

# The Tourist Welcomed; The Adivasi Exiled...

## Unmasked: Reflections on Tourism's Impacts on Indigenous Communities in India

EQUATIONS

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*'The Tourist Welcomed – The Adivasi Exiled' reflects on tourism's impacts on indigenous communities in India. Using numerous cases and examples the paper illustrates the commodification of indigenous communities and their culture, the usurpation of their lands and the exploitation of their livelihood resources for tourism. While this benefits mass commercial tourism, the paper also explores cases and models of tourism that has benefited indigenous communities. The paper then moves to scrutinize the various international guidelines and codes that have come up in response to address this issue and their effectiveness in ensuring the meaningful and rightful participation of indigenous communities in processes that affect them. The latter part of the paper then debates the extent to which tourism policies in India recognises and addresses the concerns of indigenous communities. The paper depicts how tourism contributes to the displacement, exploitation and marginalisation of indigenous communities. It also provides glimpses of hope that tourism might transform itself into a tool for benefiting these communities – economically and culturally – without being exploitative.*

Johar for us in Jharkhand is more  
than just a word in our language...

...Johar is a spirit, an attitude, a feeling  
and an expression of welcome, of gratitude,  
of praise, of togetherness, a salutation...

...It is the word we first use  
when we meet one another for the first time...

...We said Johar to you,  
but our song and dance, our language and folklore  
have become just pages in books of libraries  
where your anthropologists can debate over.

Thus you have distorted our history.  
You have misinterpreted our culture,  
and made it a commodity to be marketed  
at your universities and seminars.

We said Johar to you...

[From the poem "JOHAR" – Manifesto of the Jharkhandis Organisation for Human Rights.]

In Hawaii, Craig Chatman, a native<sup>1</sup> Hawaiian says, "*Indigenous people do not own their own tourism and culture. The big travel corporations have also treated Natives like "wind up the Hawaiian and let him play music." We are an Indigenous Zoo and I take extreme offence to that.*"

In Bali, Tjokorde Raka Kerthyasa says "*Some tourists and visitors who know nothing (or do not want to know) about the meaning and purpose of our customs and religious practices attend ceremonies just for the sake of taking pictures or proving that they have been on a holiday*"

In the Amazon, tour guides contract out to tourists to take them to into the wilds of the rain forest to "go native". Tourists follow them into indigenous villages, demand to stay with local families, eat their food, expect the locals to entertain them and make only a token payment before moving to the next village.

In New Zealand, Dikihoro Mulligan, a Maori says: "*We are a god-fearing and relaxed community. Maori elders are trying to coax the younger generation to educate themselves in their culture, which has huge potential. Even many*

*Europeans who have lived here for generations don't know about us. Today, tourism is helping to create awareness about the rich Maori culture and traditions".*

The indigenous peoples of India, who constitute 8.2% of the country's population<sup>2</sup> and live with great diversity in culture, language, lifestyle and art forms, are also rising to face the new invasion of tourism. This paper contextualises the growing debate on indigenous peoples' struggles in the country by drawing attention to tourism – as a compelling factor that has, in tangible ways contributed to their increasing exploitation, displacement and marginalisation. The paper discusses the issue in three parts – part one details impacts of tourism on indigenous communities along three lines of exploitation, eviction and benefit sharing with examples of community experiences from India as well as other parts of Asia, South America and Africa. Part two presents an overview of significant international guidelines that address the issue of tourism's impacts on indigenous communities and the ensuing debates. Part three analyses the current policy and legal framework in India related to tourism and the extent to which it recognises and addresses these concerns and opportunities.

## **Part One: How Tourism has Impacted Indigenous Communities Around the World**

### **The Indigenous on Display**

Alerting us to the trend of the targeting of indigenous homelands for tourism, Deborah McLaren wrote a decade back<sup>3</sup>, "Marketing trends point toward the Amazon, the Himalayas, the hills of Northern Thailand, the tribal areas in Africa, and the aboriginal areas of Canada and Australia. Travel advertisements market the residents of such places as people who are warm, smiling, friendly, unthreatening; who are servile and welcoming; there for the tourist's pleasure...Tourism markets cultures – hula girls, wandering tribesmen, Asian mountain folk and Native Americans. Some critics of tourism suggest that when we travel, we buy a product, a product that includes people."

"Exotic" tourism and ecotourism have drawn wider attention to the richness and diversity of indigenous peoples' cultures, but frequently engage in "packaging" and marketing strategies which distort cultures, degrade traditional ceremonial practices, and transform indigenous communities into trinket-selling, wage-dependent Hollywood backlots<sup>4</sup>.

That tourism in India has put indigenous peoples and their culture on display, for sale, is indisputable. A scrutiny of the colourful and attractive tourist brochures printed by central and state departments provides ample evidence for this.

#### "Orissa: the Soul of India" - Orissa Tourism (1998)

*"The antiquity of Orissa is endorsed by her ancient people who continue to inhabit their traditional dwelling places in remote areas in the deep forests and hilly terrains. Steeped in the mysteries that surround their ancient ways, the Orissan tribals continue to be a source of deep interest not only for anthropologists and sociologists but also for numerous tourists who flock to Orissa in search of the exotic mystique of this relatively unexplored state..."*

*...Folk and tribal songs and dances continue to be an integral part of the Fairs and Festivals and village festivities throughout the year in Orissa and visitors can see these performed in their original settings...*

*...Orissa has 62 distinct tribal groups who continue to live in their traditional dwellings amongst the hills and forests and in a manner they have been accustomed with for centuries. A trip to the tribal areas can be an educative and exciting experience where you share the beauty of their usual customs for that brief moment in time...*

#### "BASTAR: Not Just An Escape – A discovery" - Chhattisgarh Tourism Board (2002)

*Bastar – Perfect for camping trips, painting holidays, tribal tours, adventure escapes and motoring tours...*

*...No matter where in the district you travel you cannot fail to see those elegantly clad tribal people making their way to the local haat (weekly market). Sure-footed, balancing their huge loads, the women walk in a single file, baskets on their heads, child on their hip, heavily-tattooed old ladies, brightly dressed young girls...It's an evocative sight...*

*...One can combine a trip here with a visit to a Sericulture Farm and the Anthropological Museum to enjoy a slice of Bastar's tribal culture...*

(as part of the planned itineraries)

*...This is a tribal country and we've arranged for you to meet some of the tribal people in their homes. It will be a wonderful opportunity to interact with them and learn something about their culture...*

*... After breakfast, a well-versed Palace guide will accompany you on an introduction to the secrets of Kawardha's little-known natural and tribal world. You will meet the gentle and friendly Baiga people, the principal indigenous forest tribe. Enjoy picnic lunch with them...*

*...You will also meet some of the local Bison-Horn Maria tribe, renowned for their spectacular ceremonial dancing. You will be entertained by a performance of the tribal people before returning to your hotel...*

"India's Northeast: paradise unexplored" Incredible India – Ministry of Tourism, India (2005)

