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TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY: 
THE COMMERCIAL TREKKING INDUSTRY 
IN THE KULLU VALLEY, HIMACHAL PRADESH, INDIA

By

Mandi K. Sandhu

A Practicum Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree,
Masters of Natural Resources Management

Natural Resources Institute
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
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April, 1998
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TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY:
THE COMMERCIAL TREKKING INDUSTRY IN THE KULLU VALLEY,
HIMACHAL PRADESH, INDIA

BY

MANDI K. SANDHU

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a practicum entitled: The Commercial Trekking Industry in the Kullu District, Himachal, Pradesh, India

Submitted by: Ms. Mandi Sandhu

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Master of Natural Resources Management (M.N.R.M.).

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Date: April 17th, 1998
Over the past decade the Kullu Valley, located in the State of Himachal Pradesh, has been transformation from a largely self-sufficient agricultural economy to one that is more dependent on outside market forces. To a large extent, much of this change is a result of the recent and somewhat unexpected growth of tourism. As part of the increase in tourism, trekking has become a popular activity for foreign tourists visiting the region. Trekking, as a result of its widespread geographic parameters, has the potential to disperse economic benefits to both remote communities and to major urban centers. As such, the following research was conducted to assess the influence of trekking activities in the Kullu Valley.

The present study finds its roots in the ‘Sustainable Development of Mountain Environments in India and Canada’ project, for the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute supported by the Canadian International Development Agency. The overall purpose of the project was to investigate the sustainability of mountain environments and local socio-cultural systems in a time of rapid economic change in response to commercialization and regional/global economic integration. This study is one of a number of studies conducted for the project. As such, the goal of the following research was to investigate local involvement in the commercial trekking industry as an avenue towards livelihood security. More specifically the objectives of the study were to:

1. Identify formal trekking organizations in the Kullu Valley;
2. Locate the range of trekking routes staging from the area around the town of Manali;
3. Describe the role of the local population in trekking activities;
4. Determine the proportion of trekking guides indigenous to the Kullu Valley; and
5. Assess the influence of trekking on livelihood security.

Field study conducted in 1996 revealed that while tourism on the whole is having a dramatic impact on the local population, while trekking is a relatively small aspect of the tourism industry. There were thirty-nine commercial trekking operations in the Kullu Valley, the bulk of which are located in the town of Manali. Trekking in the region generally follows historically well-established travel routes between villages. The majority of trekkers participate in local or regional treks that extend up to ten days in duration, however,
extended treks into northern region such as Lahaul and Spiti are increasing. The results of the study indicate that the native population has maintained a high degree of local involvement in the commercial trekking industry. While much of the involvement has been through either ownership of trekking agencies or direct employment as guides, others have become involved through the provision of other services for tourists such as teahouses and providing accommodation. In general, local people involved in trekking activities have maintained ties with their traditional livelihood activities thereby diversifying the mix of activities engaged in to gain a means of living.

Despite the obvious economic benefits of tourism growth towards enhancing livelihood security for the local population, the tourism industry in the Kullu Valley is not without its associated costs. In conjunction with the process of increased globalization of world economies, tourism can contribute to dramatic changes in traditional value and belief systems for indigenous communities. As well, increased environmental degradation of valuable natural resources is a major concern. While these adverse impacts have not yet manifested themselves to critical levels, there is a growing potential for trekking to become detrimental for the local Kullu population in the future. Policies governing appropriate development that is consistent with indigenous values and the people's relationship to the land are urgently needed.
Acknowledgements

The completion of this study would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of people, all of whom are deserving of my thanks and gratitude. First, I am indebted to countless individuals living in the Kullu Valley and beyond for their assistance in compiling information for the study. In particular, I am grateful to the Bannons for making my stay in Kullu both a memorable and enjoyable experience for a female researcher on her own.

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While this study was by no means a solo endeavor, I alone remain responsible its deficiencies.
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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

Tourism, as the largest industry worldwide, is gaining increased recognition for its value towards the improvement of local economies. Particularly in developing countries, the tourism sector has experienced tremendous growth over the past century. Much of the interest in travel to and within developing countries lies in the opportunity to visit destinations that contrast dramatically from the traveler's place of origin. These opportunities include exposure to exotic cultures and historic sites as well as opportunities for outdoor recreation. Since many of the tourist attractions within developing countries rely on preservation of unique cultural and natural attributes, there is a strong relationship between social, economic and environmental factors. With the globalization of world economies, integration of these factors as well as protection of distinctive characteristics and attributes of tourist destinations is increasingly becoming a challenge.

The present study pertains to the impact of tourism as a major contributing factor in the change from an economy based on self-reliance and self-sufficiency to a contemporary commercial economy in India. Specifically, it examines the recent growth of tourism, with particular emphasis on the commercial trekking industry, in the Kullu Valley located in the state of Himachal Pradesh. The primary focus of the study is on increased trekking activities in the Kullu region and its associated impacts for livelihood security for the local population.
Map 1: Location of the Kullu Valley in Himachal Pradesh, India (Duffield et al., 1998)
1.2 Background

The town of Manali, located in the Kullu Valley of Himachal Pradesh, lies in the heart of the Pir Panjal Range of the Western Himalayas (Map 1). It is characterized by a high mountain environment that ranges in elevation from 2000 metres to 4500 metres with adjacent peaks and ridges rising to 6500 metres. The major summits support glaciers that act as important water sources for the Upper Beas watershed and its tributaries. Indigenous cedars and firs dominate the majority of the forested environment. The scenic beauty and rugged mountain terrain provide an ideal location for outdoor recreational activities (Figure 1).

The Kullu Valley, like many rapidly developing areas in south Asia, is experiencing a period of dramatic change. Major factors contributing to the Kullu Valley’s transformation include:

1. Changes in agriculture from production of primarily subsistence based crops to production of commercially desirable goods resulting in increased dependence on market forces.

2. Surplus of wage labor due to an increase in transient workers from adjacent areas.

3. Political unrest in the neighboring state of Kashmir has diverted tourists to the Kullu Valley.

The cumulative effect of these factors spurring change has a tremendous impact on the local population (Berkes and Gardner, 1997).

Recently, there has been a significant increase in tourist traffic to the Kullu region (Gardner et al., 1997). While much of this increase can be attributed the closure of the Kashmir as a tourism destination, many other factors have also played a role. Aggressive government involvement through promotion and direct provision of tourist facilities and the
development of infrastructure have also contributed to increased tourism. In addition, the Mountaineering and Allied Sports Institute, primarily based in Manali, has provided training facilities for outdoor adventure sports for the last thirty years. In effect, the town of Manali has become the primary tourist destination for both foreign and domestic tourists visiting the State of Himachal Pradesh.

The Kullu Valley is an ideal location for a wide variety of outdoor recreational activities including trekking, mountaineering, skiing, climbing, paragliding, and white water rafting. Among outdoor recreation opportunities, trekking has experienced the most profound growth. Trekking is basically recreational mountain walking for pleasure. Technically, trekking is of two types: low altitude and high altitude. Low altitude generally takes place below the perpetual snow line in the lower Himalayas (under 4500 metres) where the trekker does not require special equipment to cross high passes (Chand and Puri, 1989). Low altitude trekking often includes overnight stays in guesthouses in remote villages where food is available along the travel route. High altitude trekking is a more sophisticated activity that requires the services of porters and ponies to transport food and equipment over high passes not inhabited by humans. Trekking is not a new activity in the Western Himalayas; mountain travel has been a traditional way of life for the indigenous population of Northern India for centuries. Present day routes for trekking follow traditional migration routes of nomadic and semi-nomadic shepherders who established paths between summer and winter grazing areas (Figure 2).

The economic flow to the region from tourism has increased dramatically both directly and indirectly (Singh, 1989). Direct inputs to the local economy specifically from trekking include hiring the services of cooks, porters, guides, and renting horses and equipment. Other economic inputs from tourism include transportation, accommodation,
Figure 1: The Kullu Valley (looking north toward Rhotang Pass)

Figure 2: Goats on a Trail near Bhurwa Falls
and meals. Indirect economic inputs include spin-off effects from increased economic activity.

Sustainable tourism development is a key issue facing developing countries. According to Dearden (1991), a good measure of sustainable development is the degree to which earnings from tourism are distributed through the involved population. Appropriately managed tourism is seen as an activity which is generally consistent with indigenous values about the sanctity of the land and people's relationship to the land (Hinch and Butler, 1996). Often, tourism in developing countries results in an explosion of mass tourism where native culture is lost. The problems associated with mass tourism development may be alleviated through involvement of the local population through employment, thus increasing the sustainability of tourism developments for affected communities. Ideally, increased economic benefits to a region should enhance livelihood security by diversifying sources of income for the local population.

