level, governments have strived to produce documents over documents on governments' commitment to the local destination community under various labels rather something which is now evidently 'niche tourism' ventures like RT, community tourism and eco-tourism. But in reality the tourism model of development has never been democratic and eventually turned out to be marketing gimmicks but there is a considerable political commitment towards tourism expansion. This had paid off in increasing the tourist arrivals over the years but the focal point of all the niche tourism products have been the 'tourist' or visitor's experience and it has never truly been the priorities of the destination community. For that matter, tourism is now getting recognised as something that should ideally benefit the people but rather than translating this into policies the governments have been successful in generating a tourism supporting local narrative. There are no fair means of democratic process existing at any level and moreover, neither any such effective institution exists nor any mechanism existing to capture the demands and aspirations of the local destination community members. The tourism policies in Kerala are formulated and regulated by a small section of people rather elites, without any reflection from destination communities. The idea of a homogenous policy targeted and treating all destinations and communities alike is highly unrealistic as demands vary across regions and communities but the tourism policies as of now do not take

---

[27] http://tourism.gov.in

these variations into consideration. However, this paradigmatic shift to tourism model of development has led to the steady transformation of the economic and political scenario with the top to bottom approach alone.

Conclusion

The series of protests against the niche forms of tourism such as Responsible Tourism Initiative (RTI) and tourism in general in Kerala gave motivation for an academic engagement with tourism as a development model. This study looked at tourism's evolution, organisation and impacts to underpin its political implications of who continues to benefit from tourism and who gets negatively impacted and excluded.

The tourism industry is often referred to as a clean industry which does not pollute the resources and corrupt the people thereby gets prioritised among other sectors of the economy by the state. Through the field works it is argued that there are numerous impacts that severly impact the resources and people. Tourism pollutes those areas which are left unpolluted by other industries. The apolitical nature of how tourism is conceptualised does not hold true to make way for the claims of employment generation and revenue generation.

Initially, the study aimed to understand the relationship between tourism and development, explored the paradigm shifts in global development thinking and in India. The study then looked at the 'Kerala Model of Development' and the policy of RTI and argued that there is an increasing tendency to invest in tourism and withdrawal from education and health like sectors over the period of time mainly due to its revenue generation potential.

In the first chapter, the relationship of tourism with development thinking was traced. It was learnt that tourism during 1940's to 1960's was neither conceived as a major industry nor a poverty alleviation tool hence was not significant enough in the development thinking. The conceptual frameworks and models of development of that period suggested political democracy and representative institutions than anything else and this proved futile as being the sole developmental agency for the newly independent states in delivering rapid economic growth and stability, but what followed was an array of modernisation theorists emerging with a predominant emphasis on the economic growth aspect of development.

This second phase recognized that development concept entails a whole range of variables [inter-disciplinary nature] such as social, cultural, gender, religious and environmental factors but economic influence overshadowed other aspects. The relations of production, its features, and standard of living of the West were conceptualized as what is to be 'modern' by modernisation theorists. There are several factors such as the attitude of people, lack of education, agrarian structure, a lower division of labour, poor communication and lack of infrastructural facilities etc. were the main reason behind the state of underdevelopment. This phase identified the potential of tourism and recognised tourism as an 'engine for growth' and this led to huge financial transfers been made for infrastructural development by identifying key tourist destinations in the third world nations.

The next shift was to the concepts of under-development and dependency where scholars emphasized the positive aspects of free trade, foreign investment, and foreign aid, but argued that free trade and international market relations are occurring in a framework of uneven relations between developed and underdeveloped countries and they simply work to reinforce and reproduce these unequal relations. This led to the decline of tourism assistances from the international agencies during the 1980's but tourism soon got revived during the 1990's under the concept of sustainable development.

In other words, first chapter traces the concept of development and its paradigms since the World War II onwards. Its inception has seen many ups and downs through all the paradigms but despite the challenges, the concept of development is seriously debated and right at the centre of decision-making, especially in those pertaining to public policy. It is more than satisfactorily explained by the dependency theory in international political economy studies that imperialism exists today but in newer forms. Tourism in that regard is an industry directly aiding the expansion of 'metropolis state' at the expense of 'satellite states'. However, the vast field of social science has unfortunately shared only a relatively minute space for the study of relationships between tourism and politics, despite an increasing consensus on the interconnections between tourism and development patterns, processes and strategies.

Though tourism as an activity is an age-old phenomenon and given a peace time scenario it is an unstoppable affair for governments there is a need to re-strategise the impact of tourism's contribution to the socio-economic development within which politics of tourism must be placed at the centre of such policy formulations since tourism has become an integral and crucial sector in the planning process of most national governments.

Likewise, in India too tourism has become exceptionally preferable in the policy formulations of the state and increasingly in the case of the nation without looking at its potential of equitable impact across the communities in a region. This research has found that there is a narrative of direct economic benefit from tourism which overrides all other implications emerging from tourism and makes them obscure or less significant. In tourism it is extensively acknowledged that tourism business is a 'multi-billion, multi–sectoral and multi-dimensional global phenomenon' which is progressively growing in share. There is a shifting of focus towards tourism and increase in allocations for tourism development and as compared to significant decline in allocations to education and health which were the pillars of strength in the famed 'Kerala Model' of development. This shift is giving way to what has come to be known as 'tourism model of development' in the context of Kerala without sufficient debate and discussions on the socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism and its unseen role in polluting those avenues and areas which are left unpolluted by other industries.

Another significant finding of this study is that the tourism development model or tourism policy is not sufficiently oriented with human beings at the centre of development thinking, especially in the context of national and state-level policies. More often visitors experience is at the forefront in tourism conceptualisations as it is purely a business venture. Thus, there is at the heart of the issue a conflict between the interest of business and the interest of the society.

For the purpose of field work two destinations, namely Vythiri and Kumbalangi were selected for collecting empirical evidence of tourism led development experience and to see the social, political and environmental impacts at the local level and the case of Vythiri and Kumbalangi tourism supports this argument. In such a situation there is a genuine role for the state in eradicating

discrimination and treat communities equality based on the principle of equity while framing policies on tourism. Kerala tourism policy is a document which prioritises the tourist experience of the visitors rather than the host itself so there is an unhearted approach to development through tourism policy planning.

However, it is seen that in the case of Vythiri only those sections that were already privileged in terms of land or who made quick money through remittances being able to benefit from tourism. Many of the posh tourist resorts and hotels belong to people from outside of Wayanad. But there were instances of some resorts managers and owners being hopeful of tourisms role in the larger community development. But as Vythiri panchayat president says tourism is a business and without sufficient knowledge and financial resources it is impossible to benefit from it. The Responsible Tourism policy of Kerala in Wayanad was again successful in bridging the gap between the issues and the goals of tourism development agenda; they stood to address the major issue of limited local economic benefit.

RT's role is identified to be beyond that of just consensus making as this played a significant role in its initial years in sustaining this transition from an agrarian mode of economy to a tourism mode of economy which would be inclusive. However, RT has declined since 2010 itself due to un-hearted approach and commitment from the government side and primarily due to not recognising the political aspects of tourism in the development process i.e. not taking the power dynamics into account and thereby relying too much on the industry itself for RT's functioning has led to its decline. The co-existence of mass tourism led by DTPC which was divorced from the functioning of RTI was a major finding. The fact that there are no interfaces between District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC) and RTI itself shows how flawed the functioning of RTI is and suggest it is an un-hearted approach. This is a significant contribution of this study.

The suppression of original inhabitants and minorities is happening in all immigrated areas around the world and not confined to Wayanad alone. They end up as a vulnerable community in their own homeland. Only a few have got an opportunity to come up and resist themselves from the exploitation that they have been subjected to. Others do not wish to attain because their identity is so much confused that they have lost their ancestral roots and feels odd at their homeland. The

present education system suffocates them and cases are reported wherein kids drop out from school because of this suffocation. In contrast to tribes of North India or even other states in South India, tribes in Wayanad lack a proper historical understanding of their own community and their importance in the society so as to fight the all forces of oppression, in this tourism industry is one among many. Linking RTI with tourism Kudumbashree was a welcome step for women participation but the overt reliance of RTI on the mainstream industry made this exercise further vulnerable and in the case of Vythiri, we see RT ventures like eco-shop and samvridhi shops under performing.

Kumbalangi model tourism village held in terms of its touristic value the island village's inception to the overall tourism activity is of recent origin. The development of Kumbalangi as a tourism destination was not natural because tourism did not develop on its own here. Though it was premised on the serenity and tranquillity but it was the result of a conscious political decision through a policy intervention since the turn of the millennium in the name of 'Kumbalangi Integrated Tourism Village Project'. The need to convert an agrarian village to a prime tourist hotspot was created aiming to popularise the village in Kerala and to achieve a special status among other villages in Kerala. The idea was to promote Kumbalangi or to package Kumbalangi differently to the outside world such as 'Model Tourism Village', 'God's own Village', and 'Eco-tourism Village' etc in-order to make it visible among the other tourist destinations of Kerala and also to make it appealing in the name of sustainable rustic tourism. In Kumbalangi, the RT initiative faced stiff resistances from the local 'clique' and it could never take off at all but desire for making a model tourism destination remains without sufficiently understanding what is the meaning and basic principles of RT. Despite all these tourism continues to be an unstoppable force as an economic activity and continues to be perceived 'as development' in Vythiri and Kumbalangi due to the setback faced suffered by primary sector.

It was when the agrarian crises set in to Kerala that a miniscule section of dominant agricultural class hoped for change in livelihood options, explored all possible alternatives and set their foot on to tourism. In this process, the political class aided them in this transition for their political motives. The poor agricultural labourer

and fisher folk remained untouched with these processes. Earlier they worked on land for agricultural production but now they are in homestays and resorts mainly as security and cleaning staff, their predicament remains same without much alternatives or opportunities whereby, their vulnerability is on the rise every day. The changing role of panchayat is noteworthy in their efforts to decentralise, conceive and initiate plans with a bottom-top approach and to take account of the decisions and the resistances of the local villagers regarding the nature of development they aspire for. However, the distress in agrarian and fishing occupations has landed the poor and marginalised communities in a much more vulnerable position. The newly emerged tourism class are powerful and are the key decision makers in the village. Though this is a miniscule section, they were the earlier dominant agricultural class, the advantaged class who were in a better position to switch to tourism alternative and in this process they were aided by the political class too, they [political class] did more for their political motives such as to convince the villagers that tourism is an all beneficial activity, tourism would play the role of an equalising agent, projected it as the new dimension of development eventually for vote bank politics. The poor and distressed population remained vary to tourism development. They were not capacitated enough to benefit from this business, never been in a position well enough to make a decision regarding their own village and hence tourism development in Kumbalangi does not suggest any holistic development but it show cases more of political gimmick in the name of development. Thus, we see many other agents and factors affecting the rise in tourist arrivals without any concrete tourist activity in the village. Though this has not directly impacted the decline of traditional sources of livelihood but it has definitely not yielded to revival of traditional activities like farming and agriculture on which the poor and historically marginalised used to survive. Tourism development has benefitted a miniscule population and the rest is left to all the vulnerabilities the tourism industry will produce in the future without sufficient political participation in the local self governing institution.

Responsible Tourism is always kept as a key word for the tourism industry itself to excel. This acts a safe net for the industry itself to focus on the process of accumulation. Thus this study has shown that tourism does not operate in a political vacuum and the certain contexts in which its functions have diluted the debate of Responsible Tourism itself by a lack of concerted state intervention wherever they

had initiated RT. Instead the development in Kerala today is headed in a different direction; whichever sectors has state and central allocations the departments and the local governments are keen on proposing projects in tune with the allocations and not vice-versa. One of the respondents described Kerala's development as "cutting down hills and forests and carrying the same material to level up lakes and backwaters" (P.J Varghese; interview: 06/02/16). This has added to the ongoing situation of socio-economic distress. In Vythiri in Wayanad, the breaking of agricultural base and lack of access to forest resources have led to loss of traditional livelihood options. In Kumbalangi, the commercialisation of resources for capital accumulation has alienated at least few sections of the poplation from tourism activity. These events culminate to a situation of socio-economic distress for the marginalised sections of the society who sees no scope for betterment from tourism but loss and encroachments. This sums up the implications and rationalises the series of protests that Kerala has been witnessing against tourism initiatives over the years.

REFERENCES

INTRODUCTION

Pleumarom, Anita (2012). *The Politics of Tourism, Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development,* Third World Network, Malaysia.

Goodwin, Harold (2011). *Taking Responsibility for Tourism – Responsible Tourism Management*, Good Fellow Publishers Ltd, Oxford.

Sreekumar, T. T and Parayil, Govindan (2002). Contentions and contradictions of tourism as development option. the case of Kerala, India, Carfax Publishing, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 23, No 3, pp 529–548.

Rangan, Vidya (2011). The Mirage of Development. *A Political Economy Exploration of Tourism Development In Kumarakom*, India, An unpublished thesis submitted to Wolfson College, Oxford University.