*Arunachal Pradesh: A visit to the Apatani tribal home is a must. The Apatanis are one of the most advanced and intriguing of Arunachal's tribal people. Both men and women tattoo themselves and the women wear great nose plugs made of bamboo and face tattoos.*

*Nagaland: Grocery shopping in Kohima is a treat, visit the wholesale market for a visual feast of Naga village women wearing their splendid tribal costumes and gathering to sell farm, field, forest and stream products.*

These excerpts from material fashioned to attract the tourist eye, are characteristic of how mainstream society, seeking tourism extravaganzas views indigenous people. In addition to the portrayal of indigenous peoples as products, even more disturbing is how the tribal woman is represented as exotic and desirable. Brochures and promotional materials are replete with phrases such as "a Reang belle with traditional jewellery", "a smiling young Tripura girl", "Khasi belle in dance costume" or just "tribal women". Colourful photographs of women decked in traditional attire accompany these 'titles'. Tribal villages are depicted as mystical, paradise-like, intriguing places that provide the viewer a glimpse of mystery, a taste of an alien culture. References to tribal culture, folklore, culture and traditional belief systems of these ancient people, often border on the arrogance and sometimes ignorance that typifies mainstream thinking. Commodification is evident – a traditional motif becomes an "artefact" or "souvenir", traditional dresses and accessories – "costumes" and ancestral traditions – an "experience".

World over, commodification of indigenous cultures has taken varied forms through tourism. Countries in the global south are not the only ones affected politically by tourism. In the United States, especially in Alaska and Hawaii, indigenous people must confront the political repercussions of the rapid growth of tourism. Jon Goss writes in 'Seductions of Place', "*Aloha' is perhaps the most complex and certainly the most contested concept attributed to the Hawaiian people. For the visitor, it is typically glossed as simply greeting and leave-taking, or more generally 'love', but anthropologists discover deeper meanings...*"<sup>5</sup> With its unwillingness to engage in a society and its meaning with any depth and its need to create consumerist packages of nearly everything, the use, and abuse, of language and dialect and symbols is inherent in tourism's exploitation of indigenous culture. As tourism makes its presence felt it is likely that 'johar' as the poem eloquently puts it, has a similar fate in store.

The transformation of Mexico's famed Huichol Art from being a manifestation of religious faith for the Huichol indigenous community to being a source, an economic gain and sale is yet another example (Cruz, 2002). The Huichol believe themselves to be "mirrors of the gods" and their art reflects a sacred vision of the world, but tourism and globalisation have made their art easily available on the internet or reproduced to suit tourists' preferences for souvenirs.

In the Philippines, the mountainous province of Sagada has gained prominence as a tourist spot, threatening the survival of the Kankanaeys. The people of Sagada revere their ancestral lands but curious tourists have invaded the sacredness and solemnity of rituals celebrating the agricultural cycle. Furthermore, their sacred burial sites have been desecrated by tourists taking away bones of their ancestors as souvenirs and freely using coffin covers for graffiti.<sup>6</sup>

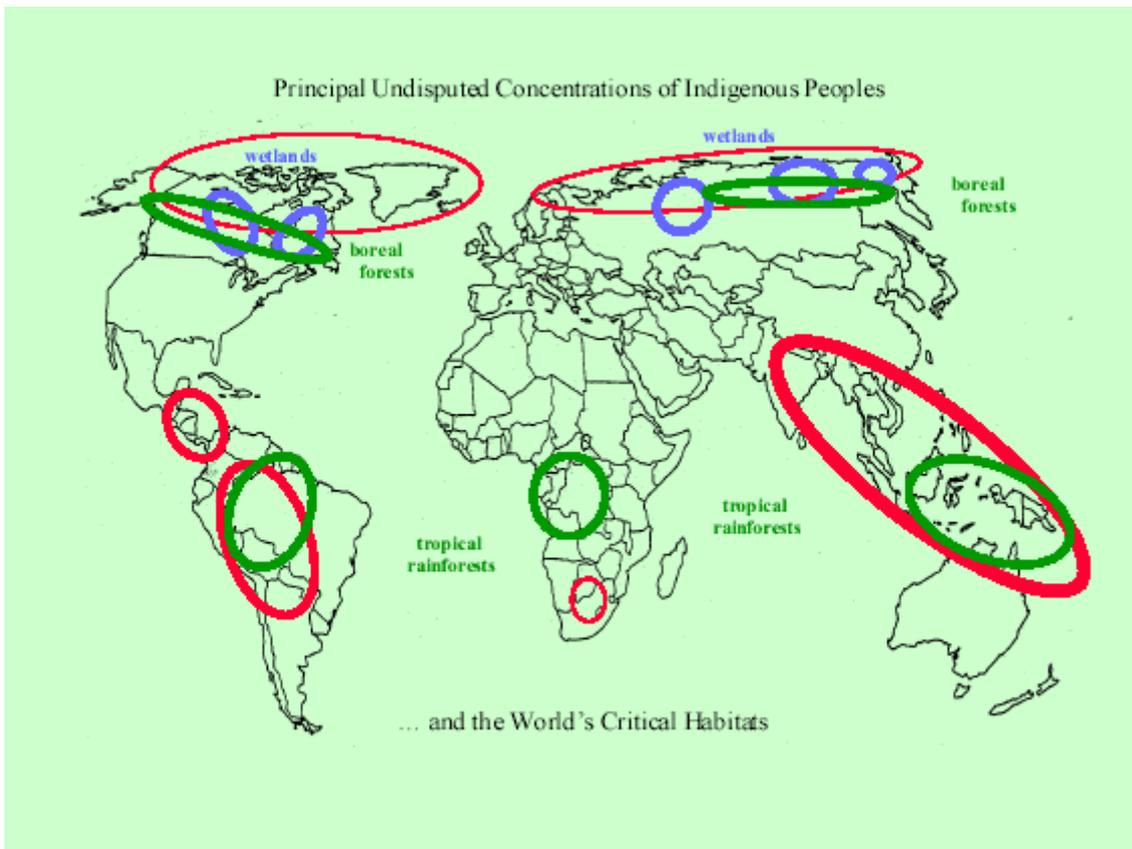
In the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean, the Jarawas are a dwindling tribe with just 250-odd surviving members living in the Islands. In 2002, the Supreme Court of India passed a set of landmark judgements to protect the Islands' fragile ecology and its tribal communities. One of the orders was the closure of the Andaman Trunk Road (ATR) – an arterial road constructed in the 1950s connecting South to North Andaman passing right through the Jarawa tribal reserve area. But the Islands' Administration and its industrial lobbies have been violating the Court's orders with impunity. Apart from problems of alien food, loss of precious forest cover and exposure to diseases

against which Jarawas have no immunity, the ATR had also facilitated the rise of a pernicious endeavour, perversely called 'Jarawa Tourism'<sup>7</sup>. Tourists visiting the Islands were being openly solicited with offers of rides along the ATR and the promise to see stone-age, naked tribes. But, more recently, with greater awareness and rising protests, one at least notices a welcome change in the Administration's attitude and respect for these communities with tourism brochures making mention of them but clearly stating that interaction with or photography of these tribes is prohibited.