1.3 Research Statement

Active local involvement in the growing tourism industry has the potential to enhance livelihood security for the local people by diversifying sources of income, thus improving sustainability. Employment pluralities can reduce vulnerability associated with the transformation from a traditionally self-sufficient economy to a commercial economy. As such, local involvement in tourism developments plays an integral role in contributing towards sustainable livelihoods. Adapting to changes in the economy through employment within the expanding commercial trek industry is a key indicator of livelihood security for the local peoples of the Kullu Valley.
1.4 Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of the study is to investigate local involvement in commercial trekking activities as a strategy towards securing sustainable livelihoods. Since trekking can provide a potential avenue for sustainability, the research focused on key issues leading to economic, socio-cultural, and environmental factors of sustainable development. The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. Identify formal trekking organizations in the Kullu Valley;
2. Locate the range of trekking routes staging from the area around Manali;
3. Describe the role of the local population in trekking activities in the Kullu region;
4. Determine the proportion of trek guides indigenous to the Kullu region; and
5. Assess the influence of trekking on livelihood security.

1.5 Key Concepts and Definitions

Integral to the study are the concepts of sustainable tourism development, employment, vulnerability, sustainable livelihood, and livelihood security. Although a brief description is provided below, a more complete discussion is contained in chapter two.

The universal goal of sustainable development - to ensure humanity meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs - is a multi-faceted concept. Essential to achieving sustainable development is the integration of social, economic, and ecological environments into one cohesive system. Although there is no universally accepted definition of tourism, within the context of this
study, it is understood to mean travel to a destination other than the tourist's place of origin that provides a unique experience. The phrase tourism industry is employed throughout this study in a broad sense to represent the amalgam of services and resources used by tourists (Hunter and Green, 1995). Tourism development in the context of sustainability focuses on the long-term viability of the industry through maintenance of the natural, cultural, and historical attractions of a region. Active involvement of local communities within the tourism sector of the economy is vital to its sustainability.

The concept of employment, meaning having a single employer, a job, a workplace and a wage is being challenged in urban centers and has never been a reality in most rural communities in developing countries. Rural people often engage in diverse and complex activities and strategies best described as livelihoods. A livelihood refers to the means of gaining a living, including capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Livelihood security may generally be defined as the ability of local people to generate and maintain their means of living for the present and future generations. It implies that:

1. It is important to seek ways in which individuals and communities can make a living in a competitive market which factors in considerations of economic activities that are viable, restorative and protect ecological integrity; and

2. Factor in issues of equity, ownership of resources, participatory decision-making, conflict resolution mechanisms and security into the overall goals of households and communities.

A livelihood system implies a dynamic process by which rural households rearrange over time, their mix of resources and activities to cope with changing economic and social contingencies (Chen, 1988).
Vulnerability is defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress. It is closely linked to the idea of poverty, where vulnerability reduction through employment pluralities is a key strategy for improving livelihood security.

The terms indigenous people and local population are used throughout the study. The term indigenous population refers to tribal villagers (called Pahari - meaning of the mountains), and nomadic and semi-nomadic (Ghaddi) sheepherders. In the truest sense, the people of these origins have historically occupied the study area. Over the past few decades, a number of western hippies, and Tibetan refugees have settled in the Kullu Valley; they are considered part of the local population. Although their permanence is questionable, it is assumed that their presence within the Kullu Valley will continue into the future.

1.6 Methodological Framework

The methodical framework applied to the study is similar to the research design developed by Chambers (1985) and researchers at the International Institute for Development Studies in Brighton, England (Chambers, 1985), called Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA). RRA is an interdisciplinary methodology relevant to rural research and development studies, particularly in developing countries. It was developed as a result of the recognition that development programs and projects affecting rural areas have been hampered by the lack of reliable and timely information of rural conditions. As an interdisciplinary method of analyzing rural systems, RRA has the distinct advantage of being fast and relies from learning directly from the rural community (Environmental and Resource Management Project Report, 1992).
Rapid rural appraisal has been used extensively throughout south Asia. As a research tool, RRA generates first hand detailed information while providing for an understanding of the existing local conditions. Basically, it is intended to provide a framework for collection of information by the researcher that incorporates semi-structured informal interviews. Other principle techniques used in RRA analysis includes a review of existing secondary materials about the study area, direct observations, group interviews, diagramming, seasonal calendars, learning by doing, and residence in the field.

As critics have point out, there are several shortcomings of Rapid Rural Appraisal (Hudson, 1997). One of the major concerns of this research design is the heavy reliance on extensive participation of informants to provide accurate information to the researcher. Since rigid survey sampling techniques are not a primary concern for a researcher following the RRA method, there is an impending threat of bias and potential lack of validity of information. However, these concerns can be alleviated through awareness of the potential for researcher bias and accurate representation of results. In addition, it is critical for informants to have a full understanding of the purpose of the interview; without a full comprehension of the researcher's motives, information solicited may be limited due to suspicions of an "outsiders'" intent. Given the criticisms of Rapid Rural Appraisal surveys, every effort was made to minimize bias throughout the study.

1.6.1 Pre-Season Activities

Related literature was reviewed prior to the field study in India. The purpose of the literature review was to provide a background of tourism growth as well as gain an understanding of natural resource management issues in the Kullu region. This also
provided an opportunity to clarify the scope of the project to be undertaken as well as compile maps of the Kullu Valley. The primary source of information for the literature review is from a series of reports produced for the ‘Sustainable Development of Mountain Environments in Canada and India Project’. Other sources of information for the literature review included the University of Alberta, University of Manitoba, Delhi University, Jawharlal Nehru University (New Delhi), University of Himachal Pradesh, International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), and the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD).

1.6.2 Field Research

Following the RRA framework, the research employed specific actions to meet the objectives of the study. Fieldwork in India was conducted from September to December of 1996; the collection of secondary information extended into February of 1997. After arriving at the study site, the first activities were to establish residence in the town of Manali, as well as contact government and non-governmental organizations to obtain secondary sources of information such as maps, tourism statistics, and preliminary identification of the scope of the trekking industry. Through this process, a number of knowledgeable individuals were identified and interviewed on an on-going basis to verify information gathered throughout the field season as well as target gaps in the initial assessment of the research topic. Some of these consultants included the Director of Tourism, staff from the Mountaineering and Allied Sports Institute, well-established trekking company owners and locals business people. In addition, translators were identified at that time.
Map 2: Major Villages Located Near Manali (Singh, 1989)
During the second and final weeks at the study site, a tour of the region provided an introduction to the local culture, major tourist attractions, the physical landscape and terrain for trekking activities. This included trips throughout the Kullu Valley, as well as to the Spiti region via Rhotang Pass, Solang Valley, Parvati Valley and Kangra Valley. These trips provided an opportunity to look at main staging locations and diagram major trekking routes. Although the primary focus of the research is centred on Manali, neighbouring villages were an important consideration since many of the individuals involved in the commercial trekking industry live outside of Manali. During the field season, a total of 12 villages in the Kullu region were visited. These villages included Old Manali, Manikaran, Malana, Naggar, Jagatsukh, Khoti, Solang, Palchan, Goshal, Pulga, and Rumsu (map 2).

The third week of the field research was used to conduct interviews with a diverse range of individuals associated within the commercial trekking industry. During this time, semi-formal interviews were conducted with travel agencies to determine the number of organizations working out of Manali. This information was gathered for the purpose of determining the growth of the companies in recent years, the range of treks each company provides and obtain some employment data. In keeping with the RRA methodology, this information was then analyzed to determine seasonal calendars, employment statistics and the type and approximate amount of income generated from participation within the tourism industry. A sample of the interview questions for trekking and travel agencies is contained in Appendix A. Although travel agencies do not directly provide trekking services, many are involved in the commercial trekking industry by referring clients to other agencies for a commission.

Direct participation in trekking activities encompassed the bulk of the fourth and fifth weeks of the field season. Participation in local and regional treks was an important
aspect of the research as it provided an opportunity to meet travelers, guides, and porters and examine trail conditions. As part of the rapid rural appraisal methodology, learning by doing provided insight on local perceptions regarding the impact of tourism growth within the Kullu Valley. In addition, it was at this time that unscheduled informal interviews were conducted with several individuals including tourists, villagers and guesthouse owners along main trek routes.

Interviews with guides employed in the commercial trekking industry were conducted throughout the study, although the bulk of weeks six and seven were dedicated to interviewing guides in their respective home villages. A sample of guide interview questions is contained in Appendix B. It was found early in the field season that virtually none of the trekking guides are from the town of Manali proper. Instead, they are scattered throughout the Kullu Valley and beyond. Since the level of involvement in tourism activities varied dramatically between villages, a research design based on a case study was not practical. As such, it was determined that a general overview of the change in livelihoods of the local population of the Kullu region would be the focus of the study.

