

Host Perception of Heritage Tourism Impact with Special Reference to the City of Jaipur

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ABSTRACT

The impact of tourism on the society is a complex and varied subject. There are many different kinds of tourists and a great variety of host societies as well. The present paper will focus on the community perceptions of the economic and socio-cultural impacts of heritage tourism in particular and examine the extent to which they coincide with the tourism impact literature. The paper uses Jaipur as an example to illustrate the multifarious impact of tourism. Qualitative data obtained from questionnaire cum schedule and interviews are the main sources of input for analysis. The residents perceived tourism development from both positive as well as negative perspectives. However, the dominant view reaffirms that Jaipur represents an optimistic side of tourism.

KEYWORDS: *Heritage tourism, socio-cultural impact, commoditization, authenticity.*

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a major aspect of global economy, with all countries, whether developed or developing, having increasing opportunities to participate as hosts and guests, in this socio-economic phenomenon. Looking at the tremendous potential that tourism industry offers in the field of employment generation and foreign earning capacity, it has been identified by developing countries as their catalyst for economic development. Tourism represents a major economic activity in many places around the world, especially endowed with rich and attractive environment. Environment not only includes land, air, water, flora and fauna but also encompasses people, their creations and the social, economic and cultural conditions that affect their lives. The natural and man-made environment of an area constitutes one of the basic 'ingredients' of the tourist product offered and naturally, the quality of the product depends critically on the quality of its basic constituent. Thus, the environment, be it predominantly natural or largely man-made, is one of the most basic resources for tourism. Tourism is a resource industry, one that is dependent on nature's endowment and society's heritage (Murphy 1985). Tourism sells these resources as part of its experiential product, but it also has to share the same resources with other users, including local residents. Tourism-related activities compete for the environmental resources of an area among themselves and with other economic activities (trade, industry, transportation etc.) and conflicts among them arise. These conflicts result either in deterioration of the quality and quantity of the tourist product, because of undesirable spillover effects (externalities) from one activity to another and consequently, losses to tourism industry as well as the community.

A review of tourism literature reveals a range of impacts related to tourism development, the tourist-host interaction, and resulting influences. However, one must not forget that tourism is all but monolithic (Theuns 2001). To assess the role of tourism, as to its positive or negative effects against this benchmark of sustainable development, it is necessary to distinguish between the various types of tourism. There are many types of tourism based on special interest of tourists like cultural heritage tourism, beach and coastal tourism, cruise destination, village tourism, adventure tourism, eco-tourism, health tourism, business tourism

and tourism based on traditional cuisines, crafts and festivals. Each type will have a different kind of impact on its resource base and consequently, also a different developmental impact. The present paper confines its focus on cultural heritage tourism which is possibly the oldest of the new tourism phenomenon. Heritage tourism has historical precedents in the archaeological sites of the ancient world and the temples and places of bygone era. Heritage can be seen as offering something more or different to both the tourist and the community. Heritage is significant to different communities, groups and individuals depending upon their value and attitudes and the nature of the heritage resource and is also significant in the future of further tourism development in the region. There is increasing evidence that costs and benefits from tourism do not accrue equally to residents. Basically, the core objective of the study was to consider the perception of host communities towards the presence of tourists and tourism development and thus, seek to gauge the residents' support for the industry as a part of wider issues of development. This paper investigates the residents' perceptions regarding tourism impact. It also concentrates on how various segments of the host community react to tourism impacts.

UNIVERSE AND METHODOLOGY

India offers manifold historical attractions to tourists. Every part of India offers the 'four H's of Tourism (Smith 1977)- Habitat, Heritage, History and Handicrafts. Its forts, places, architectural grandeur, art and artisans, wall, paintings, sculptures, melodious folk music and dances have been instilling an irresistible urge in tourists to experience them at least once in a lifetime. Of the immensely beautiful states of India, each unique in its ethnicity and traditions, Rajasthan is probably the most mystically intriguing of all. The dullness of the desert, in contrast to the rich and colorful heritage, proposes enigma to this land of kings and warriors. The city of Jaipur constituted the universe of the present study. It is the capital of Rajasthan and is an inseparable part of Delhi-Jaipur-Agra 'golden triangle' to talk in tourist circuit terms. Pink City, Jaipur is one of the key destinations for heritage tourism as it attracts people from all over the world, therefore, it seemed the most apt place to base the study upon. Moreover, the city is continuously gearing up to present itself as a viable tourism product to cater to the varied needs of different types of tourists.