In India, one sees a growing trend of tribal art being "mainstreamed" – as one tourist brochure put it – "...Some of the finest works of Bastar crafts are showcased in some of India's five star hotel lobbies and upmarket urban stores..." While there are efforts to use tourism also as a means of keeping local art, culture and handicrafts alive by assuring a market for them, the fear of commodification and twisting them out of their intrinsic contexts, meanings and functions is not unfounded. An adivasi woman from Chhattisgarh, India, referring to statues of their deities made from traditional bell metal, spoke of her fear of entering any room in which they were kept! She said she could not face them inside a room as their gods were always kept outside the village to protect them from harm. In making a popular product, no one asked the adivasi what they thought and how they felt.

**Displacement of the First People from their lands: Tourism Evicts...**

Terri-Lynn Williams-Davidson, an indigenous writer says this of the connection of indigenous people and the land they inhabit – "For indigenous peoples, the Earth and all of its life forms the fundamental context, the foundation and ultimate source from which culture emerges."<sup>8</sup> For, while the role of big companies in oil, drugs and timber business has pushed people out, the role of global "conservation" efforts in creating millions of "conservation refugees" is equally insidious.<sup>9</sup>



Map: Principal Concentration of indigenous peoples (red) and the world's critical habitats  
 Source: Russel Barsh, *The World's Indigenous People*

In his aptly titled piece "Conservation Refugees", Dowie lucidly observes that with the massive political and financial backing that was given to conservation groups, the process of 'conservation' through creation of Protected Areas (PAs), National Parks and Sanctuaries speeded up globally. In 1962, the world had some 1000 official PAs, today the number is close to 110000. The area under protection has doubled since 1990 with 12% of all the earth's land (nearly as much as the entire land mass of Africa) is under 'conservation'. At a first glance, such land and "nature" conservation seems good, but when we consider its impacts on native people of the world, one realises that all land had once been occupied by who now constitute the world's 6 million "conservation refugees".

Tourism has also played its part in the eviction of indigenous people from their ancestral lands only to then open them up to 'ecotourism'. All PAs are irresistible tourism attractions - their evident natural beauty, wildlife attractions and wilderness component have lured visitors in large numbers. The lack of a clear and generally accepted definition is probably what has made 'ecotourism' both appealing and highly dangerous. Ecotourism has come hand-in-hand with conservation but its contribution to conservation efforts has been questionable and empirically unproven yet. The edge to ecotourism came with its positioning as a more 'sustainable', 'green' and 'environment-friendly' form of tourism - an imaging that targeted eco-sensitive travellers and worked in favour of the industry but to the detriment of forest dwelling communities.<sup>10</sup>

In Kidepo Valley National Park in Uganda, the situation of the Ik tribe is dire. Before the creation of the Park, the Ik - a hunter-gatherer society - gathered vegetables, roots and berries as they moved during their annual nomadic cycle that took them through Sudan and northern Kenya. When the valley was declared a National Park, the Ik were forcibly evicted without warning. The draconian Ugandan National Park, which does not allow any form of local utilisation, meant that the Ik were now confined to the inhospitable mountain slopes, unable to follow their previous lifestyle. The Ik had little impact on the wildlife as they hunted only for consumption but today the park entertains European and North American tourists who come on hunting safaris<sup>11</sup>! It is estimated that well over 50 per cent of indigenous communities in Kenya have experienced some form of land dispossession in the name of ecotourism or other development initiatives (this reaches 60-70 per cent in northern Kenya).<sup>12</sup> Communities affected by exploitation and discrimination, include the Maasai and the Ogiek in the Southern rangelands; the Endorois, Ilchamus, Pokot, Sabaot, Sengwer and Turkana in the Rift Valley; the Borana, Ghabra, Rendille and Somalis in northern Kenya; and the Orma in the wetlands of the Kenyan coast.

India has a total of 650 Protected Areas<sup>13</sup> (96 National Parks, 508 wildlife sanctuaries, 29 tiger reserves, 14 existing biosphere reserves and 3 conservation reserves) and an estimated 2 million of the world's conservation refugees<sup>14</sup>. It comes as no surprise these national parks, wildlife sanctuaries and biosphere reserves are also the homelands of tribal populations for whom the forests are the basis of habitat, survival and history. But British colonisation followed by a colonisation effected by the government of independent India, produced a new understanding of forests, which was to sound the death knell for the country's tribal communities. Firstly this understanding was based on the Western notion of 'wilderness' - an expanse of greenery devoid of all human habitation. The second was a reformulation of 'conservation' which implied the de-legitimisation of forest dwellers and part of the of the forest habitat, de-recognition of traditional rights and exclusion and eviction of tribal communities from forests.<sup>15</sup>

In India, national parks and wildlife sanctuaries have been assiduously promoted as ecotourism attractions. The National Tourism Policy of 2002 clearly states - "*wildlife sanctuaries and national parks need to be integrated as an integral part of the India tourism product, and priority needs to be given to the preparation of site and visitor management plans for key parks, after a prioritization of parks.*" The aspect of eviction of indigenous people from their traditional lands for the cause of ecotourism development and its consequent impacts does not find adequate mention in these policies.

The Kanha National Park sprawls over a wide area in Mandla and adjoining Balaghat districts of the state of Madhya Pradesh and is in the forest belt of the Satpuras and the Vindhyas that stretch for almost 500 km east to west. This rich forest is the ancestral home of the Baiga and Gond tribals. The tiger is undoubtedly Kanha's main tourism attraction and in 1974, the government declared the area as a "Tiger Reserve". Today, tiger conservation efforts have displaced 26 tribal villages (comprising 1217 families covering a displaced area of approximately 5431 sq. kms)<sup>16</sup>. Tribal villages that used to sustain life with cultivation and collection of minor forest produce are today displaced and prohibited from collecting forest produce. Efforts have been made to resettle them into nearby areas but without providing adequate title deeds for their lands. While life is tough and sustenance nearly impossible, harassment by forest officers is a common occurrence. But today, Kanha is one of the most popular National Parks of India. An official tourism promotion website claims - "*When you holiday in Kanha you will feel as if you are entering the pages of this unforgettable book and you're likely to hear Sher Khan the tiger roar in the jungle...*"<sup>17</sup> They obviously make no mention of the voices of evicted adivasis.