A variety of methods were used to identify trekking guides during the field season. Approximately half of the guides interviewed were identified through visits with formal trekking agencies. These visits revealed that while some guides are employed by a single company, others are employed by a number of companies. In addition, many of the company owners themselves guided trek expeditions. Where trekking companies employ guides, interviews were scheduled with a sample of their employees. Due to inclement weather, the trekking season closed early in 1996. As such, it was necessary to travel to villages throughout the region to gather information from guides who had returned to their permanent residence for the winter. A limited number of street guides were also
interviewed throughout the study. Street guides, often referred to as “touts”, approach tourists at bus and taxi shops offering to provide “guiding” services to tourists. For the most part, their participation in the commercial trekking industry is limited, however, a few claimed to be active in providing guiding services to tourists seeking one day excursions.

Although translators were used for some of the interviews, the bulk of the interviews were conducted independently by the researcher. In several interviews, questions were asked in English and responses from the interviewee were in Hindi. This was a definite benefit to the research because it appeared to make the respondents more comfortable with the interview process.

1.7 Scope and Delimitations

The present study finds its roots in the 'Sustainable Development of Mountain Environments in India and Canada' project for the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute supported by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The project analyzed land and resource use patterns in selected watersheds in the Upper Beas River valley in the Himalayas of Himachal Pradesh. The overall purpose of the project was to investigate the sustainability of mountain environments and local socio-economic systems at a time of rapid economic change in response to commercialization and regional/global economic integration. More specifically, the goals of the project were:

1. To develop integrated methods best suited for the comparative study of land resource management policies in forested mountain watersheds;

2. To study the successes and failures of mountain environment resource management policies and their social, economic, and historical context as revealed in case studies;
3. To develop cross-cultural criteria for assessing sustainability in mountain environments; and

4. To interact with policy-makers in resource management and sustainable development, so that policy implications of the study are communicated to the appropriate parties.

The study is limited due to the amount of time spent in the field. Inclement weather in the fall of 1996 closed many of the main trekking trails by mid-October. As a result, trekking companies closed for the season earlier than in previous years. The study focuses on organized excursions staging from the Manali region, although self-directed, or informal treks, were also considered where possible. Trekking, for the purpose of the study, included local, regional and extended trips. Given that the field research took place in the fall, the focus of the information obtained in on post monsoon trekking, although pre-monsoon information was gathered when possible.

1.8 Organization of the Research

The study is organized into six chapters. The next chapter introduces important concepts and definitions relevant to a study on tourism development in a mountain environment and its implications for sustainability. The research setting discussed in chapter three provides a description of the study area. It includes an overview of the biophysical, historical, cultural and socio-economic environment of Himachal Pradesh as well as a discussion of the growth of tourism. The results of the study are largely contained in chapters four and five. The fourth chapter describes the scope of trekking activities in the Kullu Valley. Chapter five provides an analysis of the research findings in relation to sustainable livelihoods in the valley as well as associated socio-cultural and
environmental impacts. Finally, the last chapter concludes the study with a synopsis of the research finding related to the growth of trekking in the Kullu Valley.
Chapter Two

TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY

2.1 Tourism and Sustainable Development

According to the World Commission on Development and the Environment (WCED, 1987), the goal of sustainable development is to ensure that humanity meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Inherent in the definition of sustainable development is the ultimate goal of maintaining an acceptable standard of quality of life for all humanity. Sustainable development involves the integration and balancing environmental, social and economic objectives. Tourism, especially within developing nations, is a potential avenue to successfully achieve the goal of sustainable development as introduced by the World Commission on Development and the Environment.

Tourism and tourism resources were essentially ignored in the initial meetings of the WCED. This lack of reference to tourism within literature related to sustainable development is a common to the way in which it has historically been ignored by public sector agencies (Harrison, 1992). Over the past few years, the magnitude and importance of tourism has begun to be appreciated, yet ignorance about the activity and many of the processes associated with the industry are still widespread. Tourism, as the world’s largest industry, can play a significant role in achieving sustainable development, however, as a major contributor to global, national, regional and local economies it can also be a major contributor to human stress on the environment (Manning, 1993).
Tourism is an activity that should lend itself to the concept of sustainable development not only easily, but also enthusiastically because in so many cases, tourism is dependent upon the maintenance of the natural environment and ecological processes for its survival (Butler, 1993; Manning, 1993). The relationship between tourism and sustainability is most clearly described by Zurick (1992). Zurick’s model of adventure travel depicts the positive and negative dual linkages between tourism and local culture, economy, and the environment (figure 3). The outer circle denotes tourism related systemic changes between the three identified components of sustainability. As with many other tourism developments, the key is to balance sustainability objectives with growth of the industry in order to mitigate problems with adventure travel.

Figure 3: Adventure Travel Impact Model (Zurick, 1992)
The optimal approach to planning for sustainable tourism involves an integrated form of strategy development, involving not only the tourism sector but also the other major sectors and interests involved in the region (Manning, 1993). A major distinction can be drawn between sustainable development in the context of tourism and sustainable tourism as defined by Butler (1993). A working definition of sustainable development in the context of tourism could be taken as:

"Tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities".

This definition can be contrasted with sustainable tourism, which can be thought of as:

"Tourism which is in a form which can maintain its viability in an area for an indefinite period of time".

The concept of tourism as an evolutionary process, where destinations have a life cycle, much like the biological growth phenomena, is widely held (Butler, 1974). It is also broadly recognized that tourism is extremely dynamic and that the processes and impacts associated with it are equally susceptible to change. The tourism development model proposed by Butler (1980) depicts the concept of the destination life cycle of evolution (figure 4). Butler's tourism model recognizes several stages of evolutionary development, namely exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline and (perhaps) rejuvenation.

The tourist area cycle of evolution of tourist destinations is useful in the context of sustainable development. The tourism growth cycle focuses on environmental limits and the carrying capacity of tourist concentration, beyond which the destination becomes
Figure 4: Tourism Growth Model (Butler, 1980)
unsustainable and declines. Sustainable development implies some measure of permanence in the long-term which does not blend well with a highly dynamic and constantly changing phenomenon such as tourism (Butler, 1993). The main determining factor for sustaining the resort lifecycle lies in planning placing limits to growth.

The environment's carrying capacity as it relates to tourism is a dominant theme in the literature (Hunter, 1995). A simple definition of carrying capacity - involving the identification of a single threshold value - is nearly adequate in many cases (Manning, 1993). The concept of carrying capacity draws attention to limits and thresholds beyond which development should ideally not take place, thus has major implications for sustainability.

There are two main facets to tourism carrying capacity. The first deals with the ability of the destination area to absorb the impacts of tourism development in a variety of ways, before negative impacts become evident. The second relates to the tourists' perceptions of environmental quality. Carrying capacity as described by Mathieson and Wall (1982) is the maximum number of people who can use a site without unacceptable effects on the physical environment and/or without an unacceptable decline in the quality of experience gained by visitors. A measure of carrying capacity must incorporate social and economic elements. As described by O'Reilly (1986), a complete consideration of carrying capacity should include the physical, psychological (or perceptual), social and economic limits for any given destination. In relation to the tourist destination life cycle as posed by Butler (1980), a particular area's carrying capacity will change depending on the stage of evolution in the tourism development process.

As pointed out by Zurick (1992), adventure travelers are tourists in a quest for an authentic experience, thus they are propelled into ever more remote locations. This
suggests that once an area becomes too successful in the adventure circuit, it will lose its appeal as a desirable tourism destination. Likewise, Singh (1991) suggests that there are limits to growth and tourism destinations have a life cycle, much like the biological growth phenomena (Butler, 1974). It is important to acknowledge that judging an activity as being sustainable is problematic (Dearden, 1993). "Authentic", "primitive", and "remote" are among the most difficult conditions to maintain in a rapidly changing world. However, there are accommodations that can be made to try to adapt tourism to these changes. In calculating tourism’s contribution to employment, it is necessary to consider the stage reached by a specific tourist destination. The number of jobs, their nature, and who does them will vary throughout the growth, decline, or rejuvenation of tourist resorts.

Much of the more recent literature suggests that a community-based approach to tourism development is a prerequisite for sustainability of the tourism industry. The community should be developed as a core component of a tourism destination. This implies that local residents maintain some control over the type and rate of development and its management. As suggested by Woodley (1993), while implementing a community-based approach to tourism development will not automatically achieve sustainability, on ethical grounds community involvement and some level of community control is essential. The community residents should have an opportunity to become involved in the industry in a way that will maximize local benefits and minimize costs. If residents are going to endure the negative impacts that tourism brings, they should be given every opportunity to benefit from the positive impacts, which are generally economic. Community involvement should facilitate a more equitable distribution of the economic benefits of tourism.