The data for the present study has been collected from primary as well as the secondary sources. The secondary data have been obtained from the government records, published reports, books, journals, periodicals, unpublished thesis and internet sites. The primary data required for study was collected with the help of questionnaire cum schedule, which was designed to be capable of being administered orally if necessary or being left for the respondents to complete it on their own if they preferred to do so. The sample size totaled one hundred and fifty respondents. The sample selection was done by using Purposive Quota Sampling method. An attempt was made to make the sample as representative as possible. Unorganized sector workers, industrial workers, merchants, service class (clerical) people and elites constituted the major segments in the sample. Besides this, an interview guide, which probed into tourism experiences and implications of heavy tourist influx, was administered to informed persons of the region. These key respondents were identified for their knowledge, expertise and experience. This helped in the compilation of lot of qualitative information. The survey method was supplemented with non-participant field observations and informal conversations with the respondents, which helped in gaining insight into the respondents' mind and also contributed in the enrichment of primary data. The responses were subsequently tabulated and the data was analyzed. The findings of the empirical study form the basis of further discussion here.

HOST PERCEPTIONS

Tourism never leaves a host society, its culture and environment unchanged. In the city of Jaipur, tourism has existed since long and is expanding rapidly in the era of globalization. The questionnaire allowed respondents to give their opinion regarding the gains and losses of visits by more and more people to their cities as tourists. Data reveals positive impacts in terms of impetus to business (29.3%), source of revenue (27%), employment opportunities (16.3%) and development of the area (11.3%). It also provides contact and mutual interaction with outsiders and, thus, leads to increasing exposure to the world beyond one's area according to 7.7% respondents. Tourism is an important avenue to earn foreign currency and strengthen nation's economic status according to 6.3% respondents. Another 7% respondents affirmed that tourism has been responsible in preservation and conservation of many historical and cultural sites, artifacts and skills of their region. The adverse effects of tourism related to ecological degradation (27.3%), overcrowding (25.7%), rise in criminal and anti-social activities (16.7%), inflation (16.3%) and pressure on civic amenities (12.7%). Another 9% respondents showed a high degree of frustration resulting from congestion and crowding. Residents were concerned with cultural pollution and loss of cleanliness too. The reflections of respondents belonging to various categories are elaborated below.

The gains and losses of tourism as inferred from the responses in Rajasthan were reviewed. All categories showed strong support to tourism. A very straight remark was that tourism is beneficial and has no demerits. Most of the merchants in Jaipur said that economy swells due to tourism. Similarly, some respondents from all occupational categories agreed that tourism opened up employment opportunities to locals and thus, helped in rising the standard of living of an ordinary person. Tourism also leads to development of communication and transportation. Elites also agreed that tourism gave a boost to the economy. Respondents accepted that tourism gave an impetus to trade and development of the region. It increases the purchasing power of the people. It is beneficial to Government also as it earns revenue and foreign currency from it. Moreover, it gives employment to auto drivers, rickshaw pullers and hoteliers. Tourists buy ethnic fabric, handicrafts and hence, promote business activities. Some elites posited a very broad opinion that tourism under impact of globalization is increasing. As a consequence, hotels, resorts, air stripes, and shopping complexes are being constructed and various amusement and water parks are being developed. Many respondents among merchants and elites believed that foreigners come to see the place and therefore, government shows interest in preservation of the heritage sites. It also makes effort to develop the region. The presence of tourists in the area makes one feel proud of own culture. Elite remarked that it is great to see our region getting so much importance. Another merchant said that a sense of pride comes when people come to see our region. Majority of respondents believed that tourism helps in preserving elements of the communities traditional culture and foster a sense of pride based on their heritage.