Richter, Linda K. (1983). Tourism Politics and Political Science A Case Of Not So Benign Neglect, Annals of Tourism Research. Vol. 10. p. 313-335.

Brien, Anne o' (2011). *The Politics of Tourism Development – Booms and Busts in Ireland*, Palgrave Macmillan, U.K.

Hall, C.M. (1994) 'Tourism and Politics', John Wiley

Singh, Ratandeep (1994). *Dynamics of Modern Tourism*, Kanishka Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi.

De Kadt (1979). *Tourism. passport to development? . Perspectives on the social and cultural effects of tourism in developing countries*. New York. Published for the World Bank and UNESCO by Oxford University Press.

Ball, Stephen (2007). *Contemporary Hospitality and Tourism Management Issues in China and India - Today's Dragons and Tigers*, Published by Elsevier Ltd. USA.

Dixit, Saurabh Kumar (2005). *Tourism and Politics*, published by Mohit Publications, New Delhi.

Sharpley, Richard & Telfer, David .J (2008). *Tourism and development in the developing world*, Routledge Publicatons, Abingdon.

Babu, Sutheeshna. S (2008). *Tourism development revisited. concepts, issues& paradigms*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Hall, C.M. 2010. 'Yes, Virgina, there is a tourism class. why class still matters in tourism analysis'. In Jan Mosedale (ed.) *Political Economy of Tourism. a critical perspective.* Oxon., New York. Routledge.

Tribe, John & Airey, David (2007). Developments in tourism research, Elsevier Publication, Oxford.

Lea, John (1988). *Tourism and development in the third world*, Routledge Publication, London & New York.

Mowforth, Martin & Munt, Ian (1998). *Tourism& Substainability,* Routledge Publications, USA and Canada.

Bricker, Kelly. S (2013). *Sustainable tourism and the millennium development goals - effecting positive change*, The International Ecotourism Society.

Burns, Peter. M & Novelli, Marina (2008). Ed. *Tourism Development*, CAB International, U.K.

Truong, V. Dao (2014). Tourism Planning & Development. Pro-poor tourism. looking backward as we move forward, Routledge Publicatons, DOI.10.1080/21568316.2013.864996. Accessed on 17 February 2014.

Muganda, Michael (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation. A community perspective from Tanzania, Routledge Publications, *Development Southern Africa* Vol. 27, No. 5, December.

Batir Mirbabayev and Malika Shagazatova (2005). *The Economic and Social Impact of Tourism*, accessed online here.

Sudheer, M V (1993). Tourism – Problems and Prospects, CBH publications, Thiruvanthapuram.

Sreekumar, T. T and Parayil, Govindan (2002). Contentions and contradictions of tourism as development option. the case of Kerala, India, Carfax Publishing, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 23, No 3, pp 529–548

Ashley, Caroline (2000). Pro-Poor Tourism. Putting Poverty at the heart of the Tourism Agenda, *Department for International Development* (DFID), Number 51.

Jithendran, K.J (1993). Tourism and Environment, *Kerala Calling*. Department of Public Relations, Government of Kerala, Volume 13, Number 10.

Tillotson, Sarah (1988). 'Cultural tourism' or cultural destruction?, *Economic and Political Weekly*. September 17.

CHAPTER 1

Almond, Gabriel & Coleman, James S. (1960). *The Politics of Developing Areas*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Apter, David (1965). *The Politics of Modernisation*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Ashley, Caroline (2000). Pro-Poor Tourism. Putting Poverty at the heart of the Tourism Agenda, *Department for International Development* (DFID), Number 51.

Babu, Sutheeshna (2007). *Development of Tourism on the West Coast of India. A Case Study of Selected Beach Resorts in the States of Goa and Keralam*, Ph. D Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Batir Mirbabayev and Malika Shagazatova (2005). *The Economic and Social Impact of Tourism*, accessed <u>online here</u>.

Bellah, R.N (1957). *Tokugawa religion. the values of pre-industrial*, Collier Macmillan; The Free Press, New York.

Bricker, Kelly. S (2013). *Sustainable tourism and the millennium development goals - effecting positive change*, The International Ecotourism Society.

Burns, Peter. M & Novelli, Marina (2008). Ed. *Tourism Development*, CAB International, U.K.

Caldwell, Malcolm (1977). *The Wealth of some nations*, Zed Press, London

Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah (1963). *The Political System of Empires*, Free Press of Glenco, New York.

Escobar, Arturo (1995). *Encountering Development. The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.*

Fannon, Frantz (1961). *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Books, New York.

Frank, A.G (1967). *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*, Monthly Review Press.

Furtado, Celso (1964). *Development and Underdevelopment*; translated by Ricardo W. De Aguiar and Eric Charles, University of California, Berkeley.

Huntington, P. Samuel (1968). *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Jaguaribe, Helio (1973). *Political Development. A General Theory and a Latin American Case Study.*

Kaviraj, Sudipto (2000). Modernity and Politics in India, Daedalus, Vol. 129, No. 1, Multiple Modernities, *The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts*

& Sciences. Stable URL. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027618. pp. 137-162. Accessed. 19-07-2015 17.03 UTC.

Kaviraj, Sudipto (2010). *The Trajectories of the Indian State. Politics and Ideas*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet.

Kuhnen, Frithjof (1987). Causes of Causes of Underdevelopment and Concepts for Development — An Introduction to Development Theories, *Journal of Development Studies*. accessed online here.

Lea, John (1988). *Tourism and development in the third world*, Routledge Publication, London & New York.

Lerner, Daniel (1958). *The Passing of the Traditional Societies, Modernizing the Middle East*, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York.

Menon, Rahul (2011). *Re-imagining Development in India*, Social Scientist, Vol. 39, No. 9/10 (September-October 2011), pp. 35-53.

Moore, Barrington (1966). *'Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy'*, Beacon Press; Reprint edition (1 September 1993).

Mowforth, Martin & Munt, Ian (1998). *Tourism& Substainability,* Routledge Publications, USA and Canada.

Muganda, Michael (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation. A community perspective from Tanzania, Routledge Publications, *Development Southern Africa* Vol. 27, No. 5, December.

Muhkopadhya, Dripto (2008). Exploring Linkage between Tourism and Community Development. A Case Study of the Artisans in Rajasthan in '*Tourism Development Revisited. Concepts, Issues and Paradigms'* by Sutheeshna Babu.et...al, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Nagaraj, R. (1997). What Has Happened since 1991? Assessment of India's Economic Reforms, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 32, No. 44/45 (Nov. 8-14), pp. 2869-2879.

Organski, Kenneth (1965). *Stages of Political Development*, New York

Pye, Lucian (1966). *Aspects of Political Development. An Analytic Study*, <u>Little,</u> <u>Brown and Company,</u> Boston. (also accessed through http://www2.stetson.edu/~gmaris/Pye.htm.)

Riggs, F.W (1964). *Administration in Developing Countries. A Theory of Prismatic Society,* Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Rodney, Walter (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Howard University Press, Washington.

Rostow, W.W (1962). *The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge University Press, London.

Sampath, G. (2015). Why poverty is development's best friend, *The Hindu*, July 13.

Santos, Dos. Theotonio (1970). The Structure of Dependence, published by. American Economic Association, *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 60, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Eighty second Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May, 1970), pp. 231-236.

Sen, Amartya (1999). *Development as freedom*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Sharpley, Richard & Telfer, David .J (2008). *Tourism and development in the developing world*, Routledge Publicatons, Abingdon.

Sunkel, Osvaldo (1989). Structuralism, Dependency and Institutionalism. an Exploration of Common Ground and Disparities, *Journal of Economic Issues* (Association for Evolutionary Economics; June 89, Vol. 23 Issue 2, p519.

Truong, V. Dao (2014). Tourism Planning & Development. Pro-poor tourism. looking backward as we move forward, Routledge Publicatons, DOI.10.1080/21568316.2013.864996. Accessed on 17 February 2014.

Weiner, Myron (1967). *Modernization. The Dynamics of Growth,* Basic Books, New- York.

Wiener, Jonathan M. (1975). *The Barrington Moore Thesis And Its Critics*, Book Review; Theory & Society. Fall75, Vol. 2 Issue 3. p. 301.

Ziai, Aram (2013). The discourse of "development" and why the concept should be abandoned, *Development in Practice*, 23.1, 123-136, DOI. 10.1080/09614524.2013.752792.

CHAPTER 2

Abram, D (2000). Guidebooks turn travellers into package tourists, a debate, in *Focus* 34 -35.

Babu, Sutheeshna (2007). *Development of Tourism on the West Coast of India. A Case Study of Selected Beach Resorts in the States of Goa and Keralam*, Ph. D Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Baker, K (2008). Kerala's Strategy for Tourism Growth. A southern approach to Development and Poverty alleviation in Peter. M Burns & Marina Novelli, Ed. *Tourism Development*, CAB International, U.K

Ball, Stephen (2007). *Contemporary Hospitality and Tourism Management Issues in China and India - Today's Dragons and Tigers*, Published by Elsevier Ltd. USA.

Bardhan, Pranab (2015). Reflections on Indian Political Economy, *Economic & Political Weekly*, May 2, Vol. l no 18.

Boniface, Brian & Cooper, Chris (1994). *The Geography of Travel and Tourism*, Butterworth- Heinemann, Northwestern University.

Bricker, Kelly. S (2013). *Sustainable tourism and the millennium development goals - effecting positive change,* The International Ecotourism Society.

Burns, Peter. M & Novelli, Marina (2008). Ed. *Tourism Development*, CAB International, U.K.

Chakravarti, S. (2001, January 29). God's Acre. *India Today*. Retrieved July 21, 2009, from http.//www.india-today.com/itoday/20010129/cover.shtml.

Chekkutty, N.P (n. d) . The dark side of the Kerala model of development published online - http.//infochangeindia.org/public-health/features/the-dark-side-of-the-kerala-model-of-development.html.

Chettiparamb, A & Kokkaranikal, J (2012). Responsible Tourism and sustainability. the case of Kumarakom in Kerala, India, *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events*, 4.3, 302-326.

Devika, J. and Thampi, B.V. (2010). 'Empowerment or politicization - the limits of gender inclusiveness of Kerala's political decentralization'. In K. Ravi Raman (ed.) *Development, Democracy and the State. critiquing the Kerala Model of Development.* London; New York. Routledge.

Fazili & Ashraf (2007). *Tourism in India. Planning and Development*, Sarup Book Publishers, New Delhi.

Features of Tourism Development in India, Government of India - http.//pib.nic.in/feature/feyr2000/fmay2000/f080520001.html

George & Nair (2004). An Overview of the Health Scenario of Kerala's in B.A Prakash *Kerala's Economic Development. Performance and Problems in the Post-Liberalization Period*, Sage Publications.

Planning commission website, Government of India

Human Development Report, Government of Kerala 2005

Issac & Franke R. W (2002). *Local Democracy and Development. the Kerala People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning.* Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland.

Jerome, P.D (2003). What ail's Kerala's Development, *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. 38, No. 16 (Apr. 19-25), pp. 1584-1600.

John Jubin, Joy (2008). Study on Improving the Potential for Rural Tourism in Kerala - With Emphasis on Developing the Potential of Local Areas of Tourism Importance with Special Reference to Ponnumthuruthu, Anchuthengu and Kumbalangi, Conference on Tourism in India – Challenges ahead, 15-17May, *IIMK*.

Kanjilal, Gour (n. d). accessed online here -http.//www.gourkanjilal.com/India-Tourism-part2.pdf

Kerala Tourism Policy – Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala, 2012

Kerala's Approach to Tourism Development. A Case Study Ministry of Tourism & Culture, Government of India

Khan, Mohd. Motasim Ali et. al (2014). published in *International Journal of Research (IJR)* Vol-1, Issue-3.

Kokkranikal, J., & Morrison, A. (2002). Entrepreneurship and sustainable tourism. A case study of the houseboats of Kerala. Tourism and Hospitality Research, *The Surrey Quarterly Review*, 4(1), 7–20.

Kurup, Prableen (1992). A brief note on the National Action Plan, Published online in http.//www.preservearticles.com/201102083997/short-note-on-the-national-action-plan-1992.html.

Minocha, A. C. (1991). Indian Development Strategy, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. 43 (Oct. 26), p. 2488.

Mowforth, Martin & Munt, Ian (1998). *Tourism& Substainability*, Routledge Publications, USA and Canada.

Muhammed, Ajims. P and Jagathyraj, V.P (2008). Challenges Faced by Kerala Tourism Industry, Conference on Tourism in India – Challenges ahead, 15-17May, *IIMK*.

Mukherji, Rahul (2013). Ideas, interests, and the tipping point. Economic change in India, *Review of International Political Economy*, 20.2, pp. 363-389.

National Tourism Policy. Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Government of India, 2002

Oommen & Williams. Williams, G., Thampi, B., Narayana, D., & Bhattacharya, D. (2011). Performing participatory citizenship – politics and power in Kerala's kudumbashree programme. *Journal of Development Studies*, 47(8), 1261–1280.