A similar fate met the tribals living inside the Pench National Park, also situated in the same forest ranges of Madhya Pradesh and declared the country's 19th Project Tiger Reserve in 1992. With the launch of the World Bank's Eco Development Project<sup>18</sup> in 1995, several villages within and in the periphery of the sanctuary began to be systematically displaced. Fifteen Gond families who had traditionally lived on the banks of the Pench River were

displaced from their village of Alikatta and forced to resettle in Durgapur.<sup>19</sup> They were told they had to move because a National Park was being created. Villagers, who had fertile, cultivable land in Alikatta, today don't cultivate or go into the forest anymore for fear of being arrested. The Gond culture and identity took a back seat in the face of establishing the Park, and relations between villagers and the Forest Department have deteriorated. It is not even clear if wildlife is being adequately "protected" when the sanctuary was opened to tourists.<sup>20</sup>

The Nagarhole National Park is located in the Kodagu and Mysore districts of the state of Karnataka. A total of about 32000 adivasis reside in and around the National Park. Tribes of the area are mainly the - Jenukurubas (honey gatherers), Bettakurubas (Hill Kurubas), Yeravas, Soligas and sub castes of Yeravas i.e. Panjeri Yeravas and Pani-Yeravas. The adivasis of Nagarhole were first displaced by the same controversial Eco Development Project of the World Bank, which placed severe restrictions on them including bans on cultivation, hunting and on collection of forest produce. Notwithstanding this injustice, the government of Karnataka awarded a contract in 1994 to Gateway Hotels and Getaway Resorts (a subsidiary of the Taj Hotels group) to run India's first eco-friendly resort within the Nagarhole National Park. Strong resistance to this move by local groups and adivasi rights' organisations, supported by legal interventions that were upheld both at the High Court and Supreme Court level finally resulted in stalling construction of the resort and a strong indictment of the role of the state government in this sorry affair. The Nagarhole judgement set precedence for the use of protected areas and national parks for eco-tourism development but the fate of the adivasis continues to hang in balance. The region continues to have a growing number of tourist resorts mushrooming around the Park periphery which have lead neither to protection of forest land nor to adivasi wellbeing.<sup>21</sup>

These cases are emblematic of the growing tension between communities and government policy privileging a certain understanding of conservation in India. Creation of 'tourism zones' inside PAs further intensifies the seeming contradiction between the aims of conservation and the rights of displaced communities. This has lead to the process of legitimising the functioning of presence of a global industry inside an ecologically sensitive region, while indigenous people and local communities have been aggressively ejected from their forests.

When the United Nations declared 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE), it was met with vociferous protest primarily from the world's indigenous peoples. Indigenous groups, summarising the fundamental problems they face from tourism, warned against the large scale unrestrained promotion of ecotourism without an adequate assessment of the nature of the industry and its effects on the environment and people.<sup>22</sup> It would, they said, lead to disruption of local economies by displacement of activities that previously served to carry self-reliant and sustainable community development. Physical infrastructure to provide tourists access to remote areas would expand and this would lead to increasing damage to the environment and local communities. Several years later, these fears and concerns are proved to be not unfounded.

The preservation of biological diversity is undoubtedly urgent. The point however, is to revisit its fundamental principles.<sup>23</sup> In India, the National Park Management concept is a blind copy of the American experience based on wilderness. Citing studies, Gadgil and Guha in their book - *"This Fissured Land"* state that the - *"...highest levels of biological diversity are found in areas with some (though not excessive) human intervention... the dogma of total protection can have tragic consequences."* Mark Dowie provides a thought provoking statement that he believes is receiving acceptance, albeit hesitatingly, from various parties to the debate that - *"Indigenous Peoples' presence, it turns out, may offer the best protection that protected areas can ever receive"*<sup>24</sup>. This is, in fact, a position that indigenous people have maintained all along.

Notions of 'conservation' in India have also failed to acknowledge the role that adivasis have played in protection of nature and its diverse forms through the symbiotic relationship their share. Adivasis in various states have religious beliefs, prohibitions and taboos to the access and use of natural resources. In Kalahandi, Orissa, the tiger is treated as a brother and if a tiger dies, the adivasis observe community mourning. Similarly in East Singhbhum in Jharkhand, adivasis worship Gorang, Dorang and Buchiwudi - gods and goddesses whose abode are the hills, rivers and forests, making these sacred.

Moti Ram Baiga from Daldali, Chhattisgarh says:

*"We worship our mountains, trees and rivers. Our Devi Devta (deities) "Kher mata", "Khunt Paat", "Thakur devta" or "Nanga Baiga" live in these forests and mountains. They protect us from all evils."*

Communities that share such a strong bond with nature, whose religious beliefs and social customs are oriented to protect nature from over exploitation, are now being termed 'encroachers' in their homelands. States like Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa which have abundant forest, water and mineral resources have witnessed several cases of marginalisation of communities by modern development. Industrialisation, mining, dam and other big infrastructure projects have led to large scale displacement of indigenous communities, affecting their livelihood and socio-cultural milieu. Tourism seen as gentler, more sophisticated and green, if not unmasked, can prove to be the uninvited and exploitative guest into their homelands.

### **Indigenous Communities' share of the pie: Tourism Benefits?**

While there is growing resistance by indigenous communities to exploitative forms of tourism, there are many who are keen to explore how they can benefit from tourism. But do current models of tourism development provide scope for community involvement and community control and do they materialise in community benefits? How do current forms of tourism also engage with issues of culture and identity of these communities?

New forms of eco-travel profess to save the planet and create economic advantages for local people. But do they? Research by NGOs and even by the World Bank point to the fact that Park Management strategies have not met with much success in terms of local economic development.<sup>25</sup> Even at highly "successful" parks like the Khao Yai National Park in Thailand, where tourists bring in nearly USD 5 million annually, the surrounding communities remain poor. Ecotourism revenues in Rwanda support park management but have not been able to translate into economic alternatives for local people. Developers often overlook the critical aspect of benefit sharing that is intrinsic to the definition of ecotourism.

The more disturbing issue is the denial of indigenous peoples' rights in the context of tourism. According to International Tourism Rights International, "prior informed consent" is crucial; its absence has been at the heart of most conflicts which indigenous communities face from the outside world. This includes: access to all information (negative and positive) concerning proposed tourism activities as well as access and participation in policy making that affects them, official support for tourism models developed by indigenous people themselves and the absolute right to say "no". Alison Johnston opines – *"If the ecotourism industry wants to engage Indigenous Peoples in a way that naturally draws community support, it must be willing to learn who it is talking to, what these people's experiences and aspirations are and why the right to self-determination is so passionately defended. Companies need to learn how to approach business as a HOLISTIC relationship."*<sup>26</sup>

Demands for benefit sharing in tourism by indigenous people come in different forms and are not always directly associated with a tourism project. In the Andes, indigenous people demand compensation for having their photographs taken. A woman in Otalavo exclaims – *"We see our and our children's photos on postcards. We do not benefit from our photos being taken, a tourist does. We demand part of the profits."* In the mountainous regions of northern India, hill communities supplement their incomes by allowing tourists to briefly adorn their traditional dress and be photographed. Tribal communities in Mexico are now getting more worldly wise and demanding royalty for use of their motifs and art forms on tourism promotional material.