In spite of all merits attributed to tourism, the respondents also pointed out certain demerits associated with too much tourism. Some respondents showed concern towards the adverse effect of western culture on the locals. Some merchants mentioned the gang war that occurs between the middlemen, who cheat the tourists. They revealed that there is a '*lapka*' gang operating in Jaipur which makes tourists its victims. Thus, tourism engenders cheating and makes place socially unsafe. Respondents reported the presence of anti-social elements perturbing the region. Besides this, tourists damage the historical and cultural sites. Sometimes they scarp the plaster of walls or steal any precious item from the museum. The fares, prices of general items shot high in areas more frequented by tourists. Few respondents among elites stated that much influx of tourists destroys and spoils the beauty, serenity and tranquility of the place. However, many residents claimed that the point was logical only in context of places abounding with natural beauty and not in the case of Jaipur. Merchants and service class people also agreed that environment loss was more due to population and not

tourism. According to many urbanites, population was much to blame for ecological degradation rather than tourism. Tourism, the world's largest industry, is seen by various observers as either a blessing or a curse. After collecting the general opinions regarding the pros and cons of tourism, the residents' views about specific impacts were reviewed in greater detail.

ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Tourism alters the economic structure of a destination. There is no agreement as to how positive the alteration might be. The economic impact of tourism is the subject of analysis at two broader levels. One is generally positive about industry's prospects while other is negative. The primary economic benefits of tourism are generally regarded as: contribution to foreign exchange earning and balance of payments, the generation of employment and of income, the improvement of economic structures and the encouragement of entrepreneurial activity. The economic costs of tourism are considered to include: increased inflation and land values, increased pressure to import, seasonality of production, problems connected with over-dependence on one product, unfavourable impact on the balance of payments, heavy infrastructure costs and the effect on growth of having much of the labour force employed in a service industry with poor productivity prospects.

Tourism is considered generator of employment by 80.7% respondents. Hospitality activities like hotels, restaurants and lodges are more labour-intensive. Most of the residents stated that direct employment was through jobs in such services or as guides. People reported that persons with ability to converse in foreign languages become highly paid guides. Indirect employment arose in business affected by tourism in secondary ways like local transport, handicrafts and banks. Many respondents especially merchants agreed that tourism encourages entrepreneurial activities. Ambiguity surrounds the quality of employment generated by tourism. Another disquieting feature is seasonality of the jobs generated by tourism and therefore, 14.7% respondents did not agree to the statement there. On the contrary, many respondents feel that Jaipur has an all-time tourist season which places it at an advantageous position. Besides foreign exchange earnings, there accrues 'spin off' results from tourist activities in other sectors of the economy which creates increased demand for local resources resulting in an increase in the income of locals.

As people engage in business activities and hospitality services, increase in their standard of living is visible to some extent according to 72% respondents. An improvement in infrastructure facilities and social services like public health, sanitation and housing are positively stimulated by tourism. Consequently, tourism induces development of the area. According to 84.7% respondents in Jaipur, there was much evidence of it and most likely services to be stimulated were entertainment, leisure facilities like swimming pools, parks, pubs, bars etc. Since handicrafts, artistic and traditional objects are liked by visitors especially foreigners, small scale industries are promoted by tourism stated 70.7% respondents. According to 80.7% respondents in Jaipur number of hotels have come up gradually over time due to increased rush of visitors. The respondents who disagreed to the economic benefits substantiated their view with various factors. The host population is affected by inflation due to tourism. Most respondents thought that tourism development raises both the prices of land and the prices of other goods and services. Low income groups suffer due to inflationary trends particularly noticeable in food items and transportation.