Oommen, M.A (2008). Micro finance and poverty alleviation. The case of Kerala's Kudumbashree (Working Paper No. 17). Centre for Socio-economic&Environmental Studies (CSES), Kochi, Kerala, India. Retrieved November 11, 2011, from http.//maoommen.com/images/papers/MICRO%20FINANCE%20AND%20POVERTY%20ALLEVIATION.pdf

Oommen, T.K (2004). *Development Discourse. Issues and Concerns, Regency* Publications, New Delhi.

Promoting tourism for sustainable development and poverty reduction, World Tourism Organization, UNWTO - http.//www2.unwto.org/event/promoting-tourism-sustainable-development-and-poverty-reduction

Raj, Vinay. R (2012). A Study on Community Tourism and its impact in Kerala with Special Reference to Ernakulam District, IRACST- *International Journal of Research in Management & Technology (IJRMT)*, ISSN. 2249-9563, Vol. 2, No.6, December.

Rangan, Vidya (2011). The Mirage of Development. *A Political Economy Exploration of Tourism Development In Kumarakom*, India, An unpublished thesis submitted to Wolfson College, Oxford University.

Ray, Amit S. (2007). The Enigma of the 'Indian Model' of Development, Discussion Papers in Economics - Discussion Paper 15-01, Centre for

International Trade and Development, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India. Research, 7.1, 45-59.

Sasi, K.P (2012). **When Gods Come Down To Be Sold - Analysing the Politics of Tourism,** *Counter Currents*. **Accessed on 14.02.2015**

Sebastian, L.M., & Rajagopalan, P. (2009). Socio-cultural transformations through tourism. A comparison of residents' perspectives at two destinations in Kerala, India. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 7(1), 5–21.

Sen, Amartya and Dreze, Jean (2002). *India. Development and Participation*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Sharpley, Richard & Telfer, David .J (2008). *Tourism and development in the developing world*, Routledge Publicatons, Abingdon.

Singh, Shalini (2007). Tourism in India. Policy Pitfalls, *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism.*

Sreekumar, T. T and Parayil, Govindan (2002). Contentions and contradictions of tourism as development option. the case of Kerala, India, Carfax Publishing, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 23, No 3, pp 529–548

Venu, V. (n. d). The Kerala Responsible Tourism Initiative - A Work in Progress (A Report) accessed online on 13/12/2014.

CHAPTER 3

Bijoy, C.R. (1999) Adivasis Betrayed. Adivasi Land Rights in Kerala. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 34(22), 1329-1335

Bijoy, C.R., and Raman, K. R. (2003) Muthanga. the Real Story. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 38(20), 1975-1982.

C.S, Chandrika, and P.M, Nandakumar (n. d). Paniya Adivasi Women's Innovative Livelihood Development Endeavours in Farming. *M S Swaminathan Research Foundation*, Wayanad.

Census - 2011, Government of India

Chemmencheri, Sudheesh R. (2013). Decentralisation, Participation, and Boundaries of Transformation. Forest Rights Act, Wayanad, India, *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, Issue 12.

EQUATIONS Report. Tourism as a Development Model of Keralam (n. d) accessed from their physical library on 28/01/2016, Bangalore.

Jacob, T. G (2006). *Misery in an Emerald Bowl – Essays on the Ongoing Crisis in the Cash Crop Economy – Kerala*, published by Vikas Adhyayam Kendra, Mumbai.

Jithendran, K.J (1993). Tourism and Environment, *Kerala Calling*. Department of Public Relations, Government of Kerala, Volume 13, Number 10.

Kerala Tourism Stats 2014; Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Krishnaprsad, P (2016). Western Ghats - On Gadgil-Kasturirangan Reports, Peoples Democracy (online), Vol. XL No. 26. http.//peoplesdemocracy.in/content/western-ghatson-gadgil-kasturirangan-reports

Kumar, B. Vijaya (2005). Participatory Tourism Development in Tribal Areas – A study of Wayanad' under the research project 'Development of Malabar', report submitted to Kannur University, Kerala.

Lives, Livelihoods & Environment of Wayanad (2011) - A Preliminary Study (2011). Report by *RASTA and Environmental Governance Group*, Public Affairs Center.

Netto, Nalini (1993). Kerala Tourism – A fast growing industry, *Kerala Calling*, Department of Public Relations, Government of Kerala, Volume 13, Number 10.

Suma, T.R (2014). Customary vs state law of land governance. Adivasi joint family farmers seek policy support. The case of Kurchiya joint families in Wayanad, southern India, *M. S Swaminathan Research Foundation and International Land Coalition*, Wayanad.

Upendranadh, C- A Baseline Survey Of Minority Concentration Districts of India, undertaken by Institute For Human Development supported by Ministry Of Minority Affairs, Government Of India and Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.

Wayanad District, Official Website - http.//wayanad.nic.in/profile.htm

Wayanad Tourism Organization Website – www.wayanad.org

CHAPTER 4

Abraham, Roy. P (2011), Development management through rural tourism. A study with special reference to Kumbalangi Gramma Panchayath, Unpublished theses,   submitted to Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala.

Aerthayil, M. (2000). *Fishworker's Movement in Kerala (1977-1994) - The Role of Non-Party Political organisations in Social Transformation in India*. Indian Social Institute. New Delhi.

Dietrich, G. and Nayak, N. (2002) Chapter 4. Fishing as a Traditional Occupation. In. Transition or Transformation? A study of mobilisation, organisation and emergence of consciousness among the fish workers of Kerala. *Department of Social Analysis*, Tamil Nadu Theological Society. p. 58-81, Tamil Nadu.

Economic and Political Weekly – Commentary, Coir industry – Deepening crisis, Vol. 19, Issue No. 16, 21 Apr, 1984.

EQUATIONS – Equitable Tourism Options, Bangalore, Annual Report, 2013-14.

Hapke, H.M. (2001). Development, Gender and Household Survival in a Kerala Fishery, *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 31, 1103-1107.

Gramam Homestay Official Website - http.//gramamhomestay.com/

Heritage Methanam Official Website - http.//heritagemethanam.com/

Kochi Metro Rail Limited Website

Kumbalangi Tourism Website - http://kumbalangy.com/

Indian Workshop on Rice, Kumbalangi, Keralam, document accessed online on 12/09/2015 - http://thanal.co.in/uploads/resource/document/Proceedings-of-Rice-Workshop-Kumbalangi-57333014.pdf

Arshatheeram Resort Website - http://www.arshatheeramresort.com/

District Tourism Promotion, Ernakulam Website - http://www.dtpcernakulam.com/

Kallancherry Retreat Website - http://www.kallancheryretreat.com/

Issac Thomas, T.M. and Franke, R. (2000). *Local Democracy and Development. People's Campaign for Decentralised Planning in Kerala*. Leftword Books. New Delhi.

J, Bercumen (1988). *Kumbalangi Grammam Charithrathintte Edukalil*, Sonia Printers and Publishers, Kerala.

Jose George and P. Krishnaprasad (2006). Agrarian Distress and Farmers' Suicides in the Tribal District of Wayanad. Social Scientist. Vol. 34, No. 7/8, pp. 70-85.

Kelkar-Khambete, Aarti (2012). Traditional fisherfolk of Kerala - An article about their socio-economic organisation and the special relationship they share with the sea and the environment. Available online http://www.indiawaterportal.org/articles/traditional-fisherfolk-kerala-article-about-their-socio-economic-organisation-and-special. Accessed on 17/05/2014

Kerala Tourism Website

M.A Oommen (2004). Deepening Decentralised Governance in Rural India. Lessons from the People's Plan Initiative of Kerala, Working paper No.11, Centre for Socio-economic & Environmental Studies, Kochi, Kerala. Available online at. http://csesindia.org/admin/modules/cms/docs/publication/11.pdf

Mcgoodwin, James R. (2001). Understanding the Cultures of Fishing Communities. A Key to Fisheries Management and Food Security. FAO, fisheries technical paper – 401, produced by Fisheries and Aquacultural Department, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome.

MS Swaminathan Research Foundation Report, 2007

Nair, Bindu (2014). *Development of women entrepreneurs in tourism in the backwater areas of Kuttanadu, Kumbalangi, Kuttampuzha and Cherai*, Unpublished theses, submitted to Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerala.

Narayanan, N.C. (2003). *Against the grain. the political ecology of land use in a Kerala region, India*. Thesis (doctoral) – Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands.

Pillai, Raman (1987). Politics of Kerala. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 48, no. 4, golden jubilee number. State politics in India, pp. 597-606.

Rajan, S. I and James, K. S. (2000). The Interdependence of Vital Events. Twentieth-Century Indian Kerala. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 21- 41.

Ram, K. (1991) Chapter 3. Popular religion and femininity (1). the disciplining of the female body in popular Catholicism. In. *Mukkuvar Women. Gender, hegemony and Capitalist Transformation in a South India Fishing Community*. Sydney, Allen and Un-win Private limited. p. 45-112.

Rangan, Vidya (2011). The Mirage of Development. A Political Economy Exploration Of Tourism Development In Kumarakom, India, A thesis submitted to Wolfson College, Oxford University.

Sharath, Laxmi (2010). A travel blog of an Indian backpacker, available online at. http://www.lakshmisharath.com/2010/11/28/kumbalangi-3/

Sheshagiri K. M (n. d). Decentralisation of Education in India. Reflections from Kerala and Rajasthan. Available online at http.//www.negfire.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Decentralisation-of-education-paper.pdf.

Shobha Raghuram (2000). Kerala's Democratic Decentralisation. History in the Making. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 25 (Jun. 17-23, 2000), pp. 2105 - 2107.

Swaniti, Concept note on Adarsh Gram. A Model Village [available online-http.//unnat.iitd.ac.in/pdf/model_village.pdf]. Accessed on 12/9/2016

The New Indian Express

Tourism Statistics, 2014, Government of Kerala

Vijayanand, S.M (2009). Kerala–a case study of classic democratic decentralization. A report prepared for submission to the XII Finance Commission. Kerala Institute of Local Administration. Thrissur. Kerala. Available online at. www.kilaonline.org/site_docu/pub200904a.pdf (accessed 14/4/2011).

CHAPTER 5

Babu, Sutheeshna. S (2008). *Tourism development revisited. concepts, issues& paradigms*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Brien, Anne o' (2011). *The Politics of Tourism Development – Booms and Busts in Ireland*, Palgrave Macmillan, U.K.

Britton, S.G. (1991). *Tourism, capital, and place. towards a critical geography of tourism,* Environment and Planning D. Society and Space 9. 451-478.

Britton, S.G. (2004). *Tourism. Dependency and Development* in Tourism. Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences edited by Stephen Williams, Vol. III, Routledge Publications. London.

Budget, Government of India, 2016

Dasgupta, Chirasree (2016). *State and Capital in Independent India Institutions and Accumulation*, Cambridge University Press, India.

De Kadt (1979). *Tourism. passport to development? . Perspectives on the social and cultural effects of tourism in developing countries*. New York. Published for the World Bank and UNESCO by Oxford University Press.

Dean, .M (2012). The Signature of Power, *The Journal of Political Power*, The University Of Newcastle, Routledge Publications, Vol. 5. No.1, p. p – 101-117.

Desmond, (1999). *No Future Without Forgiveness*. Random House Publication, London.

Devika, (2010).   Devika, J. 2010. 'Egalitarian Developmentalism, Communist Mobilization, and the Question of Caste in Kerala State, India', *Journal of Asian Studies* 69 (3). 799-820.

Devika, J. and Thampi, B.V. (2010). 'Empowerment or politicization? The limits of gender inclusiveness of Kerala's political decentralization' in K. Ravi Raman (ed.) *Development, Democracy and the State. critiquing the Kerala Model of Development.* London; New York. Routledge.

Dredge, D. and Jenkins, J. (2007). 'Tourism Planning and Policy', Wiley.

Dunn, J (1967). 'Consent in the political theory of John Locke', *The Historical Journal* 10 (2). 153-182.

Hall, C.M. (1994) 'Tourism and Politics', John Wiley

Hall, C.M. (1999) 'Rethinking collaboration and partnership. A public policy perspective', *Journal of* Hall, C.M. (2002) 'Travel safety, terrorism and the media. The significance of the issue-attention cycle', *Current Issues in Tourism*, **5** (5), pp458-466.

Hall, C.M. 2010. 'Yes, Virgina, there is a tourism class. why class still matters in tourism analysis'. In Jan Mosedale (ed.) *Political Economy of Tourism. a critical perspective.* Oxon., New York. Routledge.

Hall, C.M. and Jenkins, J.M. (2004) Tourism and public policy, in '*Companion to Tourism*' (Lew, A, *Sustainable Tourism*, **7** (3/4), pp274-289

Hall, C.M. and Page, S. J. (1999). *The geography of tourism and recreation. environment, place and space.* London. Routledge.

Hall, Michael (2008). 'Tourism Planning', 2nd ed. Pearson Education.