There are also few international initiatives, which are quoted as having moved from the "community-based" forms of tourism to being genuinely "community-owned" by indigenous people. The Toledo Ecotourism Association (TEA) in Belize– is a community-owned organisation owned and operated by an association of Mopan, Kek'chi and Garifuna villages.<sup>27</sup> The objective of TEA is to share the benefits of tourism as widely as possible throughout each participating village. Guides, food providers and entertainers are rotated among seven to nine families in each village. A parallel programme is succeeding in Ecuador. Ricancie (Indigenous Community Network of the Upper Napo for Intercultural Exchange and Ecotourism) was founded in 1993 by several Quichua communities living in the Napo province of Amazonian Ecuador.<sup>28</sup> Their goal is to improve the life of nine Quichua villages via a community-based ecotourism project. Prior to this, tours in the region were conducted by foreign tour operating companies, which provided little benefit to the villages. Ricancie has been able to change that by adopting a self-determined path where all decisions are taken by villagers. In Australia, the Mutawintji National Park, Historic Site and Natural Reserve in New South Wales were returned to aboriginal ownership in 1998 and is now run by the Mutawintji Local Aboriginal Land Council.<sup>29</sup> The organisation is in charge of all tours to the Park and has licensed their operators. In Africa, to garner greater local benefit from tourism, San community members from Botswana, Namibia and South Africa approached organisations to support them in initiating community-owned joint venture tourism projects.<sup>30</sup> The movement has spread to San communities in other regions who have felt encouraged to start their own tourism ventures not only for economic gain but also to inform tourists about San culture and traditions.

In few states of India, attempts have been made where civil society and local people have played a role in deciding the nature and form of tourism in their areas. In 2003, a group of people in Jharkhand, mostly belonging to various indigenous communities from different districts of the State, evolved the "Jharkhand Peoples' Policy on Sustainable Tourism". The inspiration to develop such a people's policy came from the people of Pan Sakam, a village near the famous Dasam waterfall of the region, as adivasis of this village had taken control of the waterfall after a prolonged fight with the Forest Department. The peoples' policy includes benefit sharing of resources, access to natural resources and provision of core team formed by communities, looking after planning, implementation and monitoring. This policy was presented to the state tourism department, but so far no action has been taken by the government to incorporate its suggestions.

Similarly, in Katakai village of Araku panchayat (Andhra Pradesh), there is a small waterfall on the Gostani River. The Gram Sabha has taken steps to develop this as a tourist attraction and has created basic infrastructure like pathways and stairs and a check post. It also collects toll from tourists and allows them to visit the waterfall. But as this spot has gradually become popular among tourists who visit the nearby Borra caves, realising the revenue potential, the Andhra Pradesh Tourism Development Corporation (APTDC) has now planned to develop the waterfall area as a tourism product. If not opposed, such a move will lead to transfer of control and benefits moving from the Gram Sabha to the state owned APTDC.

Experiments and models in India privileging indigenous ownership and control of tourism are yet nascent.<sup>31</sup> But with growing interest in responsible tourism in India, policy makers need to study these initiatives for promoting a tourism that is community-led, owned, and implemented. Many indigenous communities hope that tourism will offer an alternative to more destructive forms of "development" in their regions such as logging, mining and other extractive industries. They are alert to and some even welcome ecotourism projects that can help conserve their natural environments and provide alternative sources of livelihood. There are no ready models or easy answers to these aspirations, but what seems essential is that alternatives, best practices and new models be evolved by and with them.

## **Part two: International guidelines addressing issues of tourism and indigenous peoples**

Recognition of tourism issues in the indigenous peoples' debate has found place in many international guidelines. Many of these guidelines and codes have developed in response to powerful resistance by indigenous groups to impacts of tourism development on their lives, cultures and regions. While they are not legally binding, they form a useful guiding framework to governments and policy makers on the issue of indigenous people and tourism.

One of the first institutions to put in place progressive conventions respecting indigenous communities' traditional rights was the International Labour Organisation. The ILO Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Populations, 1957 (No. 107), recognises indigenous peoples' ownership of the lands they occupy. It was ratified by 27 countries, mainly in Latin America. India has also ratified the Convention. In 1989, the ILO revised this Convention, making it much stronger. ILO Convention No. 169 (1989) provides generally that "*special measures shall be adopted as appropriate for safeguarding the persons, institutions, property, labour, cultures and environment*" of indigenous peoples, and that "*such measures shall not be contrary to the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.*" Convention No. 169 is a comprehensive instrument covering a range of issues pertaining to indigenous and tribal peoples, including land rights, access to natural resources, health, education, vocational training, conditions of employment and contacts across borders.<sup>32</sup> It also has strong clauses in relation to seeking prior informed consent from indigenous people before undertaking development activities in their regions. It further states that – "*indigenous peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development.*" Only 13 countries have thus far ratified ILO Convention 169; India is not one of them. These ILO clauses have significant implications when applied to tourism and can be effectively used to promote participation of indigenous communities in tourism in deciding its forms and priorities and prevent undesirable forms of its development.

Specifically on tourism, the most universally known set of guidelines for tourism development is the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics that received official recognition by the UN General Assembly on 21 December 2001. Clause 1 of Article 1 of the Code articulates: *The understanding and promotion of the ethical values common to humanity, with an attitude of tolerance and respect for the diversity of religious, philosophical and moral beliefs, are both the*

*foundation and the consequence of responsible tourism; stakeholders in tourism development and tourists themselves should observe the social and cultural traditions and practices of all peoples, including those of minorities and indigenous peoples and to recognize their worth. It further states in Article 2 "...tourism activities should respect...the individual rights of the most vulnerable groups, notably children, the elderly, the handicapped, ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples."*

The Oaxaca Declaration of the International Forum on Indigenous Tourism, adopted in 2002 is another landmark declaration recording the impacts of tourism on indigenous communities. Issued by representatives of indigenous communities from 13 Western Hemisphere countries at the time of the IYE, the Declaration stated – *"We register our profound disagreement with the IYE's and ecotourism's most basic assumptions that define Indigenous communities as targets to be developed and our lands as commercial resources to be sold on global markets. Under this universalistic economic framework, tourism brings market competition, appropriates our lands and peoples as consumer products, and renders our traditional knowledge vulnerable to bioprospecting and biopiracy."* It goes on to reject the IYE to be used as a space to legitimise the takeover of indigenous lands by *"sustainable development"*. The Declaration articulates several pertinent points with regard to how indigenous people are viewed in tourism. Primary among these is the need to recognise that indigenous peoples are not *"stakeholders"* but *"internationally-recognized holders of collective and human rights, including the rights of self-determination, informed consent, and effective participation."* It particularly addresses governments, private developers, conservation and ecotourism NGOs, development agencies and specialists. It asserts *"Tourism is beneficial for indigenous communities only when it is based on and enhances our self-determination. Outside "experts and assistance" are useful to us only if they work within frameworks conceptualized and defined by our communities. Therefore, tourism projects must be undertaken only under the guidance and surveillance of an Indigenous Technical Team, and only after a full critical analysis of the long-term pros and cons of tourism development."* In addressing the United Nations, the Declaration appeals for devising a transparent and honest process that allows for indigenous peoples participation directly in tourism development. It demands that national governments implement laws and regulations pertaining to the environment and indigenous peoples and urges for the development of ecotourism guidelines that can regulate visitation in conformance with local culture and sensitivities.