The study reaffirmed that tourism leads to direct economic benefits which include provision of employment, increase in income of locals which leads to the improved living standards of local community and overall national and regional development. This employment and income provided by tourism may help to stem out migration from these areas. Tourism serves as a catalyst in expansion of other economic sectors such as hotels and handicrafts. However, ambiguity surrounds the quality of economic benefits generated by tourism. Respondents

pointed out the seasonal nature of employment generated by tourism. Moreover, locals were engaged in menial jobs while the profits accrued to outsiders. Tourism development also entailed competition among hosts and guests for resource use that led to social tension. Inflation and loss of amenities for residents was listed as a major loss due to increased tourist influx.

SOCIAL IMPACTS

Social impacts of tourism refer to the changes in the quality of life of residents of tourist destinations. Studies recognize that the social impacts of tourism change through time in response to the structural changes in the tourist industry and the extent and duration of the exposure of the host population to tourist development. In the review of social impacts, it was noted that 78.7% respondents professed that they were proud to have visitors admiring their culture and beauty of the region. Besides infusing pride in own culture (78.6%), tourism was seen as catalyst in encouraging social and cultural exchanges by 59.3% respondents. A small interaction between hosts and guests sometimes developed into long time friendship. Respondents in Jaipur reported that they exchanged mails with some of the tourists. During contacts tourists and hosts influence each other asserted 71.3% respondents in Rajasthan. Some respondents (41.7%) noticed that exposure to various tourists helps in reduction of prejudices. There appears to be only limited communication between mass tourists and their hosts and hence, 31% respondents there believe that tourism in its present form, seldom promotes understanding between peoples of different cultures. It is only the 'drifters' and 'explorers' who establish an intense relationship with resident population and this form of informal tourist-host interaction is manifested in Jaipur where tourists experience spontaneous hospitality of locals. Contrary to the popular view, some respondents in Jaipur contested that tourists are more likely to borrow from them. It was avowed by respondents that the tastes of indigenous were adopted by foreigners and not vice-versa. Most examples illustrated that tourists adopt their traditional dresses, habits and also learn their language to some extent.

Another 57.7% respondents expressed fearful concern for the increased strains imposed on traditional customs and life-styles. The deterioration of social values in society and evolution of unconventional values and life-styles in the locals was considered equally grave by 34.3% respondents. Attitudes of this kind vary in intensity and mode of expression from grieving statements expressed by hosts, such as 'many among youth are now trying to be like the foreign tourists that are swarming over us' to outbursts of hostilities at times. Tourism is seen as exporter of western life-styles and disseminating metropolitan values. Large physical presence of tourists in the destination area provokes feelings of tourist resentment. Residents (80%) mentioned congestion and overcrowding of infrastructures, accommodation services and facilities as a major problem. It was reported by 66% respondents that tourist services are frequently concentrated into a small number of complexes which are commonly referred to as 'tourist ghettos'. The owners of tourism structures or their agents isolate the tourists and discourage them from reaching beyond the tourist facilities in order to secure a greater proportion of tourists' money. There are instances when quarrel between two ghettos leads to violent situations. It is very well exemplified by the operations of '*lapka*' gangs in Jaipur, who go to the extent of kidnapping foreign tourists to extort money from them.

Tourism contributes to an increase in crime. The literature on crime as an externality of tourist development is not large, but most is empirically based. Studies indicate a positive relationship between increases in tourism and crime rates (Rothman 1978, Pizam 1988). A wide variety of questions concerning the contribution of tourism to crime included: Does tourism stimulate an increase in criminal activities? What types of crime, if any are particularly associated with tourism? And are the crimes committed by the tourists or against the tourists? Such questions formed the basis for further discussion. Most of the respondents found it difficult to relate crime to tourism. However 66.7% respondents agreed