Harvey, D (2005). 'Neoliberalism and the restoration of class power'. In David Harvey's Spaces of neoliberalization. towards a theory of uneven geographical development. Stuttgart. Franz Steiner.

Harvey, David (2006). *The limits to capital*, Oxford. Blackwell.

Kerala Tourism Statistics

Keeraleeyam Magazine; a report by EQUATIONS, March 2008

Khan, Maryam .M (1997). Tourism Development and Dependency Theory. Mass Tourism vs Eco-tourism. Research Notes and Reports. Virginia, USA.

Milward, H.B. (1996) 'Symposium on the hollow state. capacity, control and performance in interorganizational settings', *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory,* 6 (2), pp.193-195.

Ministry of Tourism Website

Mowforth and Munt (1998). *Tourism& Substainability*, Routledge Publications, USA and Canada.

Pleumarom, Anita (2012). *The Politics of Tourism, Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development,* Third World Network, Malaysia.

Rhodes, R.A.W (1997). 'From marketisation to diplomacy. It's the mix that matters', *Australian Journal of Public Administration,* 56 (2), pp.40-53.

Richter, Linda K. (1983). Tourism Politics and Political Science A Case Of Not So Benign Neglect*, Annals of Tourism Research*. Vol. 10. pp. 313-335.

Rojek, C & Urry, J (1997). *Touring cultures. transformations of travel and theory.* London. Routledge.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M (2004). *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*. Beverly Hills. Sage.

Singh, Shalini (2012). Tourism in India. Policy pitfalls, *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 7.1, 45-59, DOI. 10.1080/10941660208722109

Urry, John (1990). *The Tourist Gaze*, Sage Publications. London.

Appendix – 1

Major Tourism Promotion Campaigns and Initiatives at a Glance

Year	Particulars
1946	Sir John Sargent Committee on Tourism
1947	Report of Sir John Committee
1949	Sir John Committee Suggestions, Govt. started branches of Tourism in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras
1951-55	First Five Year Plan, No allotment for tourism development
1956-60	Allotment for tourism with name of transportation Division
1957	Establishment of Department of Tourism
1958	Establishment of Tourism Department Council
1960	Establishment of Indian Tourism Development Corporation (ITDC)
1966	Establishment of Department of Aviation
1966	Establishment of Department of Aviation and Tourism
1967	Establishment of Ministry of Tourism and civil Aviation
1982	Declared First time National Tourism Policy

1986	Establishment of National Committee on Tourism
1986	Separate Department of Tourism
1986	Tourism as a industry declared by Government
1986	Separate department with cabinet minister
1988	Establishment of Ministry of civil Aviation Tourism
1991	Tourism as a source of Foreign Investment
1992	Nation action plan for tourism
1992	Tourism Year
1995	Establishment of Tourism cell
1988-99	Tourism with export businesses
1999-2000	Visit India Year
2002	The concept of highway tourism, agricultural tourism, and rural tourism A campaign titled as Incredible India was launched.
2009	Another campaign titled as 'Atithi Devo Bhava' was introduced.
2015	National Tourism Policy

Appendix 2 -

Promotion and Marketing of Kerala Tourism

Details of Participation of the Department of Tourism, Kerala in International and National festivals Road shows and fairs during 2015

International Festivals

- ATM Dubai (4-7 May 2015) in U.A.E
- BITE China (26-28 June 2015) in China
- OTDYKH Leisure (15-18 September 2015) in Russia
- ITB Asia (21-23 October 2015)in Singapore
- WTM London 2015 (2-5 November 2015) in England
- Travel Fair in NewYork
- FITUR 2016 Madrid in Spain
- ITB, Berlin 2016 in Germany

International Road shows

- Colombo, Sri Lanka (24th April 2015)
- Shanghai, China (30thJune 2015)
- St. Petersburg, Russia (21st September 2015)
- Warsaw, Poland (6th October 2015)
- Tokyo, Japan (19th October 2015)
- Brussels, Norway (10th November 2015)
- Frankfurt, Germany (12th 2015)
- Mascot, Oman (23rd November 2015)
- Manama, Bahrin (25th November 2015)

National Festivals and Road shows

- Mysore (23rd July2015)
- Gurgaon (4th August 2015)
- Chandigarh (6th August 2015)
- Jalandhar (7th August 2015)
- Udaipur (11th August 2015)
- Varanasi (13 th August 2015)
- Goa (3rd September 2015)
- Surat (8th September 2015)
- Ahmadabad (10th September 2015)

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Primary Sources:

Important respondents from the field: government officials, policy makers, activists, academicians, tourism industry professionals, politicians and few members from the marginalised communities etc.

Name of Respondent	Designation	Date and Place of Meeting	Type of Interview
Ms. Rose Mary Vishwanathan	Ex - Director of EQUATIONS, Bangalore	24.05.15, NCDHR Office, Patel Nagar New Delhi	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Ms. Swathi Seshadri	Area Coordinator - Networking at EQUATIONS, Bangalore	29.01.16, EQUATIONS, Office in Bangalore.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Sumesh Mangalashery	Chairman & Managing Director, Kabani (the other direction) – Community Tourism and Services	25.02.16, Kabani Office in Calicut.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Udhaya Kumar	Local Resident of Wayanad & Kerala Police Constable	25.02.16, Kalpetta near new bus stand.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Narayanan Kaliyodath	Managing Director at Wayanad Agriculture and Spices Producer Company (WASP).	26.02.16, WASP office in Panamaram, Wayanad	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Ms. C. K Janu	Leader of Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha & Social Activist	27.02.16, at her residence in	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided,

		Panavelli.	Informal Interview
Mr. K. Ravindran	Ex-Secretary of (Wayanad Tourism Organization – WTO) & Owner of Pranavam Homestays, Pozhuthana.	28.02.16, at his residence in Vasudeva Edom, Pozhuthan in Vythiri.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Babu Raj	Executive Member of Urav, an NGO in Thirikkaipetta village in Wayanad	29.02.16, at Urav Bamboo Village in Thrikkaipetta.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Hari	Wayanad – DTPC Manager	01.03.16, DTPC Office, Kalpetta	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Thomas Ambalavayil	Solidarity Group Member	01.03.16, in a restaurant near Meenangadi bus stand.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. P. Gagarin	Ex- Pachayath resident of Vythiri Panchayath	01.03.16, in CITU office in Vythiri.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Sam Mathew	Political Activist of CPI-ML party in Wayanad	02.03.16, in CPI-ML party office.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Vijayan Cherukara	Political Activist of CPI, Kalpetta	02.03.16, in Town Hall, Kalpetta.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview

Mr. Abu Thalipuzha	Environmentalist and an Artist	02.03.16, at his residence in Kalpetta.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Bhadushah	Wayanad Prakruthi Samrakshana Samithi, an environmental organisation	03.03.16, at his residence near Sultan Bathery.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Sarish	Responsible Tourism Co-ordinator, Vythiri – Wayanad	04.03.16, at RTI office in Sultan Bathery.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Sivadattan	Ex-Panchayat President, Kumbalangi	08.02.16, at a restaurant - Vasant Vihar, Thoppumpaddy, Kochi.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Francis Xavier	Tourist Guide and Tour Operator in Kumbalangi	10.02.16, at Kallanchery Retreat, Kumbalangi.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. C.R Neelakandan	Environmentalist	14.03.16 at his residence in Kakkanad.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Muralidhara Menon	Tourism Expert, Special Consultant for Kumbalangi tourism		Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. P J Varghese	Tour Operator,	Tourist Desk Office 06.02.16	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview

Mr. Damien Thomas	Owner of Palette Greens Homestay and Convention Centre.	On 18.02.16 at his residence	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Ashif	Fishworker, who shifted out from Kumbalangi and lives in Palluruthy.	Palluruthy Veli on 10.02.16	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Prof. Alito Sequera	Sociology professor, Goa University.	At his residence in Goa on 2nd, August 2016.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Fr. Maverick Fernandes	Director Caritas, In-charge of Centre for Responsible Tourism , Goa	Caritas Office, Goa on 3rd August, 2016.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Saroop Roy	Assistant Professor, KITTS	At KITTS, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala on 22nd February, 2017	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Dr. V. Venu	Principal Secretary, Tourism, Government of Kerala	Office on 21st February, 2017	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Shan Madhuran	Local resident and anti-corruption group activist in Kumbalangi	At his residence on 25th February, 2017	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Ms. Suma Vishnudas	Researcher at MSSRF	At her residence on August 8th, 2016.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview

Ms. Usha Kumari	Vythiri Panchayat President	At her office then again at her residence on 6th, August and 9th August, 2016.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Ratheesh	DTPC Manager, Pookode Lake	At his office in Wayanad on 5th, August, 2016.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Vishnudas	Ornithologist, at the National Centre for Biological Sciences, Bangalore	At his residence on August 8th, 2016 in Wayanad.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Ms. Beena	Vythiri Panchayat Member	Panchayat Office, Vythiri on August7th, 2016.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Biju	Owner of Regalia Tour and Travel Company, Kumbalangi	Near Kallanchery Retreat, Kumbalangi on 06.02.16.	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Roopesh Kumar	State Coordinator of RT, Kerala	On 21st February, 2017	Telephonic Interview
Mr. Rajesh	Local Resident and traditional Fish worker in Kumbalangi.	Kumbalangi, 05.02.16	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Reghu	Local Resident in Vythiri.	Kumbalangi, 07.02.16	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and semi guided, Informal Interview
Mr. Chitra Kumar	Dalit activist	Vythiri at his residence	Individual, Face to face, Semi structured and

		on 7th August, 2016.	semi guided, Informal Interview

Other Sources:-

Arshatheeram Resort Website

Budget, Government of India, 2016

Census - 2011, Government of India

DTPC, Ernakulam Website

EPW – Commentary, Coir industry – Deepening crisis, Vol. 19, Issue No. 16, 21 Apr, 1984.

EQUATIONS Report – Equitable Tourism Options, Bangalore, Annual Report, 2013-14.

EQUATIONS Report: Tourism as a Development Model of Keralam (n. d) accessed from their physical library on 28/01/2016, Bangalore.

Grammam Homestay Website

Heritage Methanam Website

Human Development Report, Kerala 2005

Identification of Tourism Circuits across India: Interim Report, Kerala, Ministry of Tourism, Government of India, March 2012

India Tourism Statistics 2012: Government of India, Ministry of Tourism, Market Research Division

Kallancherry Retreat Homestay Website

Kanjilal, Gour: http://www.gourkanjilal.com/India-Tourism-part2.pdf

Keeraleeyam Magazine; a report by EQUATIONS, March 2008

Kerala Tourism – An Observation: Department of Management Studies, School of Commerce and Management Studies, Kannur University

Kerala Tourism – An Observation: Department of Management Studies, School of Commerce and Management Studies, Kannur University

Kerala Tourism – An Observation: Department of Management Studies, School of Commerce and Management Studies, Kannur University.

Kerala Tourism Policy – Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala, 2012

Kerala Tourism Statistics

Kerala Tourism Stats 2014, Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

Kerala's Approach to Tourism Development: A Case Study Ministry of Tourism & Culture, Government of India

Kerala's Approach to Tourism Development: A Case Study Ministry of Tourism & Culture, Government of India.

Kerala's Executive Summary – The Perspective Plan in brief (2002-03 to 2021-22) prepared by Tata Economic Consultancy Service, Bangalore.

Keralatourism.org

Kochi Metro Website

Kumbalangi Tourism Website

Lives, Livelihoods & Environment of Wayanad (2011) - A Preliminary Study (2011): Report by RASTA and Environmental Governance Group - Public Affairs Center. London & New York.

Ministry of Tourism Website

MS Swaminathan Research Foundation Report, 2007

National Tourism Policy: Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Government of India, 2002

National Tourism Policy: Department of Tourism, Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Government of India, 2002

Planning Commission Website

Proceedings of Indian Workshop on Rice, Kumbalangi, Keralam

Promoting tourism for sustainable development and poverty reduction, World Tourism Organization, UNWTO - http://www2.unwto.org/event/promoting-tourism-sustainable-development-and-poverty-reduction

Sinha, Atul (n.d): Features of Tourism Development in India, Government of India –

Swaniti, Concept note on Adarsh Gram: A Model Village [available online].