It has been suggested by many writers that, as tourist numbers, pressures and impacts increase as tourism develops, there is often a rise in disenchantment with tourism.
and a realization that the benefits which it brings are normally accompanied with costs (Harrison, 1992; Hunter, 1995; Butler, 1980). It is also suggested that these costs may not necessarily be borne by those receiving the benefits. Tourism itself has changed and evolved over time. The current market is growing overall while also becoming more diverse and selective. As new activities are created or come into fashion others disappear or take on a new form. In addition, mobility of tourists has increased enormously. In the event that tourism development proceeds in a style or scale that is not supported by residents of the community, tension is likely to develop between the host community and its visitors or guests. This conflict can result in a deterioration of tourist experience and a subsequent decline in visitation. Thus, community support for tourism development is necessary to ensure the economic viability of the industry.

The use of indicators for sustainable tourism are an integral aspect of evaluating new developments. While indicators of sustainability are relatively new, they are critical for any accurate assessment of tourism impacts. In a study of trekking impacts in Thailand, Dearden (1993) considered consumer response a major indicator by looking at the successful growth of trekkers and trekking agencies. The rational for the use of these indicators is that the market place is designed to measure success in economic terms. Were the activity not successful, it would no longer be present, let alone growing so rapidly. In addition, social, economic and cultural indicators were used to measure changes in village tribes. As such, indicators can be used as a measurement tool for assessing the sustainability of tourism developments.
2.1.1 Sustainable Livelihoods

According to Turner (1993), any sustainable strategy for the future will have to confront the question of how a growing number of people can gain at least a basic livelihood that can be sustained in the long term. A livelihood, as described by Timlin (1996), is defined as the means of living people employ, that is, the activities in which they engage to secure access to food, water, health, clothing, shelter, and security. Sustainable livelihoods can be described as the ability of local people to generate and maintain their means of living for the present and future generations (Berkes and Gardner, 1997). This is especially critical in environments that are fragile, marginal and vulnerable (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

In 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) proposed an action plan for sustainable development called Agenda 21. Chapter thirteen of Agenda 21 is devoted to the sustainability of mountain in addition to discussing the concept of sustainable livelihoods as a "integrating factor that allows policies to address issues of development, sustainable resource management and poverty eradication simultaneously" (13.12). According to UNCED, strategies to achieve sustainable livelihood should cover a range of issues including:

1. Demographic factors;
2. Income generation and distribution among social groups;
3. Investment in human capital; and
4. Rehabilitation of degraded resources and sustainable use of natural resources for basic human needs.

Policies of investing in human capital (resources) development aim at generating employment income and economic growth (Bartelmus, 1994). In the face of widespread failures of national and international development strategies, human resource development
has now become the latest battle-cry of growth-based development. Strategies must stress the close interaction of human resource development with the process of economic and technological transformation.

Chambers and Conway (1992) present a complete working definition of sustainable livelihoods:

"A livelihood comprising the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation: and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at local and global levels in the short and long term." (p.106)

An emphasis on equity in resource management at local or community levels is a critical issue. That is, maintaining security of livelihoods for the indigenous population given the increase in global forces on local economies. In general, global forces encourage the production of export commodities instead of focusing on providing for local needs. A potential for conflict exists between government and local interests, as well as between self-sufficiency and commercial interests. Common property resources are an important means towards livelihood security in the rural community. The term common property resource denotes property that has no restrictions placed on its use. Resources reflect a substantial source of livelihood security and economic development. The main issues within the mountain ecosystem, such as the Upper Beas Basin, is how to meet community needs without damaging the forest and other resources (Berkes and Gardner, 1997). There is a close relationship between livelihood security and access to common property resources. An over exploitation of the commons creates fragile and vulnerable environments, thus increasing the exposure to risk natural hazards (Singh and Pandey, 1996).
Adaptations to changing environmental conditions by local people can have a major impact on livelihood security. As such, employment of indigenous people in the tourism industry is an important factor contributing to livelihood security in many developing countries. From a policy standpoint, the aim must be to promote sustainable livelihoods by means of vulnerability reduction. The concept of pluralities (i.e. plural activities) is important to a discussion on vulnerability reduction. Pluralities have been defined as the diversification of activities carried out by one household on and off their land in order to secure the household’s economy and welfare (Hetland, 1986). Therefore, a household engaged in range of activities, thus receiving income from a number of sources, reduces its exposure to risk through diversification.

An over-riding conceptual framework for research pertaining to sustainable livelihoods is presented in Figure 5. This schematic represents the main components or subsystems leading to sustainable livelihood systems as envisioned by Singh and Tit (1994). The sub-systems consist of local adaptations by local peoples within the ecosystem, appropriate environment of social and economic conditions, as well as the appropriate environment of social and policy conditions, and appropriate contemporary knowledge systems. Each sub-system has a contribution toward achievement of sustainable livelihoods (Ham, 1997).

2.1.2 Mountain Environments

Mountain environments offer unique opportunities for developing nature-based tourism. Despite the common myth that they are metaphors for strength and stability, mountain ecosystems are really weak systems which are more fragile the loftier they stand
(Singh, 1992). Considering the magnitude of the Himalayan mountains, the impact of the increasing number of mountaineering and trekking expeditions might not appear to be of great consequence. However, the presence of hundreds and possibly thousands of visitors each year makes heavy demands on scarce resources such as fuel, water and space in these limited areas. The destruction of vegetation is almost irreversible since regeneration is very difficult at elevations above 2500 metres (Sarin and Singh, 1995).

According to Agenda 21, mountain ecology and the degradation of watershed areas affect nearly half of the world's population. In addition, approximately ten percent of the population lives in mountain areas while nearly half the world's population is affected in various ways by mountain ecology and the degradation of watersheds. Approximately ten percent of the earth's population lives in mountain areas while almost forty percent occupies the adjacent watershed areas. The future of these areas is not promising (Michaelson, 1996); agenda 21 proposes the following strategy which includes consideration of livelihoods for indigenous populations:

"Promoting integrated watershed development through effective participation of local people is a key to preventing further ecological imbalance. An integrated approach is needed for conserving, upgrading and using the natural resource base of land, water, plant, animal, and human resources. In addition, promoting alternative livelihoods opportunities, particularly through development of employment schemes that increase the productive base, will have a significant role in improving the standard of living among the large rural population in mountain ecosystems."

As Carpenter and Harper (1989) state, long-term solutions to environmental degradation of fragile uplands will not be achieved without elimination of the need for people to exploit upland resources. The provision of alternative livelihood opportunities through tourism is often sited as an avenue to reduce reliance on scare upland resources.
Figure 5: Sustainable Livelihood Conceptual Framework (Titi and Singh, 1994)
A worldwide perspective suggests mountain environments are threatened by poverty and population growth which leads to increased demands for fuel wood, cropland, and timber. Other threats to mountainous regions includes the control of village forest resources by external agencies, overgrazing, air pollution, and road building (Duffield, 1997). The results of these threats are unsustainable livelihoods, vulnerability for the poor, as well as soil erosion, floods and watershed degradation (Carpenter and Harper, 1989).

2.2 Tourism in Developing Countries

Ideally, tourism developments in developing countries should integrate economy, culture and ecology into one model that provides for sustainable tourism development. Sustainable tourism is an activity which is generally consistent with indigenous values about the sanctity of the land and people's relationship to the land (Hinch and Butler, 1996). Tourism development, as it progressively transforms local economies and societies, should be environmentally sustainable both in the context of existing tourist areas and in underdeveloped destinations (Hunter, 1995).

Increasingly, third world countries are turning toward ‘alternative tourism’ as a seemingly benign alternative to uncontrolled mass tourism with its myriad of adverse economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. As discussed by Cater (1993), most of the characteristics of alternative tourism are in direct contrast to those of conventional mass tourism. Activities within alternative tourism development are likely to be small-scale and locally owned with consequently low import leakages and a higher proportion of profits retained locally. These activities contrast with the large-scale, typified by high leakages that characterize mass tourism.
Tourism in developing nations has focused on two significant problems: the nature of socio-cultural and environmental impacts and measures to ameliorate them; and measures to increase local employment in and control of the industry (Gurung et al., 1996). Problems associated with sudden increases of tourist flow have been experienced in many south Asian countries such as India, Nepal, Tibet, and Thailand. Experts hold that only well-managed, slow paced, controlled and integrated tourism development can afford optimism and confidence in regions of weak economies and tender ecologies (Singh and Chauhan, 1996).