that a relationship does exist between tourism and crime as the existence of large number of people with lots of money to spend attracts criminal elements. Material inequality between tourists and hosts generates friction and finds manifestation in economic crimes like robbery, pick-pocketing, looting and misguiding. Due to tourism, the target for criminals is expanded and situations are created where gains from crime may be high and the likelihood of detection small. The brokers and guides earn commission from shopkeepers and hoteliers by deliberately taking tourists to such places which have exorbitantly high prices. Foreigners are most common prey, who fall victim to nefarious motives of such brokers. Crimes of passion against tourists like molestation, physical assault, rape and murder are also on an increase. Many places are therefore, considered unsafe especially for females and lonely tourists. Misguiding and cheating are the mildest form of crime against tourists. In the study undertaken, 20.3% respondents noted that certain acts of tourists can also be covered under crime. The shopkeepers recounted their experiences where fake cheques and currency was handed to them by tourists. In Jaipur some people displayed mistrust on tourists. They recounted few instances where mysterious murders have been committed by tourists in hotel rooms.

One of the most significant and least desirable by-products of tourism is its effects on the moral standards of the host population (Archer 1977). The growth of prostitution, drug-trafficking and gambling has been mentioned frequently as evils of tourism development. Although no demonstrated link seemed to exist between tourism and social evils like alcoholism, prostitution and gambling to 34.3% respondents, they admitted that a number of destinations sell sex, drugs and recreative pursuits like gambling. It was noted that residents of certain villages on Jaipur-Ajmer highway professed prostitution and were considered havens for sexual enjoyment. Thus, the 'happily amoral' attitudes of inhabitants coupled with the aspirations for western economic status, formed a foundation for the proliferation of prostitution. It was felt that tourists are people away from the puritanical bonds of normal living, anonymity is assured away from home and money is available to spend hedonistically. These circumstances are conducive to the survival and expansion of the above-mentioned social evils. Since tourists are not homogeneous, only a certain section of tourists with typical profile are involved in such evils. It was suggested by residents of Jaipur that tourists in general and foreigners in particular are instrumental in promoting drug-trafficking, gambling, alcoholism, prostitution and diseases associated with it like AIDS. . Foreigners are seen as transmitters of AIDS to local folks like guides, auto drivers etc.

CULTURAL IMPACTS

Cultural effects of tourism refer to changes in the elements of culture resulting from the presence and activities of tourism. The dominant perspective regarding cultural impacts is that it is harmful. Turner and Ash (1976) discussed tourism's role in obliterating cultures. According to them, the tourists' superior economic wealth rapidly erodes the sensuous and aesthetic wealth of cultures that have developed in isolation from the western world. On the other hand, Dogen's (1989) comment that tourism and conservation are interdependent and both stand to gain from close and effective collaboration typified a positive perspective. In the present study empirical analysis of both the perspectives has been done. The idea that 'tourism kills tourism' by a heavy physical impact at a popular site is well known in the literature. Degeneration of historical and cultural sites due to heavy tourist influx was reported by 33.7% respondents. It was noted that many Indian tourists scratched walls and inscribed their names on them. Although difficult to measure, these respondents agreed there is relationship between tourism density and vulnerability of tourist sites.

Commercialization of cultural traditions is the most comprehensive statement which covers all impacts of tourism on culture. Few respondents subscribe to the extreme viewpoint that tourism has led to deterioration of traditional forms. Most of the respondents accepted that

tourism has encouraged the production of 'pseudo-traditional' art forms like fake paintings, manuscripts, pottery and other art objects. But at the same time, the respondents maintained that such 'airport art' consisted of stylized work presented in traditional garb and catered to the tourists, thus, providing economic benefits to the region. Most of the respondents (79.7%) favored 'airport art' in spite of the changes that have taken place in form and functions of art objects, in the methods of making them, in the materials used and in the quality of production. Irrespective of all changes, respondents recognize that tourism has given new lease of life to the already dying traditional workmanship and the artifacts. Erosion of traditional know-how has occurred according to 11.3% respondents but tourism is less to blame for it. Many residents of Jaipur emphasized that fake and spurious antiquity possibly, fulfils the demands of tourists for cheap, exotic, portable and durable souvenirs. They agreed that although contemporary forms are often degeneration of traditional styles but what is important is that art is not dying by any means. Few respondents among elites regretfully opined that markets are flooded with tourist art which is of cultural insignificance and has aesthetic inadequacies while original art objects of historic and artistic value are illegally traded. Some elite respondents rationalized that much of the deterioration in art forms is the result of the severance of the link between art and its traditional functions in society, be they religious or secular. Many business class people reflected that many non-traditional craftsmen are attracted to the industry. Market forces have not only contributed to changes in art forms and their quality, they have often created a new manufacturing class which is not always of host origin. Many arts are no longer a specialty occupation lamented one sculptor in Jaipur.