The New Indian Express

Times of India

Tourism Finance Corporation: Economic and Political Weekly, September 17, 1994

Tourism Finance Corporation: Economic and Political Weekly, September 17, 1994

Tourism in India: Economic and Political Weekly, November 2-9, 2002

Tourism Sector in India: Lok Sabha Secratariat, 2013

Tourism Statistics, Government of Kerala, 2014

Venu, V. (n. d): The Kerala Responsible Tourism Initiative - A Work in Progress (A Report) accessed online on 13/12/2014

Wayanad Tourism Organization Website – www.wayanad.org

www.ecoindia.com/eco-tourism-in-India.html

www.ecotourism.org

www.incredibleindia.org

www.tourism.co.in

www.ecotourism.co.in

www.ecotourismsocietyofindia.org

www.ecotourismkeralam.org

www.keralatravels.com

www.iexplore.com/activity/ecotourism/introduction

www.nativescience.org/html/eco-tourism.html

www.ecotourismindia.com

www.himachaleecotourism.nic.in/policy.html

www.indiawildlifeportal.com

www.indiatourismstate.com

www.tourisminindia.com

www.tourism.gov.in

www.keralahoildays247.com

www.keralatravels.com

www.keralatourism.org

www.ecotours.in

www.ecotourismlogue.com

www.planeta.com/ecotravel/tour

www.4yathra.com/destinations

www.keralasafari.in

www.idukki.nic.in

www.Munnar.com

www.Thekkady.com

www.Thekkady.org

www.Vagamon.com

www.travelskerala.com/idukki.htm

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aggarwal, Prateek, (1999). *Aspects of Cross Cultural Interaction and Tourism*. New Delhi. Mohit Publications.

Aggarwal, Prateek, (1999).*Tourism and Economic Growth and Development*. New Delhi. Mohit Publications.

Almond, Gabriel & Coleman, James S. (1960). The Politics of Developing Areas, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

Anbalagan, M.V., Selvam, & Amudha, R. (2005). Tourism-An Umbrella Organisation to Transform the Society and Economy. *South Asian Journal of*

Aneja, Puneet, (2005). Tourism Growth in India. *Kurukshetra*, Vol.17, No.9 (June), 11-14.

Aneja, Puneet, (2006). Sustainable Tourism Development Challenges Ahead. *Kurukshetra*, Vol.12, No.5 (May), 15-19.

Apter, David (1965). The Politics of Modernisation, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Ashley, Caroline (2000). Pro-Poor Tourism. Putting Poverty at the heart of the Tourism Agenda, Department for International Development (DFID), number 51.

Atisdell,Clement, (2000). *Economics of Environmental Conservation*. Bodmin. MPG Book Ltd.

Babu, Sutheeshna (2007). Development of Tourism on the West Coast of India. A Case Study of Selected Beach Resorts in the States of Goa and Keralam, Ph. D Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Babu, Sutheeshna .S (2008). Tourism development revisited. concepts, issues & paradigms, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Babu, Paul, D. (1991). A Perspective Paper on Tourism Development of Tourism. Government of Kerala. 26-27.

Babu, Sutheeshna, Sitikantha,Mishra, & Bivraj, Bhusan Parida, (1994). *Tourism Development Revisited Concepts, Issues and Paradigms*. New Delhi. Response Publications.

Badan, B.S., Harish Bhatt, (2004). *Ecotourism*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Bader, Anne (n.d) . Tourism Business Environment Analysis Conducted for Kerala/India, Saimaa University of Applied Sciences, Lappeenranta, Business Administration, Thesis.

Bagri, S.C., Babu,Suresh, A. (2009). Impact of Terrorism on India's Tourism Industry. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.28, No.2 (July-Dec), 134-137.

Baker, K (2008). Kerala's Strategy for Tourism Growth. A southern approach to Development and Poverty alleviation in Peter. M Burns & Marina Novelli, Ed. Tourism development, CAB International, U.K

Balaji, V., Sumod, M. (2010). Tourism and Economic Development-A Study of Kanyakumari. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.11, No.1 (July-Dec), 147-154.

Balakrishnan, Kodiyeri, (2007). Responsible Tourism. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.22, No.12 (April), 10-15.

Ball, Stephen (2007). Contemporary hospitality &tourism, Elsevier Publications, Oxford.

Ballabh,Anand, (1993). *Fundamentals of Travel and Tourism*. New Delhi. Akansha Publishing House.

Bande, Usha, (2002). Eco-Tourism and Mountains. *Yojana*, Vol.24, No.15 (August), 20-24.

Bansal, S.P., Prashant,Gautam, (2000). *Cutting Edge Research in Tourism*. Chadigarh. Abhishek Publications.

Bardhan, Pranab (2015). Reflections on Indian Political Economy, Economic & Political Weekly EPW may 2, Vol. l no 18.

Batir Mirbabayev and Malika Shagazatova (2005). The Economic and Social Impact of Tourism, http.//www.pua.edu.eg/PUASite/uploads/file/Tourism/Fall%202013/THM%20241/lecture%205%20%20SOCIAL%20IMPACTS%20OF%20TOURISM%20case%20study.pdf.

Batra, G.S., Chawla, A.S. (1994).*Tourism Management-A Global Perspective*. New Delhi. Deep and Deep Publications.

Batra, G.S., Dangwal, R.C. (1992). *Tourism Promotion and Development-New Advances*. New Delhi. Deep and Deep Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Becken,Susanne, John. E. Hay, (2007). *Tourism and climate Change-Risks and Opportunities*. New Delhi. Viva Books.

Becker, Elizabeth (2013). Is tourism the most destructive enterprise? , YaleGlobal, April 23.

Becker, Elizabeth. Is tourism the most destructive enterprise? , YaleGlobal, April 23, 2013.

Bellah, R.N (1957). Tokugawa religion. the values of pre-industrial, Collier Macmillan; The Free Press, New York.

Benckendorff, Pierre (2013). International- International cases in sustainable travel & tourism, Goodfellow Publishers, Oxford.

Benckendorff, Pierre (20130. International- International cases in sustainable travel & tourism, Goodfellow Publishers, Oxford.

Bharadwaj, D.S., Kandari, O.P. (1999).*Domestic Tourism in India*. Delhi. Indus Publishing Company.

Bharadwaj, K. Krishnan, (2001). *International Tourism-Issues and Challenges*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Bharathbhushan, E.K. (2005). Sustainable Tourism Development. *Kerala Calling,* Vol.50, No.16 (October), 8-10.

Bharathi, Rajeev, (2008). Tigers and Tourism. *Sanctuary Asia*, Vol.xxviii, No.3 (June), 52-58.

Bhatia, A.K. (1995). *International Tourism Management*. New Delhi. Sterling Publishers Private Ltd.

Bhatia, A.K. (1995). *Tourism Development-Principles and Practices*. New Delhi. Sterling Publishers Private Ltd.

Bhatia, A.K. (1997). *Tourism Management and Marketing*. New Delhi. Sterling Publishers Private Ltd.

Bhattacharya, A.K. (2000). *Ecotourism and Livelihood*. New Delhi. Concept Publishing Company.

Bhawani, Cheerath, (2002). Health Tourism Kerala Beckons the Traveller. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.17, No.1 (July-Dec), 136-143.

Bhushan, Ravi Kumar, (2007). Impact Assessment of Natural Disasters on Beach Tourism-A Case Study of Tsunami Effects in India. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.7, No.2 (Jan-June), 104-107.

Bhushankar, Ravi, (1997).*Coastal Tourism and Environment*. Delhi. APH Publishing Corporation.

Bianchi, Raoul. V (2013). Place &power in tourism development. tracing the complex articulations of community & locality, PASOS, 2003 (www.pasosonline.org).

Bijoy, C.R. (1999) Adivasis Betrayed. Adivasi Land Rights in Kerala. Economic and Political Weekly, 34(22), 1329-1335

Bijoy, C.R., and Raman, K. R. (2003) Muthanga. the Real Story. Economic and Political Weekly, 38(20), 1975-1982.

Biju, M.R. (2000). *Sustainable Dimensions of Tourism management*. New Delhi. Mittal Publications.

Biju, M.R. (2002). Global Tourism. The Evolutionary Process. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.17, No.1 (July-Dec), 144-147.

Biju, M.R. (2004). Ecotourism in Kerala. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.12, No.1 (July-Dec), 94-102.

Boniface, Brian & Cooper, Chris (1994). The Geography of Travel and Tourism, Butterworth- Heinemann, Northwestern University.

Bose, M.C. (1995). *Discovering Kerala*. Thiruvananthapuram. Prasdedda Publications.

Braganza, D'. Melo, Carmelita, D. Melloand , (2008). 3 S Tourism in Goa Through Eco-Tourism. *Southern Economist*, Vol.12, No.6 (January15), 39-43.

Bramwell, Bill and Lane, Bernard (2012). Tourism Governance-Critical perspectives on governance and sustainability, Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Routledge, Canada.

Briassoulis,Helen, Tanvander,Straaten, (1999). *Tourism and the Environment-Regional, Economic, Cultural and Policy Issues*. U.K. Kluwe Academic Publishers.

Bricker, Kelly. S (2013). Sustainable tourism and the millennium development goals - effecting positive change, The International Ecotourism Society.

Brien, Anne o' (2011). The Politics of Tourism Development – Booms and Busts in Ireland, Palgrave Macmillan, U.K.

Britton, S.G. (1991). 'Tourism, capital, and place. towards a critical geography of tourism', Environment and Planning D. Society and Space 9. 451-478.

Britton, S.G. (2004). *Tourism. Dependency and Development* in Tourism. Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences edited by Stephen Williams, Vol. III, Routledge Publications. London.

Burkart, A.J., Melik, S. (1974). *Tourism. Past, Present and Future*. London. William Heinemann Ltd.

Burns, Peter. M & Novelli, Marina (2008). Ed. Tourism development, CAB International, U.K.

Burns, Peter, M., Marina,Novelli, (2000). *Tourism and Social Identities*. Boston. Elesevier.

Butler, Richard, W., Stephen,Boyd, W. (2000). *Tourism and the National Parks - Issues and Implications*. Singapore. John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

C.S, Chandrika, and P.M, Nandakumar (n. d). Paniya Adivasi Women's Innovative Livelihood Development Endeavours in Farming. M S Swaminathan Research Foundation, Wayanad.

Caldwell, Malcolm (1977). The Wealth of some nations, Zed Press, London.

CAMS Journal of Business Studies and Research, Vol.1, No.1 (January-March), 36-41.

Caprihan, Vijai, Kumar,Shiva, Kirthi, (2003). Personalisation Tourism. *South*

Caprihan, Vijai, Kumar,Shiva, Kirthi, (2004). Eco-Tourism in India. *South Asian*

Chakravarti, S. (2001). God's acre, India Today. Retrieved on July 21, 2009, from http://www.india-today.com/itoday/20010129/cover.shtml.

Chand,Mohinder, (2002).*Basics of Tourism.* Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Chand,Mohinder, Ravi,Bhushan, (2005). Rural Tourism. A New Approach to Sustainability. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.9, No.2 (Jan-June), 97-103.

Chandra,Prabhas, (1998). *Global Ecotourism Codes and Protocoles*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers.

Chandra, Satish, (2003). *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development*. New Delhi. Rajat Publications.

Chandran, Anu, (2003). Indigenous Tourism in Kumbalangy-A Study on Initiatives and Implications. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.9, No.1 (July-Dec), 108-112.

Chandran, Anu, (2008). Vision Tampering-A Threat. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.18, No.14 (July) 30-31.
Chaturvedi, Devesh, (2010). Tourism in India. Ensuring Buoyancy and Sustainability. *Yojana*, Vol.13, No.8 (May), 16-18.

Chauhan, Rajeev, (1989). *Heritage and Cultural Tourism*. Delhi. Vista International Publishing House.

Chawla,Ramesh, (2004). *Ecology and Tourism Development*. New Delhi. Sumit Enterprises.

Chawla,Ramesh, (2005).*Wildlife Tourism and Development*. New Delhi. Mohit

Publications.

Chawla,Ramesh, (2006). *Eco-Tourism and Development*. New Delhi. Sumit Enterprises.

Chawla,Romila, (1990). *Tourism and Cultural Heritage*. New Delhi. Arise Publishers and Distributors.

Chawla,Romila, (2000). *Tourism and Biodiversity*. New Delhi. Sonali Publications.

Chawla, Romila, (2003). *Ecotourism and Development*. Delhi. Sonali Publications.

Chekkutty, N.P (n. d). The dark side of the Kerala model of development published online - http.//infochangeindia.org/public-health/features/the-dark-side-of-the-kerala-model-of-development.html.

Chemmencheri, Sudheesh R. (2013). Decentralisation, Participation, and Boundaries of Transformation. Forest Rights Act, Wayanad, India, Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance, Issue 12.

Chettiparamb, A & Kokkaranikal, J (2012). Responsible tourism and sustainability. the case of Kumarakom in Kerala, India, Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events, 4.3, 302-326.

Chiranjeev, Avinash, (2001). *Tourism-Ecological, Social and Cultural Aspects*. New Delhi. Jnanda Prakashan.
Chopra, Subitha, (1994).*Tourism and Development in India*. New Delhi. Ashish Publishing House.

Cochrange, Janet, (1990). *Asian Tourism Growth and Change*. Amsterdam. Elsevier.

Cooper, Chris, John,Fletcher, David, Glibert, & Stephon, Wanhill, (1995).

D'souza, Mario , (1991). *Tourism Development and Management*. Jaipur. Mangal Deep Publications.

Das,Niranjan, H. J. Syiemlieh, (2004). Eco-Tourism in Assam. *Yojana*, Vol.8, No.4 (July), 29-31.