### 2.2.1 Environmental Impacts of Tourism

Common environmental impacts include destruction of flora and fauna, increased pollution and waste, and degradation of the landscape. As noted by Harrison (1992), one of the most obvious effects of tourism is on the physical landscape. Initially, existing properties may be adapted to accommodate visitors, but increasing numbers soon prompt the construction of new buildings in tourist 'enclaves'. The distinction between social and physical impacts is quite blurred. There are debates on style (traditional verse modern) and appropriateness of new facility developments. Poorly designed, sited and constructed tourism developments are a well-known consequence of tourism growth, frequently detracting from the visual amenity of the natural environment. Architectural pollution has been highlighted around the world where there has been a failure to integrate resort infrastructure with aesthetically pleasing characteristics of the natural environment.

Vegetation cover may be lost or damaged through trampling by walkers (Hunter and Green, 1995). Loss of vegetation cover is frequently accompanied by soil compaction,
and a loss of soil structure leading to increased surface water runoff, soil erosion and loss of soil structure. This in turn may result in increased exposure to risk of natural hazards as discussed by Gardner et al. (1995). Some of the animals in mountain forests, for example, can be severely disturbed by the activities of skiers and walkers (Hamele, 1988). On a more positive note, tourism does have the potential to benefit wildlife and the protection of flora and fauna, however in the Indian context, these benefits have yet to be realized.

Increased pollution is a common occurrence associated with any type of development or urbanization. One of the best known consequences of rapid tourism growth is the overlap of local sewage treatment and disposal infrastructure. There are many examples where tourism makes a significant contribution to local total pollution loads. This in turn is sometimes an apparent detriment of the tourism industry.

Litter as a consequence of tourist activity has the ability to seriously detract from the quality of the natural environment and act as a hazard to wildlife. Human thoughtlessness has adversely affected historically unspoiled and unpolluted places in the high mountains. It has become common in base camps to leave behind not only wanton destruction on the natural environment, but also trails of garbage (Sarin and Singh, 1995). Even remote destinations, where tourist use is still light, suffer from litter problems. For example, Hunter and Green (1995) describe problems in Nepal, and report that despite requirements that visitors remove or bury trash, campsites and trails are becoming increasingly littered. In some places, streams have become so polluted with rubbish that trekkers are warned not to use the water.
2.2.2 Social Impacts of Tourism in Developing Countries

Tourism can sometimes be problematic for local people, especially in situations where the host population is extremely poor (Hitchcock, 1997). Since this is often the case in developing nations, local people may be forced to become involved in the tourism sector of the economy because of their economic standing. As a result, in an effort to take advantage of employment opportunities, they may abandon traditional livelihood activities such as agriculture. There are also situations where people abandon their values and shed their dignity in their quest for the cash that tourists provide. In effect, this increases the host populations’ dependency on outside factors to gain a means of living.

As Harrison (1992) also points out, social impacts of increased tourism can result in increased commercialization. Negative and adverse consequences of tourism have included transformation of societies by introducing undesirable changes in their value system, traditions, collective lifestyle, creative expression and individual behavior. For example, Brohman (1996) attributes cultural alienation and loss of identity of the tourism “host” community a result of increased visitor flow. Commercialization of the host population’s cultural may result in a loss of value towards tradition. However, countering the view that tourism degrades culture is the assertion that tourism may strengthen arts, crafts and tradition. As part of a wider modernization process, tourism contributes to the spread of market relationships and therefore, tourist-receiving societies must inevitably adapt.

New opportunities resulting from tourism growth in developing countries often makes marked changes in the social structure of the local population. Where tourist development has been intense, the largest tourist amenities have often been taken over by
trans-national companies, leaving the smaller and less profitable part of the market to local entrepreneurs. Exceptions to this pattern only seem to occur in centrally planned economies where the state has dominated (Harrison, 1992). However, Adams (1993) contends that traditional relationships of sharing and reciprocity can actually be strengthened by increased tourism. While this is culture specific, and rarely occurs, it is possible in the event of increased tourism.

Changes in family structure have also been widely accepted as one of the social impacts of tourism. New job opportunities in tourism may have serious ramifications for family organization by removing power from the traditional elders, and influence the political structure and status system of the community. Literature on the connection between the family and tourism expects a drop in birth rate, a rise in women-headed households and / or changes in the political status of people by age, as younger people gain economic power through tourism work (Kinnaird and Hall, 1994). In the case of a study of the Cretan Islands by Kousis (1989), the alienation of land to outsiders led to a loss of control by older male household heads, which was exacerbated by increased government assistance to young people in the form of business loans and grants. Land was no longer given as a dowry, being replaced by property, furnishings and fittings, and the village endogamy declined with some local men marrying foreign tourists.

Within the context of livelihood security, disassociation of males from the family or household can adversely affect local communities. Marked changes in the transfer of land ownership and sharing of household resources may induce individuals to base their livelihood on a single source, namely tourism. This is in sharp contrast with traditional relationships based on sharing and reciprocity which is typical of Indian culture (Adams, 1993). However, it is impossible to generalize the implications for all communities.
Whether involvement in tourism activities reflect a coping or adapting strategy may be difficult to assert.

The degree to which locals take on the values of tourists varies. Young and less ‘organized’ back-packers typically live among indigenous peoples and may bring economic benefits to rural areas. Affluent excursionists usually reside in tourist enclaves, meet locals only fleetingly, on the more well-established tourist circuits. In exceptional circumstances, tourist-host interaction may be transformed. However, as an aspect of modernization, international tourism undoubtedly reinforces the transference of Western values and patterns of behavior to members of ‘host’ societies - a form of acculturation often subsumed under the term of demonstration effects (Harrison, 1992; Hunter and Green, 1995).

Tourism may induce changes in the character and form of the built environment. It may for example encourage changes in land use within urban boundaries; thus changing the balance between residential and other land uses. Frequently, a move away from residential housing use towards hotels and boarding houses can be detected, driven by rising land and building stock process. In addition, the need for increased and improved infrastructure is common to tourist resorts, often reflecting the needs of the visitors rather than the needs of the local population.

2.3 Tourism Employment

Tourism, a fairly labor intensive industry, provides employment several times more than normal manufacturing industries (Kumer, 1995). The growth of tourism has provided a widespread alternative to the development of other sources of income and employment.
As pointed out by Chadha (1988), the aim of specific tourism developments, such as the trekking industry, should be to both develop employment opportunities and generate economic activity for the indigenous poor rather than facilitating trade and income of stronger societies.

Improvement of the local economy is typically one of the main reasons for development in remote mountain areas. Benefits of tourism at the local level include income generation, job creation and diversification of the economy. Employment in the tourism industry in developing countries is generally through the service sector in major centres. This includes direct employment in the industry, accommodation, transportation and trade (Singh, 1992). Furthermore, indirect employment and spin-off effects are often felt in other sectors on the economy.

Despite the obvious benefits of tourism development, negative impacts on local populations include increased land prices and inflation. Furthermore, there is an increased dependence on seasonal jobs, low skill jobs for the locals, and sometimes, better jobs for outsiders. Although tourism does generate employment income, in many cases it withdraws labor from agriculture and other traditional livelihood activities.

Employment of the indigenous population in new tourism developments is contentious because of possible adverse changes in resource management regimes. Rapid changes from a subsistence economy to a commercial economy can have dramatic impacts on the population of an entire region. Nevertheless, local people need to be involved in the changing economy in order to enhance livelihood security through adaptive strategies.

Proposed developments undertaken in the Himalayan region needs to take local interests into consideration (Tiwari and Pandey, 1987). This includes schemes that suit
the education of the local population and environmental conditions. As such, integrating sustainable tourism into a developing country requires local people to have the training and skills required. However, one of the attractions for promoting tourism is that it is capable of employing a high portion of young people and women with relatively low levels of training or skills because jobs are generally highly labour intensive. The result is that tourism creates employment for the unskilled local population in addition to adding to their incomes (Singh, 1992).

2.4 Trekking

The nature of trekking is quite different than other forms of tourism, which rely on road travel by ‘windshield’ tourists. Cohen (1979) characterized the early trekkers as budget, world travelers, explorer types, fringing on the hippie culture. Dearden (1988), suggests a maturing of this profile to an admittedly cost-conscious but often young professional profile clientele. The main difference between the trekker verse the sightseeing tourist is the type of travel experience sought. Much of the difference stems from the fact that trekking has marked impacts on both the urban and rural environment. However, it should be noted that many travelers visiting developing countries do not only visit for the purpose of trekking, thus sharing some characteristics of the ‘windshield’ tourist. Nevertheless, the important point is that while trekking services, food and equipment are all purchased in the main tourist centre, the activity itself is disassociated from the urban environment. As such, impacts on the rural environment are an important concern.
A premium is placed by many trekkers on having an authentic experience. However, trekking itself can contribute significantly to changing authenticity of rural people. In a study on trekking by Dearden (1980), it was found that the large numbers of trekkers staying in close proximity to hill tribes has had a profound effect on local culture due to the intimate contact. Thus, with increased exposure to trekkers, the villages lose their attraction over time, and trekkers move their interest and dollars elsewhere. The industry response to this situation in Thailand has been to search further and further to locate authentic villages. There is however, a geographical limit as to how far this can progress.