Another process in motion has been with the Draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. On Thursday 29 June 2006, the Human Rights Council adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and recommended its adoption by the General Assembly<sup>33</sup>. The Declaration was one of the chief outcomes of the United Nations' International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004)<sup>34</sup> initiative with the main objective of strengthening international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health. This Declaration, which is pending adoption by the General Assembly, it is hoped, gives wider publicity and endorsement to rights of indigenous communities. While it does not mention tourism specifically, its applicability would definitely extend to situations of tourism infringing indigenous rights. In the words of the UN's Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues<sup>35</sup> – *"When adopted, it will likely be the most comprehensive statement of the rights of indigenous peoples ever developed: the draft declaration foresees collective rights to a degree unprecedented in international human rights law. Adoption of this instrument will give the clearest indication yet that the international community is committing itself to the protection of the individual and collective rights of indigenous peoples."*

But not all UN processes have received the endorsement of indigenous communities. An intensive debate has been ensuing internationally in the context of the Convention on Biological Diversity's (CBD) tourism guidelines. When in 2004, the CBD's seventh Conference of Parties (COP7) planned to finalise and adopt the draft tourism guidelines, many indigenous groups wrote in stressing that the adoption be stalled, as indigenous people had not been party to its formulation. The statement from the International Indigenous Forum on Biodiversity (IIFB) to the Chairman of the COP stated – *"We are dismayed to learn that draft guidelines on tourism are being considered for adoption here in Kuala Lumpur. The draft guidelines focus on vulnerable ecosystems. This causes great anxiety. Globally, it is the Indigenous Peoples' ancestral territories that are most vulnerable to the so-called 'eco' tourism industry. This sector has a documented standard of abuse. Again, we must stress that worldwide the vulnerable areas in question are Indigenous territories."*

Additionally, the lack of cultural sustainability and diversity in the Guidelines is an equally serious matter of concern. The IIFB rejected the process and content of the CBD's tourism guidelines on grounds of the disregarding and non-representation of indigenous peoples. Indigenous people's representatives had urged that the matter of adoption of the draft tourism guidelines be deferred to COP 8, two years later in 2006. However, despite these appeals, the CBD

went ahead and adopted the Tourism Guidelines that are now formally part of the CBD. For indigenous people, the guidelines continue to disregard issues of cultural sustainability and use of indigenous peoples' ancestral lands by tourism. It is held as a travesty of the process of democratic consultation that institutions like the CBD are meant to stand for. In her analysis of these events surrounding the CBD, Alison Johnston observed – *"In UN forums, Indigenous Peoples have observed mounting apprehension among world governments towards their submissions – particularly on ancestral title, which entails customary law for sustainability. World governments know that Indigenous rights and international environmental standards are routinely overridden. They want to look forward to profit, not become mired in present or past issues like liability and compensation. Thus, as the CBD process on tourism progressed, it became evident that many feared the Indigenous Peoples' analysis. There was a level of protectionism which had no rational explanation other than the corporate bottom line."*<sup>36</sup>

These international guidelines do provide a useful framework that national governments may choose to adopt. However, processes like the CBD are indicative of the fact that even at the global level, there remains a challenge in ensuring the meaningful and rightful participation of indigenous peoples in processes that deeply impact them.

### **Part Three: An Overview of Tourism Policies in India in the Context of the Indigenous Peoples' Debate**

Tourism came on to the radar of Indian policy makers during the sixth five-year plan period (1977-1982) when the country's first tourism policy was introduced. Soon after, in the 1985-90 period, tourism was elevated to the status of an industry that gave it access to institutional financial support, infrastructure support and a rationale for rationalisation of taxes applicable to the sector. The post liberalisation period from 1991 witnessed further opening up of natural and biodiversity-rich areas in the country for tourism. Ecotourism was the new buzzword and the focus was on forests, coasts, hills, mountains and other biodiversity-rich regions. Many state governments began exploiting the 'market' potential of tourism by actively promoting ecotourism, culture and heritage tourism, deregulating coasts and opening up forests for investment in tourism.

#### National Policies on Tourism

The National Tourism Policy (NTP) 2002 has identified ecological sustainability, judicious use of natural resources and tourism as a means to alleviate poverty as some of its basic principles. The policy recognises lack of community participation as one of the factors contributing to increasing conflicts in tourism areas and therefore, emphasises greater community participation, role of panchayats and other local bodies especially in ecotourism and adventure tourism activities.

But although certainly progressive compared to earlier policies, the NTP fails to clearly identify and provide guidelines to work with some of tourism's adverse impacts. In relation to indigenous communities, the policy only makes two cursory references to indigenous and tribal communities.<sup>37</sup> The policy emphasises ecotourism but yet does not even highlight the need for caution while promoting tourism in areas where indigenous communities live. The adverse impacts of tourism on adivasis including issues of commodification of culture, land alienation, denial of access to resources and exploitation are not acknowledged. Other important policy documents on tourism have also overlooked the critical need to regulate tourism in indigenous areas. The X Five Year Plan's chapter on tourism does not make any references to concerns regarding indigenous communities but, like the NTP, asks governments to focus on ecotourism promotion. Laying the foundation for the next five years, the report of the Tourism Working Group for the XI Five Year Plan places high emphasis on promotion of heritage and culture tourism along with ecotourism but yet again, fails to take notice of the need to regulate tourism such that indigenous communities are not adversely impacted.<sup>38</sup>

The Ministry of Tourism (MoT) - Government of India launched its Ecotourism Policy and Guidelines in 1998. These guidelines have been formulated "to ensure regulated growth of ecotourism with its positive impacts of environmental protection & community development". The Ecotourism Policy of 1998, issued by the Ministry of Tourism, is based on several international guidelines and frameworks prepared by various tourism industry associations.<sup>39</sup>

But with a focus on environmental conservation, the policy fails to acknowledge the cross linkages between ecotourism and the social, cultural, economic and institutional processes of the indigenous and local communities. By identifying indigenous and local communities as "stakeholders" and not "rights holders" who have knowledge of the local environment, the policy makes them subservient to a process where environmental protection is beyond their control and is being pursued for the sake of supporting economic enterprise.<sup>40</sup>

Mentioning the need for involvement of local community, recognition to local livelihood and tourism that is compatible with environmental and socio-economic characteristics of local community gives a false sense that the policy privileges community based and sustainable tourism principles. But when it comes to the actual role to be played by these communities in need-based planning for physical infrastructure, zoning exercises, evolving tourism management plans, and impact assessment, the policy goes silent.<sup>41</sup>

### State Tourism Policies

Several states have evolved their own policies on tourism, and these have not necessarily been inspired by the broad principles of the national policies. What remains common is that state policies too have failed to address tourism from a peoples' perspective and thus their tourism policies read more like investment and marketing strategy papers.