Dasgupta, Chirasree (2016). State and Capital in Independent India Institutions and Accumulation, Cambridge University Press, India.

De Kadt (1979). Tourism. passport to development? . Perspectives on the social and cultural effects of tourism in developing countries. New York. Published for the World Bank and UNESCO by Oxford University Press.

Dean, .M (2012). The Signature of Power, The Journal of Political Power, The University Of Newcastle, Routledge Publications, Vol. 5. No.1, p. p – 101-117.

Desmond, (1999). No Future Without Forgiveness. Random House Publication, London.

Dev, Shini, (2000). A Study on the Quality of Service at Thenmala Ecotourism Destination. *The Green Portal Tourism journal*, Vol.2, No.2, 21-22.

Dev, Shini, (2001). Relationship between Demographic Characters and Preference of Ecotourism Activities among Indian Eco-tourists. *The Green*

Devika, J. 2010. 'Egalitarian Developmentalism, Communist Mobilization, and the Question of Caste in Kerala State, India', Journal of Asian Studies 69 (3). 799-820.

Devika, J. and Thampi, B.V. (2010). 'Empowerment or politicization - the limits of gender inclusiveness of Kerala's political decentralization'. In K. Ravi Raman (ed.) *Development, Democracy and the State. critiquing the Kerala Model of Development.* London; New York. Routledge.

Dhar, Prem Nath*,* (1996). *Development of Tourism and Travel Industry-An*

Dhar, Prem Nath, (1997). *International Tourism Emerging Challenges and Future Prospects*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Dictionary of Environmental Economics. New Delhi. Oxford University Press.

Dileep, M.R. (2007). Kerala Unique in Variety. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.37, No.24 (April), 18-21.

Dileep, M.R. (2010). Tourism Gets a Fillip. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.37, No.11 (April), 32-33.

Dixit, Saurabh Kumar (2005). *Tourism and Politics*, published by Mohit Publications, New Delhi.

Dredge, D. and Jenkins, J. (2007). 'Tourism Planning and Policy', Wiley.

Dunn, J (1967). 'Consent in the political theory of John Locke', The Historical Journal 10 (2). 153-182.

Dutta,Avindya, Saswati,Gangopadhyay, & Devaya,Dutta, (2007). Brand Positioning of India as a Tourist Destination. A Case Based Analysis. *South*

Eisenstadt, Shmuel Noah (1963). The Political System of Empires, Free Press of Glenco, New York.

Encyclopaedia of Eco-Tourism. Delhi. Jnanada Prakashan.

Environment- Nature, Culture and Economy. New Delhi. Inter-India Publications.

Escobar, Arturo (1995). Encountering Development. The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.

Eugene,Gray, D., Barrelt, W. (2000). *Fundamental of Ecology*. Canada. Cenagage Learning Publishing.

Fadia,Anurag, (2005). *Modern Tourism Issues and Challenges*. New Delhi. Cyber Tech Publications.

Fannon, Frantz (1961). The Wretched of the Earth, Penguin Books, New York.

Fazili & Ashraf (2007). Tourism in India. Planning and Development, Sarup Book Publishers, New Delhi.

Fennell, David, (2000). *Ecotourism-Second Edition*. London. Routledge.

Fowforth, Martin & Munt, Ian. Tourism& Substainability, Routledge Publications, USA and Canada, 1998

Frank, A.G (1967). Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil, Monthly Review Press.

Furtado, Celso (1964). Development and Underdevelopment; translated by Ricardo W. De Aguiar and Eric Charles, University of California, Berkeley.

Gabor, A. (1980). *Pricing Principles and Practice*. London. Heinemann.

Geographical Perspective. U.K. Cassell.

George & Nair (2004). An Overview of the Health Scenario of Kerala's in B.A Prakash *Kerala's Economic Development*. Performance and Problems in the Post-Liberalization Period, Sage Publications.

George, B.P., Kumar, Sampad Swain, (1994). *Advancements in Tourism Theory and Practice-Perspectives from India*. New Delhi. Abhijeet Publications.

George, P.O. (2006). Prospects of Village Tourism. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.6, No.5 (July), 26-29.

Ghosh, P.N., R. Gabbay, (1998).*Tourism and Economic Development*. Delhi. Anmol Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Ghosh, Bishwanth, (1996). *Tourism and Travel Management*. Noida. Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Gill, M.S. (2002). Mountaineering, Trekking and Adventure. *Yojana*, Vol.24, No.15 (August), 38-40.

Gill, S. Pushpinder, (1993). *Tourism and Hotel Management*. New Delhi. Anmol

Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Godwin, Harold & Front, Xavier. Ed. Progress in responsible tourism, Leeds metropolitan university, Goodfellow Publishers, 2012.

Godwin, Harold & Front, Xavier. Ed. Progress in responsible tourism, Leeds metropolitan university,Goodfellow Publishers, 2012 . Taking responsibility for tourism, Goodfellow Publishers, 2012

Goeldher, R., Charles, J.R., Brent,Ritchie, & John,Wiley, (1995). *Tourism-*

Goswami, R.K. (2001). *Tourism and Environment*. New Delhi. Cyber Tech Publications.

Gracious, J., Thomas, P.C. (2007). E-Marketing of Tourism Products. The Cost Effective Alternative. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.40, No.1 (July-Dec), 104-105.

Gubbi, Sanjay, (2008). Wildlife Tourism. The Great Indian Green Trick. *Sanctuary Asia*, Vol.xxviii, No.5 (October), 40-44.

Guptha, Sanjeev, (2002). *World Tourism in the New Millennium.* Jaipur. ABD Publishers.

Haldar, Ashok, (2007). Isle's Tourism. The Ultimate Tourism Destination. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.7, No.2 (Jan-June), 99-103.

Hall, C.M. (1994) 'Tourism and Politics', John Wiley

Hall, C.M. (1999) 'Rethinking collaboration and partnership. A public policy perspective', Journal of Hall, C.M. (2002) 'Travel safety, terrorism and the media. The significance of the issue-attention cycle', Current Issues in Tourism, 5 (5), pp458-466.

Hall, C.M. 2010. 'Yes, Virgina, there is a tourism class. why class still matters in tourism analysis'. In Jan Mosedale (ed.) Political Economy of Tourism. a critical perspective. Oxon., New York. Routledge.

Hall, C.M. and Jenkins, J.M. (2004) Tourism and public policy, in 'Companion to Tourism' (Lew, A., Sustainable Tourism, 7 (3/4), pp274-289.

Hall, C.M. and Page, S. J. (1999). The geography of tourism and recreation. environment, place and space. London. Routledge.

Hall, Michael (2008). 'Tourism Planning', 2nd ed. Pearson Education.

Hall, Michael. C (2007). Politics and Tourism - interdependency & implications, Goodfellow Publishers Ltd, Oxford, 2010. Pro poor tourism - who benefits? perspectives on tourism & poverty reduction, Sep 15, Channelview publications.

Hall, Michael. C, (2010). Politics and Tourism - interdependency & implications, Goodfellow Publishers Ltd, Oxford,

Hall, Michael, C., Alan, A., & Lew,Longman, (1997). *Sustainable Tourism-A*

Hall, Michael, C., Stephen,Boyd, (1999). *Nature Based Tourism in Peripheral Areas*. New Delhi. Viva Books Private Ltd.

Hariharan, Iyer Kailash, (1995). *Tourism Development in India*. New Delhi. Vista International Publishing House.

Harikumar, P.N. (2007). Ecotourism-Backwater Spots in Kerala. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.13, No.15 (June), 26-34.

Harrison, David, (1993). *Tourism and the Less Developed World. Issues and Case Studies*. Oxford Shire. CABI Publishing.

Harvey, D (2005). 'Neoliberalism and the restoration of class power'. In David Harvey's Spaces of neoliberalization. towards a theory of uneven geographical development. Stuttgart. Franz Steiner.

Harvey, David (2006). The limits to capital, Oxford. Blackwell.

Hill, Jennifer, Tim, Gale, (2000).*Ecotourism and Environmental Sustainability*

Hosetti, B.B. (2000). *Ecotourism Development and Management*. Jaipur. Pointer Publishers.
Hospitality and Tourism. U.K. Cassell.

Huntington, P. Samuel (1968). Political Order in Changing Societies, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Issac & Franke R. W (2002). Local Democracy and Development. the Kerala People's Campaign for Decentralized Planning. Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Maryland.

Jacob, T. G (2006). Misery in an Emerald Bowl – Essays on the Ongoing Crisis in the Cash Crop Economy – Kerala, published by Vikas Adhyayam Kendra, Mumbai.

Jaguaribe, Helio (1973). Political Development. A General Theory and a Latin American Case Study.

Jayapalan, N. (1984).*An Introduction to Tourism*. Delhi. Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.

Jennings, Gayle, (2002). *Tourism Research*. Australia. Wiley.

Jerome, P.D (2003). What ail's Kerala's Development, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 38, No. 16 (Apr. 19-25), pp. 1584-1600.

Jithendran. K.J (1993). Tourism and Environment, Kerala Calling. Department of Public Relations, Government of Kerala, Volume 13, Number 10.

Jubin, John Joy. (2008). Study on Improving the Potential for Rural Tourism in Kerala - With Emphasis on Developing the Potential of Local Areas of Tourism Importance with Special Reference to Ponnumthuruthu, Anchuthengu and Kumbalangi, Conference on Tourism in India – Challenges ahead, 15-17May, IIMK.

John, Singh, A.J., R. Raghunath, (2010). City in the Wilderness. *Frontline*, Vol.15,

No.1 (January), 13.

Joseph, George, (2006). A Heaven Away from Heaven. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.15, No.6 (January), 38-41.

Jyothis, T., Janardhanan, V. K (2009). Kerala as a Health Tourism Destination. Swot Analysis. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*. Vol.9, No.2 (Jan-June), 151-154.

Kabia, Sunil, K. (1995). *Tourism Industry*. Delhi. Reference Press.

Kabia, Sunil, K. (1997). *Tourism and the Developing Country*. New Delhi. Mohit Publications.

Kabia, Sunil, K. (1998). *Tourism and Environment*. Delhi. Mohit Publications.

Kaul, R.N. (1985). *Dynamics of Tourism, Vol.1*. Bangalore. Sterling Publishers Private Ltd.

Kaviraj, Sudipto (2000). Modernity and Politics in India, Daedalus, Vol. 129, No. 1, Multiple Modernities, Published by. The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts & Sciences Stable URL. http.//www.jstor.org/stable/20027618. pp. 137-162. Accessed. 19-07-2015 17.03 UTC.

Kaviraj, Sudipto (2010). The Trajectories of the Indian State. Politics and Ideas, Permanent Black, Ranikhet.

Khan, Ali Mohd. Motasim; Noor, Mohammed Athoor; Khan, Mohd. Asif (2014). Tourism Development in India under Government Five Year Plans, Indian Journal of Research, Vol.-I, Issue-3, April.

Khan, M.A. (1997). *Tourism Marketing*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Khan, Maryam .M (1997). Tourism Development and Dependency Theory. Mass Tourism vs Eco-tourism. Research Notes and Reports. Virginia, USA.

Khan,Naffees, (2007). Human Resource Planning in Hotel Industry in India. A Case Study of India Tourism Development Corporation. *South Asian Journal of*

Khan,Saman, (2009). Market Potential of Tourism Services in India. *South*

Khanka, S.S., Bhuyan,Anjan, (2005). Social Entrepreneurship in Rural Tourism in Assam. *Kurukshetra*, Vol.11, No.4 (June2005).15-19.

Kohli, M.S. (2002). Eco-Tourism and Himalayas. *Yojana*, Vol.24, No.15 (August), 25-28.

Kokkranikal, J., & Morrison, A. (2002). Entrepreneurship and sustainable tourism. A case study of the houseboats of Kerala. Tourism and Hospitality Research, The Surrey Quarterly Review, 4(1), 7–20.

Kokkranikal, Jithendran J and Baum, Tom (2007). Human Resources Development for Tourism in Rural Communities. A case study of Kerala, Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research, 2007.

Kotler, Philip, (1991). *Marketing Management. Analysis, Planning, Implementation and Control*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ. Prentico-Hall International Ltd.

Krishnaprsad, P (2016). Western Ghats - On Gadgil-Kasturirangan Reports, Peoples Democracy (online), Vol. XL No. 26. http.//peoplesdemocracy.in/content/western-ghatson-gadgil-kasturirangan-reports

Kuhnen, Frithjof (1987). Causes of Causes of Underdevelopment and Concepts for Development — An Introduction to Development Theories, Journal of Development Studies.(http.//www.professor-frithjof-kuhnen.de/publications/causes-of underdevelopment/1.htm).

Kumar, B. Vijaya (2005). Participatory Tourism Development in Tribal Areas – A study of Wayanad' under the research project 'Development of Malabar', report submitted to Kannur University, Kerala.

Kumar, Akshay, (1995). *Tourism Management*. New Delhi. Common Wealth

Publishers.

Kumar,John Suriya, (2010). Strategic Management in Tourism Industry. *Southern Economist*, Vol.15, No.5 (September 1-15), 41-43.