Guides have historically played the dual role of pathfinder and that of mentor (Cohen, 1985). The pathfinder is primarily a geographic guide who is responsible to 'lead the way'. The guide is usually a native with a firm understanding of the place but has no specialized training. The guides' role as a mentor is more complex, where the guide acts as an advisor to the traveler and can greatly affect the tourists' visitor experience. However, in some areas, a guide is necessary simply for safety considerations.

As described by Pond (1993), there is a gap between the needs and expectations of travelers and the perceived role of the guide. Much of the problem lies in the lack of training for these individuals, particularly in developing countries. The duty of the guide is increasingly focused on creating a social climate and environmental understanding between the visitor and the indigenous population (i.e. a communication link). Guiding lends itself to local involvement in tourism development due to the low skills or education needed to fulfill the role. The definition of a guide in the context of a developing country is difficult to assert because often, individuals engaging in these activities are part of the informal sector of the economy. Nevertheless, it is clear that they are usually local people who gain some economic benefits from trekking activities.
Other south Asian countries have made an effort to regulate and control guides in the trekking industry. In Thailand for example, where trekking first began to experience growth in the sixties, tourist police have initiated a requirement that all guides register each trek excursions and trekker with the police before starting out. However, this requirement only applies to treks staging from the main destination resort town of the area (Chiang Mai). This is seen as a measure to have greater control over the activity through liaison with the trekking companies and guides. In addition, by law, guides are supposed to be Thai citizens and do a short course at Chiang Mai University that provides them with a guiding certificate, thus creating a more credible profession for local people involved in tourism.

Guiding trekking expeditions is clearly one of the most obvious avenues for local involvement in tourism activities. Despite the fact that there are social and environmental costs attached to an activity that has large geographic parameters, there are some benefits. Employment within the tourism sector provides alternate sources of income for peoples living in economically depressed areas. Integrating local people through appropriate training for somewhat low skilled jobs can diversity sources of income for society as a whole and thus increase livelihood security.

2.5 Summary

Sustainable mountain tourism development is an important consideration in many developing countries. Often, tourism development occurs without any consideration of the evolutionary growth process of tourism resorts, resulting in negative impacts such as loss of culture, environmental degradation and loss of resources from other sectors of the
economy. However, tourism has the potential of diversifying sources of income for local people. In turn, livelihood security may be enhanced through direct employment. The next chapter will provide an overview of the research setting including the history, culture and biophysical setting of the Kullu District as well as information on the growth of tourism.
Chapter Three

THE RESEARCH SETTING

3.1 Study Area

The present study is centered around the town of Manali, located in the Kullu District of Himachal Pradesh. The state of Himachal Pradesh has an area of 56,019 square kilometres. According to the 1991 Consensus, the population of Himachal Pradesh is 5.1 million. The Kullu District encompasses close to ten percent of the State. It borders Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and China. Himachal Pradesh is divided into twelve districts; approximately 300,000 people live in the Kullu District. The population density is relatively low for India with approximately 55 persons per square kilometre. Although district headquarters lie in Kullu, other important towns in the region include Manali, Bhuntar and Naggar.

3.1.1 Biophysical Setting

Manali lies in the Pir Panjal Range of the Western Himalayas. The Himalayas represent one of the most spectacular mountain ecosystems on earth. Stretching from Kashmir in the north-west to Arunachal Pradesh in the east, this chain of mountains cover a length of about 2400 kilometres encompassing a terrain ranging from hot and dry tropical land in the south to temperate and arctic areas in the north. The Himalayas primarily fall within India, Nepal and China - the bulk of which fall in India and Nepal.

The Pir Panjal is the largest and most impressive range of the lower Himalayan range. It ranges in elevation from 2000 metres to 4500 metres with adjacent peaks and
ridges rising to 6500 metres. There is a general increase in elevation from west to east and south to north. Himachal Pradesh experiences diverse climatic conditions as a result of the wide variation in altitudes. It experiences a cool, snowy winter and a wet monsoon summer. Manali experiences annual snowfall in excess of one metre and a summer annual rainfall of 500 mm, although this is somewhat erratic causing rapid soil erosion, landslides, rock falls, and floods (Singh and Chauhan, 1995). At higher elevations, up to 10 metres of snow may accumulate. The mean temperature is 15 degrees Celsius (maximum 25 degrees and minimum of 4 degrees). The monsoon season extends from early July to mid-September.

There are three major river systems in the Himalayas; these systems include the Indus, Ganga and Brajmaputra river systems. The Beas is an important tributary for the Indus River System. Major summits support glaciers that act as important water sources for the Upper Beas watershed and its tributaries. Other water sources to the river are winter and spring snowmelt, and summer monsoon rainfall. The Beas River originates near the Rhotang Pass and its tributaries include the Parvati, Harla, Saing, Tirthan and Uhl. The main river runs approximately 80 kilometres and is less than two kilometres wide.

The Kullu Valley was shaped by glaciation which accounts for its broad, U-shaped cross-sectional profile. The valley is bounded on the north by the main Himalayan Range and on the other sides by the Dhauladhar, an extension of the Pir Panjal range (map 3). The majority of the valley floor is composed of alluvium in the form of terraces and fans. Unlike most of the settlements in the Kullu Valley, Manali is located in a relatively constricted site on the right side of the Beas River. The mountain range is relatively young compared to other ranges across the world and is currently rising at a rate of 3 mm each year.
Map 3: Mountain Ranges Surrounding the Kullu Valley (Singh, 1989)
Manali and a large portion of the Beas watershed maintain a relatively extensive cover of Deodhar forested areas dominated by indigenous cedars and firs. The steep mountain slopes are covered with coniferous and broad-leaved forests, meadows, pasture lands and terraces. Among tree species present in the valley, oak and alder have the greatest value for the local population as they provide for fuel and fodder (Singh and Pandey, 1996). The treeline in the Upper Beas watershed is about 3500 metres. Above this elevation are extensive areas of alpine tundra vegetation which serve as a traditional resource base for summer grazing and the collecting of medicinal plants (Berkes et al., 1997).

Natural hazards are a common occurrence in the Kullu valley, typically resulting from seismic activity, floods and torrents caused by erratic rainfall, slope failure, landslides, and avalanches. The occurrence of natural hazards is not solely a phenomenon of environmental processes. Increased human intervention has altered the ecological balance thus increasing the risk of exposure to natural hazards. In the case of Manali, increasing risk from natural hazards is a result of rapid infrastructure development from largely unplanned tourism (Gardner et al., 1997).

3.1.2 History

Long before travelling for pleasure became one of the great leisure industries of the modern world, the practice of travelling for pilgrimages was a well-established custom in India (Bhatia, 1978). In particular, the Western Himalayas have historically been used by holy men to establish places of pilgrimage far from cities and villages for religious fulfillment (Sarin and Singh, 1995). The harder the journey and more austere the food, the
closer it brought the holy men to Divinity and salvation. Remnants of these pilgrimages are present in India today.

The original name of the Kullu Valley was *Kulanthapitha* meaning "end of the habitable world" (Chetwood, 1989). Kullu is an ancient Rajput kingdom which gives its name to the valley of the Beas River that originates at Rhotang Pass. It was economic compulsions which later drove people living in the foothills to accept travelling in the mountains as a way of life. For centuries, Manali was a trading post for goods coming to and from the Plains and the North (Lahaul, Ladakh and Tibet). Toward the end of the last century, it grew from a trader’s encampment to a couple of shops and a post office. During the early years of the century, Forestry and Public Works built rest houses for officers on tour in the region. These rest houses were the only sources of accommodation besides one locally owned guesthouse (Noble, 1991).

In the nineteenth century, the Kullu Valley was abundant with British Hill Stations. The Kullu Valley attracted small numbers of travelers from the hill stations of Shimla, Dharmshala and Dalhousie during the summer months. The first imperial hill station was established in 1819 and was used by Anglo-Indian rulers. The main motivation in establishing hill stations was for a summer retreat from the heat in lowland southern regions. These hill stations reflected and reinforced assumptions of social and racial difference, and in doing so naturalized the separation of the rulers and the ruled (Kenny, 1995). When India gained independence from British rule in 1947, these hill stations merely became symbolic representations of the years of imperial authority.