Madhya Pradesh, one of the first states in the country to announce a tourism policy (1995), has identified promotion of ecotourism and adventure tourism as one of the key objectives. Cashing in on its 31% forest area, in 2001-02, the Department of Tourism, Government of Madhya Pradesh formulated an Eco and Adventure Tourism Policy for the state. The background note to the policy states - *"Today's tourist is not content with cultural or religious tourism alone- the tourist today looks for some thrill, fun, adventure and something other than routine. In keeping with this change in attitude of tourists, the State Government has decided to actively promote Eco-Tourism and Adventure Tourism. In order to popularize and develop these forms of tourism, Government is for the first time, seeking participation of private investors."* The other key points of the policy include measures to involve private participation.

But in a state with 23% proportion of its population as adivasis, the government's priority seems to be to satisfy the changing demand of tourists, rather than address the livelihood concerns of local communities. Forest eviction due to declaration of national parks and sanctuaries is rampant in Madhya Pradesh, with Kanha and Bandhavgarh as glaring examples. The state tourism policy does not appear to take cognisance of these problems.

Neighbouring Chhattisgarh is no different. From the 2006 tourism policy, it is clear that tourism promotion and marketing of the state as a tourist destination are the clear focus areas of the state government. It mentions principles like sustainability, community participation and environmental conservation without the wherewithal to ensure that these principles are implemented. It talks of decentralised tourism development and local community participation but these seem merely lip service as the same policy has made the state-government managed Chhattisgarh Tourism Board as the nodal agency for all tourism-related development! The policy also makes some ludicrous propositions to ease tourist connectivity like proposing helicopter facilities into interior inaccessible areas - areas where tribal and indigenous population lives. Its focus on "Ethnic tourism" is strong and the policy states that it will attempt at showcasing the state's rich cultural heritage and monuments, which will be integrated into the ecotourism circuit.

Orissa launched its tourism policy in 1997 and this is also no different from other state policies. In the state's tourism policy, Ganjam, Kalahandi, Kandhamal, Deogarh, Dhenkanal, Angul, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj proposed for wildlife tourism, all have significant adivasi population. The commodification of adivasi culture is evident through proposals like - "a museum of tribal art and artefacts will be set up in different tribal regions at Bhubaneswar to bring tribal life and culture alive for the tourists."

Current tourism and ecotourism policies that actively promote forms of tourism in adivasi-populated areas of the country will only intensify inequities. The growing trend towards declaring areas as National Parks and Wildlife Sanctuaries and up-gradation of forests within the broad category of 'Protected Areas' in the country is disturbing from the perspective of adivasis. In 1935, after the enactment of Indian Forest Act 1927, there was only one national park in the country - Jim Corbett National Park. In the 35 years hence, i.e. up till 1970, only 5 more were added to this list. However, the 1972 Wildlife Protection Act, Project Tiger initiated in 1980, Forest Conservation Act 1980 and several legislations have been instrumental in identification and up-gradation of forest areas into protected areas, national parks and wildlife sanctuaries. As a result, by 2004, India had 92 declared national parks and several others are in pipeline. Similarly, the declaration of more areas under reserved and wildlife sanctuary categories means further deprivation of adivasi rights over forests.

### Legal Safeguards and provisions that could be applicable to tourism as well

The 73rd and 74th Amendments, 1993 to the Indian Constitution were landmark legal provisions, allowing greater peoples' participation in planning and decision making. Initially, the Amendment was valid for all parts of India, including Schedule V Areas. But as traditional tribal institutions were still functional and required legal legitimacy to

their self-governing systems, several activists and groups challenged the implementation of 73rd Amendment in Schedule Areas. In 1996, based on the Bhuria Committee's recommendations, the PESA Act was enacted that went one step further to the 73rd Amendment by acknowledging the rights of adivasis to plan and decide the course of development in their regions by empowering the Gram Sabha to have a say in the nature of development, land acquisition and also in resettlement and rehabilitation measures in the region. The Gram Sabha and Panchayat have also been given the power "to prevent alienation of land in the Scheduled areas and to take appropriate action to restore any unlawfully alienated land of Scheduled Tribe"<sup>42</sup> Along with these important clauses on people's role in decision making, PESA also gives rights over minor water bodies and minor minerals.

Orissa has diluted its Gram Panchayat Act, while Jharkhand's Panchayat Act is not in accordance with the central legislation. States like Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh who adopted PESA provisions are bypassing their own state laws in favour of private companies while in Andhra Pradesh, the government machinery is influencing the gram sabha's decision on transferring land to mining companies. The clause empowering the grama sabha to monitor land acquisition and alienation is particularly important in the light of the nature of tourism development in these areas and the need for regulation. While examples abound of disregard and violation of the PESA in the context of extractives-linked industries, we begin to see a similar trend in the context of tourism. In Anantgiri mandal of Andhra Pradesh, which is a Scheduled Area, the last few years have seen several new resorts and hotels come up in the Araku valley. Similarly, areas around the Kanha National Park in Madhya Pradesh have about 30-35 resorts that have come up. In most of these aforesaid cases, tourism developed mostly without consultation or consent of the grama sabhas.

Another historic development in the legislative space is the Scheduled Tribes and other traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006. Reserved and protected forests, sanctuaries, national parks and other protected areas have been given the status of "community forest resources" by this Act and therefore, rights of tribal and other forest dwelling communities extend over these areas. Important community rights recognised include: the right to live in the forest land, right of ownership; access to collect, use and dispose minor forest produce; rights of fishing and grazing, rights for conversion of pattas or leases, right to conserve and right to enjoy customary rights. While the rules and detailed implementation guidelines of the Act are being negotiated and drafted, it can only be hoped that the principle and spirit of this legislation is retained and that adivasi communities will be able to use it for what it is meant to be – a tool to ensure that their lives, practices and culture are not subservient to the market and to powerful commercial lobbies.

### **Closing Thoughts**

This paper has put forth arguments and cases, drawing from international and national experiences to tourism's increasing role in the indigenous peoples debate. But as we acknowledge that tourism indeed is contributing to the displacement, exploitation and marginalisation of indigenous communities, there is also the hope that it might transform itself into a tool for benefiting these communities – economically and culturally – without being exploitative. When confronted with highly destructive forms of "development" like mining, dams and extractives, indigenous communities are pinning their hopes on tourism – that it can be a tool for their collective economic empowerment, and a means for promoting greater understanding and respect for their identities, culture and traditions. But will tourism development in India respond to this call? Will tourism which by its very nature is a human space - be more human and ethical? Will it be guided by its responsibility to be a steward of the peoples, cultures, and natural environment that it so benefits by? Will its relationship with communities it depends on, be respectful and harmonious or predatory and exploitative? Is it willing to be unmasked and respond to the adivasi's johar?