Kumar, Maneet, (1994). *Tourism Today-An Indian Perspective*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishing House.

Kumar, Saurab, (1998). *Aspects of Tourism Development*. New Delhi. Mohit Publications.

Kumar, Swain Sampad, Babu,Suresh, A. (2007). Medical Tourism-A Mile Stone in Indian Tourism. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.40, No.1 (July-Dec), 102-103.

Kumar, Swain Sampad, Mohan, (2007). Eco-Tourism and Sustainable Development-A Case Study of Chandaka Wildlife Sanctuary in Orissa. *South*

Kumar,Vijaya, B. (2007). The Trendsetter Kerala, *Kerala Calling*, Vol.17, No.11 (April), 10-13.

Kurup, Prableen (1992). A brief note on the National Action Plan, Published online in http://www.preservearticles.com/201102083997/short-note-on-the-national-action-plan-1992.html.

Lakesh,Reshma, (2007). Chattisgarh Nature Untouched. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.25, No.2 (July-Dec), 114-119.

Lea, John (1988). Tourism and development in the third world, Routledge Publication, London.

Lerner, Daniel (1958). The Passing of the Traditional Societies, Modernizing the Middle East, Macmillan Publishing Company, New York.

Liburd, Janne J (2010). Understanding the Sustainable Developments of Tourism, Goodfellow Publishers, Oxford.

84

Madhavan, Shaji, (2007). International Beach Destination Bekal. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.12, No.3 (April), 16-17.

Makan, Dileep, (1993). *Strategies and planning in Tourism Industry*. Delhi. Adhyayan Publishers and Distributors.

Makan, Dileep, (2000). *Encyclopedia of Tourism Development in Next Millennium*. Delhi. Adhyayan Publishers and Distributors.

Malek, Abdul, H.A., Hazbar, & D. Anand, (2009). Economic and Environmental Impacts of Tourism on Socotra Island. *Southern Economist*, Vol.15, No.7 (June 15), 21-23.

Malhotra, R.K. (1991). *Socio-Environmental and Legal Issues in Tourism*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Malhotra, R.K. (1995). *Tourism Marketing*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Mallya, Abhilash, (1995). *Wildlife Tourism and Conservation*. New Delhi. Gnosis Publishers.

Malviya, Sanchey, (1994).*Tourism Leisure and Recreation*, *Volume-3*. New Delhi. Isha Books.

Management. the Socio-Economic and Ecological Perspective. New Delhi. University Press.

Markandya,Anil, Renat,Perelet, Pamela,Mason, & Tim,Taylor, (1991).

Mathew, P.M. (2004). Natural Environment and Tourists Inflow. *South Asian*

Mathew,Cyriac, (2003). Future of Tourism Calls for New Initiatives. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.9, No.11 (April), 21-27.

Mathukutty, J. (2007). Palace on Waves. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.11, No.12 (April), 22-

23.

Mehta,Vishwas, (1992).*Cultural Tourism Management*. New Delhi. Authors Press.

Menon, Rahul (2011). Re-imagining Development in India, Social Scientist, Vol. 39, No. 9/10 (September-October 2011), pp. 35-53.

Milward, H.B. (1996) 'Symposium on the hollow state. capacity, control and performance in interorganizational settings', Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 6 (2), pp.193-195.

Minocha, A. C. (1991). Indian Development Strategy, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 26, No. 43 (Oct. 26), p. 2488.

Mirbabayev, Batir and Shagazatova, Malika (2005). The Economic and Social Impact of Tourism, Theobald. William. F, Global Tourism, Butterworth – Heinemann.

Mohanlal, K.G. (2007). Ecotourism in Kerala. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.18, No.1 (July-Dec), 104-105.

Motiram, (2007). Globalisation. Potentials and prospects of Mass Tourism in India. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.7, No.2 (July-Dec), 104-107.

Mowforth, Martin & Munt, Ian (1998). Tourism& Substainability, Routledge Publications, USA and Canada.

Mowforth,Martin Lanmunt, (1991).*Tourism and Sustainability-New Tourism in the Third World*. London. Routledge.

Muganda, Michael (2010). Tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation. A community perspective from Tanzania, Routledge Publications, Development Southern Africa Vol. 27, No. 5, December.

Muhammed, Ajims. P and Jagathyraj, V.P (2008). Challenges Faced by Kerala Tourism Industry, Conference on Tourism in India – Challenges ahead, 15-17May, IIMK.

Muhkopadhya, Dripto (2008). Exploring Linkage between Tourism and Community Development. A Case Study of the Artisans in Rajasthan in 'Tourism Development Revisited. Concepts, Issues and Paradigms' by Sutheeshna Babu.et...al, Sage Publications, New Delhi.

Mukherji, Rahul (2013). Ideas, interests, and the tipping point. Economic change in India, Review of International Political Economy, 20.2, pp. 363-389.

Mukhopadhyay, Sipra, (2000). *Tourism Economics*. New Delhi. Ane Books India.

Muraleedharan, K. (2007). Broaden Experience Endogenous Tourism. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.10, No.12 (April) 30-31.

Muraleedharan, T. (2009). Endogenous Tourism Project-A New Indian Brand of Rural Tourism. *Social Science in Perspective*, Vol.1, No.1 (October-December), 14-16.

Murugan,Annmalai, (2007). Challenges and Changes in Indian Tourism. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.37, No.1 (July-Dec), 103-106.

Nagaraj, R. (1997). What Has Happened since 1991? Assessment of India's Economic Reforms, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 32, No. 44/45 (Nov. 8-14), pp. 2869-2879.

Nagendran, Raju, G.R. (1998). *Demystification of Ecotourism With Reference to*

Najeeb, E.M. (2005). Tourism Five years in Retrospect. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.14, No.12 (May), 21-22.

Najeeb, E.M. (2007). Tourism-A Potential Area Yet to be Explored. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.16, No.1 (Jan-June), 86-89.

Najeeb, E.M. (2008). Tourism Traffic Hopeful the Scene. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.21, No.13 (December), 18-19.

Negi,Jagmohan, (1998). *International Tourism and Travel Concepts and*

Negi,Jagmohan, (1994). *Adventure Tourism and Sports*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Negi,Jagmohan, (1995). *Travel Agency-Operations Concepts and Principles*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Negi, Jagmohan, (1999). *Tourism Travel-Concepts and Principles*. New Delhi. Gitanjali Publishing House.

Netto, Nalini (1993). Kerala Tourism – A fast growing industry, Kerala Calling. Department of Public Relations, Government of Kerala, Volume 13, Number 10.

Nettoor, Heera, (2005). Exploring New Destinations. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.50, No.16 (October), 21-22.

Newsome,David, Ross,Dowling, & Susan,Moore, (2007). *Wildlife Tourism*. CBS Tourism Series.

Oberai, C.P. (2000). *Eco-Tourism Paradise Andaman and Nicobar Islands*. Delhi. B.R Publishing Corporations.

Oommen & Williams. Williams, G., Thampi, B., Narayana, D., & Bhattacharya, D. (2011). Performing participatory citizenship – politics and power in Kerala's kudumbashree programme. Journal of Development Studies, 47(8), 1261–1280.

Oommen, M.A (2008). Micro finance and poverty alleviation. The case of Kerala's Kudumbashree (Working Paper No. 17). Centre for Socio-economic&Environmental Studies (CSES), Kochi, Kerala, India. Retrieved November 11, 2011, from http.//maoommen.com/images/papers/MICRO%20FINANCE%20AND%20POVERTY%20ALLEVIATION.pdf

Oommen, T.K (2004). Development Discourse. Issues and Concerns, Regency Publications, New Delhi.

Organski, Kenneth (1965). Stages of Political Development, New York

P, Nissar and Mullappallykayamkulath, Munavver Azeem (2014). Kerala Model Responsible Tourism – An Evaluation - Sai Om Journal of Commerce & Management, Published by. Sai Om Publications, Online ISSN-2347-7571, Volume 1, Issue 6, June.

Page, Stephen, J. (1996).*Tourism Management-Managing for Changes*. New Delhi. Elsevier.

Panda, Tapan, K., Sitikantha,Mishra, & Bivaraj,Bhusan Parida, (1992). *Tourism* Pandy, V.C. (1994). *Environment Security and Tourism Development in South*

Patil, R. M. (2011). Tourism and Economic Development of India. *Southern Economist*, Vol.32, No.12 (August 15), 32-36.

Periyasami, N., Ashish,Varghese, (2010). Perception of Tourists Visiting Kerala. A Micro Study. *Southern Economist*, Vol.18, No.9 (January 15), 41-42.

Pleumarom, Anita (2013). The Politics of Tourism, Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development, Third World Network, Malaysia.

Portal Tourism journal, Vol.3, No.1, 97-107.

Poyamoli, G. (2007). Eco-Cultural Tourism in Indian Islands. Some Implications. *The Green portal Tourism Journal*, Vol.4, No.1, 16- 25.

Prasad, A. G. Devi and Shyma, T. B. (2013). Medicinal plants used by the tribes of Vythiri taluk, Wayanad district (Kerala state) for the treatment of human and domestic animal ailments, Journal of Medicinal Plants Research. Vol. 7(20), pp. 1439-1451.

Principles and Practice. U.K. Ashgate.

Principles, Practices and Philosophies. INC.

Principles. New Delhi. S Chand and Company Ltd.

Priya,Vikas Rajuvedi, (2002). Tourism in India. *Yojana*, Vol.12, No.6 (December) 48-49.

Pruthi, R.K. (1995). *Nature Based Tourism*. New Delhi. Rajat Publications.

Pruthi, R.K. (2002). *Tourism and Climate Change*. New Delhi. Rajat Publications.

Pye, Lucian (1966). Aspects of Political Development. An Analytic Study, publishing. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.

Raghavan, V.P. (2005). Economy of Eco-Tourism in Kerala. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.15, No.2 (Nov-Dec), 40-41.

Raina, A.K., Agarwal, S.K. (1985). *The Essence of Tourism Development Dynamics*, *Philosophy and Strategies*. New Delhi. Sarup and Sons.

Raina, A.K., Lodha, R.C. (1994). *Fundamentals of Tourism System*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Raj, Vinay. R (2013). A Study on Community Tourism and its impact in Kerala with Special Reference to Ernakulam District, IRACST- International Journal of Research in Management & Technology (IJRMT), ISSN. 2249-9563, Vol. 2, No.6, December.

Raj, Aparna, (1999). *Sustainability, Profitability and Successful Tourism*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Raj, Sundar, T. (2009).Ecotourism and Sustainable Development in Kerala, *The Researcher,* Vol. IV, No.2 (November), 24-31.

Raji,Ezhil, S. (2009). Gains Through Healthy Human Resource Practices in Tourism and Hospitality Industry. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS),* Vol.9, No.2 (Jan-June), 160-161.

Ranade,Prabha Shastri, (2008). *Ecotourism Perspectives and Experience*. Hyderabad. The Icfai University Press.

Rangan, Vidya (2011). The Mirage of Development. A Political Economy Exploration Of Tourism Development In Kumarakom, India, A thesis submitted to Wolfson College, Oxford University.

Rao, G.S., Shailesh,Sikha, (2005). Bollywood. A Tool for Promotion of Indian Tourism Industry. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.37, No.1 (July-Dec), 98-100.

Rao, Maheshwar, (2002). Preserving and Protecting Nature. *Yojana*, Vol.24, No.15 (August), 33-37.

Rao,Mohan, V. (2007). India-Tourists Delight. *Kurushetra*, Vol.22, No.14 (June), 21-22.

Rawat,Taj, (2001). *Nature Tourism*. New Delhi. Discovery Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Ray, Amit S. (2007). The Enigma of the 'Indian Model' of Development, Discussion Papers in Economics - Discussion Paper 15-01, Centre for International Trade and Development, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India.

Reddy,Sunitha, (2010). Medical Tourism in India. Progress or Predicament. *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.12, No.4 (May 15-21), 18-22.

Research & Development Division, (2006). Indian Tourism. Kerala Shows the Way. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.18, No.1 (July-Dec), 89-96.

Research, 7.1, 45-59. Research, Volume 7 Issue 1, April 18, 2007.

Rhodes, R.A.W (1997). 'From marketisation to diplomacy. It's the mix that matters', Australian Journal of Public Administration, 56 (2), pp.40-53.

Richter, Linda K. (1983). Tourism Politics and Political Science A Case Of Not So Benign Neglect, Annals of Tourism Research. Vol. 10. p. 313-335.

Riggs, F.W (1964). Administration in Developing Countries. A Theory of Prismatic Society, Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Rodney, Walter (1972). How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Howard University Press, Washington.

Rostow, W.W (1962). The Stages of Economic Growth. A Non-Communist Manifesto, Cambridge University Press, London.

Roy, P.R. (2004). Destination Alappuzha. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.35, No.18 (December), 26-27.