Since the early 1800s, Kullu was a popular location for British officers on leave in search of sport, as such this was the beginning of adventure tourism in the region (Chetwood, 1989). The Kullu Valley was also traveled to or through during hunting,
scientific mapping and exploratory expeditions for the past several centuries. In the past, wildlife was abundant and sought out by some of the British living in the region. Travel through the valley was quite different that it is today. Early travelers to the region had a number of obstacles to face and travel arrangements needed to be done months ahead of time (Chetwood, 1989). In the absence of mechanized transport, expeditions needed up to three weeks of food and other equipment since it was not readily available along travel routes (Dunsheath, 1987). The advent of the motor road over the past fifty years has changed travel to such an extent that is rare to see anyone riding ponies.

### 3.1.3 Cultural Setting

The Kullu District is diverse in religion and ethnic origin. The people of the area are predominantly Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians, although Hindus constitute the majority of the population of the Kullu District (96%). They are distinct from both the plains Hindu and tribal Hindu cultures. The local population is far from being a homogenous looking people. The large numbers of Tibetan refugees, transient workers from Kashmir, Spiti and Lahaul and a significant number of Hippies are all part of the present local population mix.

Like many other areas of India, the caste system plays a dominant role in society. Normally there are three distinct sectors belonging to different strata, such as Brahmins, Rajputs, and the lower castes. Brahmins and Rajputs occupy the better or privileged locations whereas the lower castes occupy the lower part of the village. In the Kullu Valley, there is a distinction between the dominant Rajput caste, who are the primary landowners in the Valley, and the scheduled castes ("untouchable" or service castes).
However, as noted by Agnihotri (1990), traditional Hindu social structure has been reformed and manifests itself as a mixture of caste and class, so much so that caste in Himachal may well be said not to exist in the accepted sense of the word. In general, the people of Himachal Pradesh have a higher standard of living relative to inhabitants of other mountain tracts both within India and other countries in south Asia.

Indian culture, like many cultures in developing countries, is increasingly becoming influenced by outside factors as a result of economic developments in exporting agricultural goods and the growth of the tourism industry (Berkes et al., 1997). In addition, improved communication systems have manifested itself in many remote villages by having a telephone and/or a television thus increasing outside influences on local culture. In addition, as the largest film producer in the world, the influence of the cinema has a profound impact on Indian society. As a popular filming location for numerous movies each year, the Kullu Valley is quite well known throughout India (particularly the Solang Valley). As such, the region is often romanticized as a peaceful land which influences the tourism scene on a national level. The cumulative impact of these factors may be contributing to the transformation of the Kullu Valley from a traditionally self-reliant society to a more commercial oriented economy.

3.1.4 Socio-Economic Environment

Agriculture is the main source of income for people living in the Himalayas. In Himachal Pradesh, approximately 90 percent of the population are directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture and horticulture for its livelihood, despite the fact that only about 10 percent of the area is cultivated (Negi, 1990; Singh and Chauhan, 1996). Forested land
comprises approximately 40 percent, grazing land 30 percent and rocky and inaccessible slopes 20 percent. As noted by Singh and Pandey (1996), increased dependence on apple orchards since the 1960s have transformed almost eighty percent of the total agricultural area into apple orchards in the region as a whole. Apple orchards are the backbone of economic development due to its commercial value, but poses concerns regarding the long-term environmental sustainability resulting from creation of a new ecological balance. The cumulative impact of activities in the region creates a closely related system as a result of the interdependence between forest, pasture and farmland. While grazing provides livestock for milk production, agricultural operations and dung used for fertilizer, it also it provides wool for nomadic and semi-nomadic communities. Forests provide wood fodder for cattle and small timber for local use.

The Kullu Valley has a rich heritage of common property resource use and institutions related to the use of shared resources, although this is rapidly changing. A clear categorization of land into private, state or open-access is not clearly defined (Davidson-Hunt, 1997). This lack of clarity between land use categories is a result of the interplay between custom and law, and the influence of the market in changing production strategies and resource interests.

Recently, the decline in common property resources within the Kullu Valley and disruption of the traditional management system is linked to ill-conceived public policies and side effects of development strategies. The major impacts of these changes are exploitation and increased degradation of resources directly threatening livelihood security (Singh and Pandey, 1996). Development geared policies of the government, particularly regarding tourism, have also played a major role in degradation of common resources. In order to accommodate growing numbers of visitors, construction of hotels has occurred at
a rapid rate. The result has been increased tourism on one hand and encroachment on common property land on the other.

Village households in the Kullu Valley usually base their livelihoods on several sources; orchard owning households are often involved with tourism via weaving (to sell in the main town of Manali), or by having some members of the household involved in trekking, or running a business in Manali (Duffield, 1997; Ham, 1997; Singh and Pandey, 1996). The level of dependency on the tourism industry varies among households and their level of involvement.

3.2 Tourism

Since 1970, south Asia only accounts for one percent of the international tourism market. India is dominant in its share occupying approximately 60 percent of the market (Harrison, 1992). However, domestic tourists dominate the bulk of tourism in the country. Tourism throughout the Himalayas has progressed from the classic tradition of 'shrines' to modern resorts (Singh, 1991). Tourism has come to be recognized as one of the major industries in India resulting in a major source of foreign exchange amounting to approximately one billion dollars per year (Chadha, 1988; Dull, 1991). The Kullu Valley's scenic qualities, geographic location and distinct cultural attributes have made Manali a popular tourist destination in recent years (Sarin and Singh, 1995).

Tourism in the Kullu Valley first opened up in the early 1960s designated as Himachal Pradesh's recreation corridor, with Manali as the main destination resort town. Within two decades, the region experienced enormous growth due to the appeal of its ecological capital and unique native heritage (Singh, 1991). Road construction to the base
of Rhotang Pass, which was further extended over the pass to Lahaul and Leh, provided for greater numbers of travelers in the region. In the early stages of tourism planning, Manali was fashioned quite different from Shimla, the main hill station of the Raj Days. While Shimla had a reputation for being a vacation destination for royalty and high government officials, Manali was known for its distinctive Pahari culture. The valley experienced slow but steady growth into the early seventies, and development was small scale with few environmental costs (Singh, 1991). Decision-makers quickly realized the potential of tourism developments in the eighties and subscribed to the philosophy of promoting tourism for the masses.

The past decade has seen a growing interest in adventure activities in the form of outdoor sports such as mountaineering, trekking, camping and other nature based activities. Despite the history of hunting expeditions in the region, the more recent extent of growth is unsurpassed from any other time in history. The present era of tourism in Manali is strongly influenced by organized recreation with hundreds of mountaineering expeditions and trekkers and tourists visiting the region (Sarin and Singh, 1995). This is consistent with the worldwide trend in increased participation in outdoor recreation activities.

With the more recent influx of tourists, entrepreneurs have opened shops, and restaurants since 1986. Subsequently, their attitudes have become much more commercially driven. Although these changes have brought about some prosperity in the area, some feel that the amount of tourism has not provided a completely alternative source of livelihood (Singh and Mishra, 1996). Many business owners in the area also rely on other sectors of the economy for stable income. It would be foolish to depict Manali as a model resort town. Problems associated with the tremendous growth in the region
include increased land prices beyond the affordability of the local population, noise pollution, monument scaring, litter and a shrinking green space as a result of urban sprawl (Singh, 1991).

3.2.1 Tourism and the Government

The period following independence was a time of rapid restructuring of government institutions and structures. During this time, the Indian Federal Government acknowledged the need for creating 'an administrative organization' to be responsible for planning, development and growth of the tourism industry. The National Ministry of Tourism, formed in 1966, expressed interest in developing the Himalayan belt for tourist attractions. In addition, they also suggested that mountaineering and mountain sports should be developed along with facilities and infrastructure for an efficient transportation system. The National Tourism Policy provided a basic approach to the promotion of tourism in the country, and included thoughts of a planned publicity and promotional campaign, provision of necessary infrastructure, and streamlining procedures that were needed. As a result of this policy, the Indian Tourist Development Corporation (ITDC) was formed to deal specifically with promotion and direct provision of services in the tourism industry nation wide.

In addition to government policies to promote tourism nationally by the Ministry of Tourism, the state government of Himachal Pradesh has had a much more profound impact towards the more recent growth in the tourism industry. The government body responsible for policy direction and regulation in Himachal Pradesh is the Directorate of Tourism. For the most part, regulation of the tourism industry has been reactive (Labroo,
Despite projected growth patterns, the impact of external influences unexpectedly produced a tourism boom that exceeded expectations of the industry's growth. The government has directly influenced the growth of tourism in the Kullu Valley through three main factors including: development of a transportation system, construction of accommodation facilities, and a system of information and advertising (Gardner et al., 1997). The government's policy on tourism also includes a pro-active interest in developing a national ski team, and improved marketing strategies geared towards foreign visitors.

i. Tourism Development Plans and Policies

With the rise in consumerism in contemporary India, a general move took place away from the mixed economy of earlier times with its strong component of socialist government control over the economy. Tourism interventions today reflect the recent change in Indian government policies from inward to outward growth strategies (Brohman, 1996).