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Contact us

[info@equitabletourism.org](mailto:info@equitabletourism.org)

+91-80-2545-7607 / 2545-7659

EQUATIONS, # 415, 2C-Cross, 4th Main, OMBR Layout, Banaswadi, Bangalore 560043, India

[www.equitabletourism.org](http://www.equitabletourism.org)

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## End Notes

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1 Usage Note: When used in reference to a member of an indigenous people, the noun native, like its synonym aborigine, can evoke unwelcome stereotypes of primitiveness or cultural backwardness that many people now seek to avoid. Despite its potentially negative connotations, native is enjoying increasing popularity in ethnonyms such as native Australian and Alaska Native, perhaps due to the wide acceptance of Native American as a term of ethnic pride and respect. natives. [www.dictionary.com](http://www.dictionary.com). The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition. Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/natives> (accessed: July 04, 2007). In this paper, we prefer to use the term indigenous people/tribals/ adivasis.

2 Ministry of Tribal Affairs, 2001 census

3 "Rethinking Tourism and Ecotourism: the paving of paradise and what you can do to stop it," Deborah McLaren, Kumarian Press, 1998.

4 Russel Barsh, "The World's Indigenous Peoples", Department of Native Studies at the University of Lethbridge, Canada. (year unknown).

5 Jon Goss, "The souvenir and sacrifice in the tourist mode of consumption" from the "Seductions of Place: geographical perspectives on globalisation and touristed landscapes," edited by Carolyn Cartier and Alan. E. Lew, Routledge, 2005.

6 Joan Carling, "Tourism Impacts on the Indigenous People of Cordillera", Contours, Volume 8 No ¾, Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, November 1998.

7 "Questions about a Road", Panjaj Sekhsaria, Down to Earth, May 31 2007.

8 Terri – Lynn Williams-Davidson, "Sacred Objects, Art and Nature in a Global Economy", Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples Resistance to Economic Globalization, International Forum on Globalization, 2005.

9 Mark Dowie, "Conservation Refugees", Chapter 14, Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples Resistance to Economic Globalization, International Forum on Globalization, 2005.

10 "Mixed Promises of Ecotourism", Susanne York, International Forum on Globalization as part of "Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Economic Globalization", published by IFG, 2004

11 "Trouble in Paradise: tourism and indigenous land rights: towards ethical solutions", Briefing, Minority Rights Group International, January 2007.

12 Ibid

13 Wildlife Institute of India, June 2007, <http://www.wii.gov.in.htm>

14 Id 10

15 Pradip Prabhu, "Tribal Forest Interface – Logic of Survival", Combat Law, Volume 2 Issue 5, December – January 2004, p 5-18.

16 Data collected from primary field investigation by Souparna Lahiri and Devjit Nandi for NFFPFW, India.

17 <http://www.incredibleindiaholiday.com/incredible-india-wildlife-holidays/kanha-wildlife-tour.html>

18 In 1995, the World Bank launched the ecodevelopment project with the Indian government. Pench Tiger Reserve in Madhya Pradesh was eventually selected as one of the loan recipients. The general objectives of the project were to protect biodiversity and ecosystems in India by motivating villagers in the buffer zones around the national parks to reduce their dependence on the forests for survival. The World Bank designed a program based upon an understanding that human populations living in wildlife

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conservation areas have a negative impact on the delicate plant and animal ecosystems; they must therefore be resettled outside the boundaries of the wildlife reserves and encouraged to survive without entering the forests. This course of action, it was felt, will protect villagers and their crops from wild animals and will protect wild animals and plant species from human encroachment.

19 The park is in a designated V Schedule Area – Areas identified by the Constitution of India with high percentage of tribal populations that are to be administered differently in recognition of tribal institutions and governance.

20 Id 16

21 This case is drawn from "adivasis, rights and tourism: an assertion from Nagarahole", EQUATIONS, 2000.

22 Refer the Declaration of the International Forum on Indigenous Tourism, Oaxaca, 2002 issued in response to IYE

23 "Creating voice for Indigenous People", published by National Advocacy Council for Development of Indigenous People (NACDIP) in association with PREM-Orissa and ITWWS – Tamil Nadu, December 2002.

24 Id 12

25 "People and Parks: Linking Protected Area Management with Local Communities", World Bank, 1992.

26 Alison M. Johnston, "Is the Sacred for Sale? Tourism and Indigenous People", Earthscan Publication, 2006.

27 Id 11

28 Id 11

29 Id 11

30 "Tourism and the SAN in South Africa", Contours, Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, Volume 8 No ¾ November 1998.

31 There are a few initiatives in progress in India that are beginning to orient tourism development towards indigenous community needs with some even being community-owned and initiated. These include the UNDP and MoT's Endogenous Rural Tourism Project where few sites work with indigenous communities, work of NGOs in East and Northeast India towards striking a balance between cultural, ecological conservation and tourism and few village-level initiatives like in Khonoma, Nagaland.

32 <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/indigenous/standard/index.htm>

33 Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights: <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/declaration.htm>

34 On 22 December 2004, the General Assembly adopted Resolution A/RES/59/174 for a Second International Decade, which commenced on 1 January 2005. The Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, Mr. José Antonio Ocampo was appointed Coordinator for the Second Decade. The goal of the Decade is the further strengthening of international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as culture, education, health, human rights, the environment and social and economic development, by means of action oriented programmes and specific projects, increased technical assistance and relevant standard setting activities. The theme of the Decade is: "Partnership for Action and Dignity".

<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/second.html>

35 The Permanent Forum was established by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) resolution 2000/22 on 28 July 2000. In this resolution the UNPFII was given a mandate to "discuss indigenous issues within the mandate of the Council relating to economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights."

<http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/structure.html>

36 Id 26

37 The two references are: "The railways have a special fascination for foreign tourists who wish to experience the country both at leisure and close personal contact with the indigenous people..." and "...ecotourism must help in... in encouraging tribal and local crafts and in improving overall environment and facilitating growth of a more just and fair social order", National Tourism Policy, Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Government of India, 2002.

38 XI Five Year Plan, Tourism Working Group Report, 2007

39 According to the 1998 Ecotourism Policy, it is based on Guidelines for the development of National Parks and Protected areas for Tourism developed by the UNWTO, PATA Code for Environmentally Responsible Tourism, Environmental Guidelines of the World Travel and Tourism Council, the Himalayan Code of Conduct prepared by the Himalayan Tourism Advisory Board and Ecotourism Guidelines by Ecotourism Society.

40 Ecotourism as Market Based Conservation Mechanism, briefing paper, EQUATIONS, 2006

41 "Globalisation, Governance & Grassroots: The case of ecotourism and its impacts in tribal dominated areas in India", EQUATIONS, November 2006.

42 Section 4 (m (iii)) of PESA