Saikia,Madhuri, (2010). Ethnic Tourism-A Look into its Impact on the Social and Economic Aspect of the Tourist Destinations-With Reference to Majuli.

Sajonani,Manohar, V.K. Goswami, (1997). *Tourism Growth, Management and Incentives*. Delhi. Kalpaz publications.

Sampath, G. (2015). Why poverty is development's best friend, The Hindu, July 13.

Sankaran, A. (2009). A Study on Customer Perception on Tourist point in Southern Most Corner of India. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.9, No.2 (Jan-June) 162-165.

Santhi, V., Shanthi, G., Benon, S., & Arunkumar, J. (2011). Tourism in India-Emerging Trends. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.11, No.2 (Jan-June), 130-133.

Santos, Dos. Theotonio (1970). The Structure of Dependence, published by. American Economic Association, The American Economic Review, Vol. 60, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Eighty second Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May, 1970), pp. 231-236.

Sarngadharan, M. (2003). Hospitality and Tourism-A Case Study of Kerala.

Sarngadharan, M., Raju, G. (2000). *Tourism and Sustainable Economic Development*. Thiruvananthapuram. University of Kerala.

Sarngadharan, M., Sunanda, V.S. (2009). Effectiveness of the Marketing System-A Study of the Ayurvedic Health Tourism. *South Asian Journal of*

Sasi, K.P (2012**). When Gods Come Down To Be Sold - Analysing the Politics of Tourism.** *Counter Currents* **website.**

Sasikumar, C. (2006). Bekal, the Enchanting Coast. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.15, No.3 (September), 10-12.

Sasikumar, K., Binu, R. (2005). Does Kerala Need Ecotourism Alone. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.11, No.7 (March), 32-34.

Sasikumar, K., Binu, R. (2006). Neyyar an Eco Paradise. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.15, No.9 (December), 36-37.

Sebastian, L.M., & Rajagopalan, P. (2009). Socio-cultural transformations through tourism. A comparison of residents' perspectives at two destinations in Kerala, India. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change, 7(1), 5–21.

Selva, M. (1998). *Tourism Industry in India*. New Delhi. Himalaya Publishing House.

Sen, Amartya (1999). Development as freedom, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Sen, Amartya and Dreze, Jean (2002). India. Development and Participation, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

Seth, P. (1990). *Successful Tourism Management-Tourism Practices*. New Delhi. Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Seth, Prannath, Sushma,Set Bhat, (1995). *An Introduction to Travel and Tourism*. New Delhi. Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Seth, Rabindra, Gupta, O.M. (1996). *Tourism in India-An Overview, Vol-2*. New

Delhi. Kalpaz Publications.

Sethi, Praveen, (2000).*Heritage Tourism*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Sethi,Praveen, (2005). *Millennium Trends in Travel and Tourism*. Delhi. Rajat Publications.

Sethi, Praveen, (2005).*Essentials of Sustainable Tourism*. Delhi. Rajat Publications.

Sharma, J.K. (1992). *Tourism Planning and Development*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Sharma, J.K. (1996). *Tourism and Development-Design for Ecological Sustainability*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Sharma, J.K. (1999). *Tourism Planning and Development-A New Perspective*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Sharma, K.K. (1992). *Tourism and Development*. New Delhi. Sarup and Sons.

Sharma, K.K. (1995). *Tourism and Socio-Cultural Development*. New Delhi. Sarup and Sons.

Sharma, K.K. (1998). *World Tourism Today*. New Delhi. Sarup and Sons.

Sharma, K.K. (2000). *Tourism in India*. Jaipur. Classic Publishing House.

Sharma, K.K. (2002). *World Tourism Today Volume2*. Delhi. Sarup and Sons.

Sharma, Anil, (1999). *Tourism Management*. New Delhi. Maxford Books.

Sharma, Jitendra, (1994).*Contemporary Tourism and Hospitality Management*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Sharma, Kadambari, (2000). *New Perspective of Ecotourism*. New Delhi. Jnannada Prakashan.

Sharma, Lalitha, (2000). *An Introduction to Ecotourism*. New Delhi. Centrum Press.

Sharpley, Richard & Telfer, David .J (2008). Tourism and development in the developing world, Routledge Publicatons, Abingdon.

Sharpley,Richard, (1991). *Travel and Tourism*. Delhi. Sage Publications.

Shaw, G. and Williams, A.M (2004). Tourism and Tourism Spaces. Beverly Hills. Sage.

Shelly, Leela, (1995). *Tourism Development in India*. Jaipur. Arihant Publishers.

Shrivastva, P. (2010). Eco-Tourism. A Tool for Community Upliftment. *Yojana*, Vol.15, No.12 (May), 26-28.

Sinclair, Mthea, Stabler,Mike, (2000). *The Economics of Tourism*. London. Routledge.

Sindhu, S. (2007). Homestays Accommodation Redefined. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.37, No.24 (April), 18-21.

Singh, R.B. (1995). *A Geographical Mosaic of Incredible India-Introducing Natural and Cultural Heritage*. Delhi. University of Delhi.

Singh, Ratandeep (1994). *Dynamics of Modern Tourism*, Kanishka Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi.

Singh, S.P. (2000). *Travel and Tourism Management*. Jaipur. ABD Publishers.

Singh, Shalini (2007). Tourism in India. Policy Pitfalls, Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism , Volume 7 Issue 1, April 18, 2007.

Singh, Aditya, (2008). The Tourism Conundrum. *Sanctuary Asia*, Vol.xxviii, No.3

(June), 28-33.

Singh, Anand, (2007). Pilgrimage Tourism in Early Buddhist Tradition. Some Reflections. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.7, No.2 (Jan-June), 125-128.

Singh, Anand, (2007).Travellers in Ancient India. Motives and Contributions.

Singh, Ashok, (1993). *Cultural Tourism in India*. Jaipur. Raj Book Enterprises.

Singh, Ashwini, (2007). Rural Tourism. Tool for Rural Employment. *Kurushetra*, Vol.14, No.7 (June), 7-12.

Singh, Kulwant Pathanai, Kumar,Arun, (2008). *Eco-Tourism*, New Delhi. Regal Publications.

Singh, Ratandeep, (2000). *Handbook of Environmental Guidelines for Indian*

Singh, Ratandeep, (2003). *Indian Eco-Tourism- Environmental Rules and Regulations*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Singh, Ravishankar, (2003). *Eco-Tourism and Sustainable Development*. Delhi. Abhijeet Publications.

Singh, Sagar, (1990). *Studies in Tourism, Key Issues for Effective Management*. New Delhi. APH Publishing Corporation.

Singh, Shalini, (1997). *Cultural Tourism and Heritage Management*. Delhi. Rawat Publications.

Singh, Tejvir, Smith,Valene, Mary,Fish, & Linda, K. Ricter, (1995).*Tourism*

Singhal, Awadh, Agarwal,Meera, (1985). *Glimpses of Tourism in India*. New Delhi. Kanishka Publishers and Distributors.

Sinha, C. Prabhas, (2001).*Global Tourism, Sustainable Tourism and Eco - Tourism*. Delhi. SBS Publishers and Distributors Pvt. Ltd.

Sinha, P.C. (1991). *Ecotourism and Mass Tourism*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Sinha, P.C. (1999). *Tourism Transport and Travel Management*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Sinha, P.C. (1999). *Tourism-Evolution, Scope, Nature and Organisation*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Sinha, P.C. (2001). *Encyclopedia of Ecotourism*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Siva, Shankaran, (2007). Rural Tourism and Handicrafts. *Yojana*, Vol.51, No.20 (June), 29-31.

Sreekumar, T. T and Parayil, Govindan (2002). Contentions and contradictions of tourism as development option. the case of Kerala, India, Carfax Publishing, Third World Quarterly, Vol 23, No 3, pp 529–548.

Sudheer, M V (1993). Tourism – Problems and Prospects, CBH publications, Thiruvanthapuram.

Sudheer, S.V. (2000). *Tourism Problems and Prospects*. New Delhi. Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

Suhrid,Sankar, (2010). Bengal Becknons. *Frontline*, No.7, No.4 (May), 120-122.

Sujata,Yashwant Singh, & Shyju, C. P. (2008). Management of Archeological Sites and Promotion of Heritage Tourism Study of Nalanda. *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies (SAJOSPS)*, Vol.9, No.1 (July-Dec), 113-116.

Suma, T.R (2014). Customary vs state law of land governance. Adivasi joint family farmers seek policy support. The case of Kurchiya joint families in Wayanad, southern India, published by M. S Swaminathan Research Foundation and International Land Coalition, Wayanad.

Sunanda, V. (2010). Tourism Product of Kerala Possess World Class Features.

Sunkel, Osvaldo (1989). Structuralism, Dependency and Institutionalism. an Exploration of Common Ground and Disparities, Journal of Economic Issues (Association for Evolutionary Economics; June 89, Vol. 23 Issue 2, p519.

Surnjit, A. (2007). Tourism Industry in Manipur. *Kurushetra*, Vol.14, No.7 (June), 17-19.

Swarbrooke,John, Colin,Beard, (1999). *Adventure Tourism-the New Frontier*. Heinemann-Boston. Bulterwork.

Tandon, Vinay, (2007). Ecotourism - Environmental Panacea. *Kurushetra*, Vol.14, No.7 (June), 3-6.

Teare, Richard, Josef, A. Mazanec & Simon,Crawford, (2000). *Marketing in*

Telfer, J. David, Richard,Sharply, (1995). *Tourism and Development in the Developing World*. London. Routledge.

Thampi, Santhosh, (2005). Ecotourism in Kerala, India. Lessons from the Eco-Development Project in Periyar Tiger Reserve. ECOCLUB.com E-Paper Series, Nr. 13(June), 2-10.

Thandavan, R., Revathy,Girish, (1999). *Tourism Product*. New Delhi. Dominant Publishers and Distributors.

Thomas, K .V. (2002). Tourism Vision 2025. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.9, No.7 (October), 28- 30.

Thomas, Noyal, Ecotourism Unique Natural Heritage. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.10, No.12

(April), 26-29.

Thomas,Rhodri, (1996). *The Hospitality Industry, Tourism and Europe*. U.K. Cassell.

Thomas,Roy, P. (2008). Eravikulam - The Abode of Tahr. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.14, No.11 (April), 44-45.

Tillotson, Sarah (1988). 'Cultural tourism' or cultural destruction?, *Economic and Political Weekly*. September 17.

Tisdell,Clem, (1999). *Tourism Economics, the Environment and Development-Tourism principles and Practice*. Brighto. ELBS.

Tourism Statistics, (2000-2010). Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala.

Tribe, John & Airey, David (2007). Developments in tourism research, Elsevier Publication, Oxford.

Tribe, John, (1997). *The Economics of Leisure and Tourism*. British Library Cataloging in Publication Data.

Trivedi, Priyaranjan, Aradhana,Salpekar, & Kadambari,Sharma, (1998).

Truong, V. Dao (2014). Tourism Planning & Development. Pro-poor tourism. looking backward as we move forward, Routledge Publicatons, DOI.10.1080/21568316.2013.864996.

Tyabi, Hashim, (2008). Wild Ambitions Making Tourism Work for Wildlife, *Sanctuary Asia*, Vol.15, No.7 (October), 21-27.

Upendranadh, C (n. d) - A Baseline Survey Of Minority Concentration Districts of India, undertaken by Institute For Human Development supported by Ministry Of Minority Affairs, Government Of India and Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.

Urry, John (1990). The Tourist Gaze, Sage Publications.

Venugopal, C.K. (2009). Paniyeli Poru Beauty Without Spot. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.15, No.4 (March), 40-41.

Venugopal, K.C. (2005). More Tourists to Embrace Kerala. *Kerala Calling*, Vol.14, No.12 (May), 19-20.

Verma, Sanjay, (2005).Space Tourism. *Yojana*, Vol.12, No.3 (January), 73-74.

Vinukumar, S., K. S. Chandrasekar, (2004). Sustainable Development and Tourism, *South Asian Journal of Socio-Political Studies* (SAJOSPS), Vol.9, No.1 (July-Dec), 90-93.

Weaver, B. David, (2005). *Encyclopedia of Eco-Tourism*. USA. CAB Publishing.

Weiner, Myron (1967). Modernization. The Dynamics of Growth, Basic Books, New-York.

Wiener, Jonathan M. (1975). Book Review; Theory & Society. Fall75, Vol. 2 Issue 3. p. 301.

Winter, Tim, Peggy,Teo, & T.C. Chang, (1998). *Asia on Tour*. London. Routledge.

Yadav, Santhosh, (2010). Ecotourism. Problems and Prospects. *Yojana*, Vol.18, No.9 (January 15), 41-42.

Yowell, Ray, Longman, (2004). *Tourism-An Introduction*. New Delhi. Inter-India Publications.

Ziai, Aram (2013). The discourse of "development" and why the concept should be abandoned, Development in Practice, 23.1, 123-136, DOI. 10.1080/09614524.2013.752792.

Zulficar, Mohammed, (1987). *Introduction to Tourism and Hotel Industry*. Noida. Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.