Many respondents (60%) supported the view expressed by Bosselman (1978) that, 'In so far as the tourist seeks the beautiful, the exciting or the authentic, the economic benefit he brings may provide the incentive to create and maintain these qualities'. Respondents (76.7%) noted that that tourists have a strengthening effect in the upkeep of heritage sites as government showed concern towards the conservation and preservation of historical and religious sites because of deep interest shown by tourists in the cultural heritage. Tourism has given impetus to safeguarding of old *havelis*, which were earlier neglected. In order to give a new lease of life to many old *havelis*, they have been converted into heritage hotels or restructured keeping their original features intact. Conscious attempts have been done by authorities to restore many monuments and many new areas of cultural significance are identified and are being promoted as tourist sites. 'Operation Pink' was undertaken by concerned authorities as a restoration project to blend the past glory of the city with the modern features. Tourism's important role in patronage of folk artists (74.7%), promotion of ethnic dance forms (29%), ethnic fabric and dresses (29%) and revival of traditional fairs and festivals (49.3%) was acknowledged by many respondents. In order to promote the culture of the region, various exhibitions and festivals are organized where folk arts and crafts are displayed and folk performances are staged. Tourists reawaken interest in a society for its own culture by supporting the dance forms, theatres or museum by their presence and entrance fees. It was noticed that renaissance of material forms of culture has been brought by tourism. Tourism has also spurred preservation of traditional artifacts like jewellery, pottery and paintings etc. according to 63.3% respondents. Tourism sells culture and its various facets as a product. The great paradox of tourism, as it is often alleged, is that it destroys the authenticity it seeks. Every culture has a number of festivals or events that might have a meaning that is historic or religious. In the context of tourism, 'authenticity' can be defined as property of native behaviour, sites, dress, cuisine, theatre, dance, music, artifacts and so on, of being unaffected by the presence of tourists. Since tourism inevitably involves 'presentation of self' to use Goffman's concept, promoters of tourism consciously project a picture of their culture to prospective customers. When the event is changed for the sake of the tourist the meaning behind it is lost. The conscious attempt by host to modify their behaviour, artifacts, dress and so on, so as to appear 'real' to tourists is termed 'staged authenticity' by MacCannel (1973).

The result is that part of culture is lost. Majority of the respondents could not understand the connectedness between tourism and loss of authenticity in cultural elements and therefore, chose to remain quiet on this issue. There were 23.7% respondents who vociferously said that rather than robbing authenticity from culture, tourism has given a fillip to various cultural events. The respondents gave illustrations of various fairs and festivals like Teej, Gangaur which were especially staged for tourists because of keen interest shown by tourists. Since staged authenticity of this nature draws mixed audience of tourists and locals, it was discerned from the responses that such creations or recreations became the basis of cultural revival and acquire secondary authenticity over time. Such events might just be spectacle to the tourists but they hold traditional significance for the locals. However, few respondents complained that in such events, celebration and its inherent meaning is substituted by commercialization and entertainment respectively.

Interestingly, majority of residents exuded confidence that their traditions were so unique, diverse and strongly rooted that 'tourists gaze' is not likely to erode them. It was argued that in times, when indigenous traditions are being eroded by westernization, urbanization and industrialization, 'staged/events' actually contribute a lot in their revival. Ethnic restaurants, like Choki Dhani, Apno Gaon, Kesariya showcasing 'native villages' with people donning ceremonial attires, traditions, cuisine, and sometimes create pseudo traditional items were strongly supported by respondents. They act as 'culture capsules', displaying rural life with all its features and vibrancy within an area in such an innovative way that tourists not only gain a live experience but also participate joyfully as one of the rural folks. However, a small percentage of 9.3% respondents expressed that in order to meet tourists' expectations which are often based on stereotypes, the naturality and originality of culture is lost. Since culture is dynamic and so many changes have occurred but Rajasthan is presented as a land of kings even today argued some respondents. The traditions of erstwhile princely states are staged in front of tourists who are insulated within the 'royal hotel bubble' and are distanced from the real contemporary culture. Thus, tourism in this way confirms the stereotypical image of the region, which has undergone so many changes. The overall perception of residents in Jaipur was that tourism revives and reinvigorates traditions that are languishing under the assault of other modernizing forces such as industrialization and urbanization. Far from destroying local cultures, tourism more commonly transforms and revives them. Of all forms of outside contact and modernization that affects isolated local cultures, tourism is probably the least destructive, opined several urbanites, precisely because it imparts a marketable value to cultural diversity.

CONCLUSION

The findings revealed that impact assessment of tourism is a complex matter and contains both positive and negative elements. Different types of tourism have different effects on different societies. In Jaipur, all the alterations are directed towards projecting it as a 'heritage city' with a treasure of royal experiences to offer to the domestic as well as international travellers. The findings reinforce that the residents of Jaipur had a more optimistic perspective regarding the economic impacts of tourism. It was found that not only does the community benefit economically from an active tourism industry, but community pride is also enhanced. The influence of tourism on consumption patterns and traditional values is also viewed from positive as well as negative perspectives. Tourism also serves as a major stimulus for conservation of important elements of the cultural heritage of an area that might otherwise be allowed to deteriorate or disappear. Revitalization of traditional arts, handicrafts, dance, music, fairs and festivals and various aspects of traditional life-styles were considered a positive impact of tourism by many respondents. Although tourism was recognized as instrumental in encouraging cultural exchange and reduction of prejudices, host population showed resentment when all activities became tourist-oriented. The findings come very close

to Bryden's (1973) view that tourism development takes various forms and its impact is conditioned by the context in which the development occurs. In Doxey's (1976) terminology, it can be said that Jaipur evidences either the 'euphoric' stage or the 'apathetic' stage. Local support for tourism is based on economic projections that ignore or downplay social costs. Most of the respondents noticed socio-cultural changes occurring their community but are not resisting them since many are considered positive. It seems that in Jaipur, level of tourism has reached a point where novelty of arriving visitors gives way to the acceptance of tourism as a part of community's economic base. It can be deduced from the observations that the involvement of Jaipur with tourism is holistic. It is on increase linking the populace of the city. Since the city itself is tourism-oriented city, the lower classes mainly the artisan class forms a powerful linkage between the rich and poor that gives the entire city of Jaipur a nomenclature of 'tourism-homogeneity'. This homogeneity, despite class and caste contradictions is well engaged in creating economic and social capital in tune with the process of globalization. The city is still in process of exploration of its social capital, significantly related to ethnic inventiveness. However, it is vital to remember that any human activity dependent on consumptive use of resources such as heritage tourism and cultural tourism cannot be sustained indefinitely. Tourism should be promoted only in so far as it brings the host population the desired economic benefits, above all in the form of incomes and jobs, where this benefit is of durable nature and does not have an adverse effect on the other qualities of life (Krippendorf, 1987). People are increasingly becoming aware of the adverse socio-cultural and environmental impacts of uncontrolled mass tourism. The view here is that while the negative social, cultural and environmental impacts may neither be intentional or inevitable, they must be seriously viewed as risks. Careful management plans involving the calculation of environment and carrying capacities should be used without creating damage to the resource base so that sustainable development both from economic and environmental perspectives is ensured.

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