Active State participation in tourism planning for the Manali area has produced three major development plans since the mid-1970s. First, the Manali Development Plan implemented in March 1977 created Manali as an 'urban center' which included many of the surrounding villages. This plan also placed an emphasis on preserving the orchards and sought to confine all tourist development to the west side of the Beas River. It also aimed at conserving native architectural style for any new building (Smaller, 1997). A second Manali Development Plan, formulated in 1984, projected only a one percent increase in tourism employment by 2001. Tourist statistics presented later in this chapter
reflect the gross underestimation of the increase in tourism. Finally, the 1985 Kullu Forest Working Plan proposed a national park around Manali, stretching north as far as Rhotang Pass and eventually encompassing 'scientifically organized tourist activities' (Singh, 1989). At present, the national park has not been formally established.

**ii. Economic Incentives**

Providing direct economic incentives has been a major avenue for the local population to develop facilities and amenities for tourists. One of the major incentives, offered by the Himachal Pradesh Finance Corporation, provides subsidies up to one crore² by scheduled banks for hotel building. Access to development incentives has had a profound influence on increased development in the Kullu Valley. However, as noted by Singh (1991), these incentives have primarily lead to outsider involvement in tourism and subsequent leakage of money and labor opportunities outside the region. An entrepreneur interested in this type of financing needs only ten percent of the total capital investment for a proposed development; while the Department of Industry provides twenty-five percent of the loan as a subsidy (up to 25 lakh³). In addition, the Department of Tourism provides a subsidy up to one lakh specifically for the construction of a restaurant.

For trekking companies, finding quality equipment is difficult due to customs regulations making importing from Nepal or the West difficult. Recommendations, as early as 1987 in a conference of State Tourism Ministers, suggested that this was a problem for tourism development. There was a strong consensus that the import policy on equipment

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²One crore is 10 000 000 rupees
³One lakh is 100 000 rupees
for tourism be liberated (Smaller, 1997). At the present time, the import policy has not yet changed, but is still being widely discussed.

iii. Mountaineering Institute

The Directorate of Mountaineering and Allied Sports has played a significant role in the education and training in outdoor adventure activities in Himachal Pradesh. Established in 1961, the institute was first established by the state government to provide courses in trekking, skiing, rock climbing, mountaineering, and water sports. The aim of the institute is to train youth in adventurous sports in order to induce them in the spirit of adventure so that they are able to develop an all-round personality (Pal, 1996).

Although the first institute was established in Manali, there are now six branches located throughout Himachal Pradesh. The institute strongly encourages local youth to participate in outdoor recreation courses. In addition, the Mountaineering Institute provides maps, access to a library and rents equipment for expeditions. The state has consciously tried to encourage involvement of local people in tourism and trekking. While limited numbers of free courses are offered in conjunction with the Directorate of Tourism, the majority of programs are offered for a fee. More recently, the Mountaineering and Allied Sports Institute in Manali has begun to offer certification in mountaineering and climbing.

iv. Himachal Pradesh Tourist Development Corporation

Much of the dramatic increase in tourism development activity can be directly attributed to the state government through the Himachal Pradesh Tourism Development

Chapter Three: Research Setting
Corporation (HPTDC). The HPTDC, formed in 1972, is a government owned company with the mandate of encouraging tourism development through the direct provision of infrastructure, and providing a system of information and advertising (Negi, 1997).

In the early years, the Himachal Pradesh Tourist Development Corporation acted as a pioneer in the development of hotels, luxury buses and restaurants in economically depressed areas. The main goal of developing government owned tourist amenities was to create tourism destinations that would eventually attract development from the private sector. The overall success of government owned hotels, buses and restaurants has been attributed to a higher standard of service and quality (Labroo, 1996). However, when the HPTDC was first formed, it was assumed that once a destination became well-established in the tourism circuit, the government would sell their businesses. At the present time, this has not occurred and has resulted in a duplication of services provided by the public and private sector. As such, the two sectors are in direct competition for tourist dollars (Negi, 1997). With ten offices throughout India, HPTDC provides tour packages for visitors interested in travelling to the state which rely solely on the government owned hotels and buses. The popularity of these tours has enhanced the conflict between the public and private sectors.

v. National Highway

Access, important for both apple crop export and for the import of tourists to the region is of obvious importance to the emerging cash economy-based livelihoods (Duffield, 1997). Presently, the state government of Himachal Pradesh has acknowledged that the current road on the west-side of the Beas River is inadequate for the amount of traffic
within the region. Much of the problem lies in the fact that the road is constantly being washed out due to floods and landslides. The government plans to build a new national highway on the east side of the river in order to alleviate some of the stress placed on the existing road. However, despite plans for a new highway, it is likely that problem of washouts will continue to occur given the regions vulnerability to flooding and slope instability.

3.2.2 Political Factors Influencing Tourism

Following India's independence from British rule in 1947, the State of Himachal Pradesh has remained a relatively peaceful destination for tourists. Over the past few decades, conflicts in neighboring regions have continuously diverted travel into or through the state. Thus, increasing demand from tourists and conflict within adjacent regions have in effect "opened up" the tourism potential in Himachal Pradesh.

In 1975, the pass to the neighboring district of Lahaul was opened up to travelers for the first time. The initial expeditions that began initially commenced in the Upper Beas valley with a final destination of Zanskar and Ladakh. For the most part, these expeditions were only undertaken by international travelers, while tourism in the area around Manali began to attract domestic tourists only and trekking undertook a temporary downturn. However, this was only a temporary phenomenon, which rapidly changed in the following two decades. The following section provides an overview of the political conflicts which have increased tourism in the region.


i. Kashmir Conflict

Kashmir has always been a center of conflict for independent India. From the time of independence, a continual controversy has existed between India and Pakistan as to which country the region should belong. Kashmir has historically been one of India's most popular tourist destinations. In the eighties, an estimated 600,000 domestic tourists and 60,000 foreign tourists visited the region each year. Tourists generally flocked to the state for its scenic beauty, houseboat accommodation, and extensive trekking opportunities.

Although the division between Kashmir and Pakistan has been a sensitive border zone since independence, it was not until militant activities in 1989 virtually stopped all tourist flow into the state due to safety considerations. Since the conflict began, several travelers have been kidnapped or even killed by terrorist groups. The effect of such events has been the virtual elimination of the tourism industry in Kashmir. Furthermore, travelers going north to Ladakh would traditionally pass through Kashmir, but, political unrest in the state has increased the number of travelers using the Kullu Valley as an alternate route to the North.

The effective closing down of Kashmir has resulted in a strong economic boom for the area around Manali. Travelers interested in visiting a mountainous destination have been diverted to the Kullu Valley. The result has been a dramatic increase in visitors to the Kullu district since 1990. A major question facing tourism oriented businesses in the Kullu region are the potential ramifications of conflict resolution in Kashmir. The current increase in tourism has furnished a financial base for increased capitalism which currently makes up a substantial portion of the basis of livelihoods for the indigenous population of
the region (Smaller, 1997). If violence in Kashmir subsides, tourists may be drawn back to that region – a historically much more important tourist destination.

**ii. Punjab Conflict**

Conflict in the State of Punjab has also had an impact on the flow of tourists visiting Northern India. During the time of partition in 1947, the original state boundaries included much of Himachal Pradesh, as well as both sides of the present Indo-Pakistan border. The reasoning for the division was to establish a Muslim population in Pakistan, and a Sikh and Hindu population in India. Within the Indian State of Punjab, there was a growing movement toward establishment of a separate country for the Sikhs - *Khalastan*.

The height of the conflict erupted in 1984, when extremist groups occupied the Golden Temple in Amritsar. During this time, curfews were placed throughout the state and travel through Punjab was halted. Terrorist activities continued until the early 1990, keeping the state off-limits to travelers. However, at the present time, violence in the state has subsided and travel through Punjab is relatively safe.

The political unrest within the State of Punjab had a profound impact on the Kullu region. Although Punjab itself is not a major tourist destination, it has been a traditional travel route for both tourists going to Kashmir and the western hill stations of Himachal Pradesh. The route through Punjab is also used to transport goods to and from the plains to northern regions. In effect, travelers wishing to visit Kashmir during the eighties were diverted through the Kullu District.
iii. China - Tibet Conflict

Large portions of the northern districts of Himachal Pradesh have been closed to tourists due to national security interests with China. When China first invaded Tibet in 1963, thousands of Tibetans fled to India for safe asylum from the Chinese Government. Presently, the former Government of Tibet and the Doli Lama reside in Dharmsala. Given that the State of Himachal Pradesh boarders China, the northeastern region of the state was restricted from travel due to security considerations. More recently, the Indian government has allowed for limited travel through these formally restricted areas, although a permit is required and limits are placed on the number of days a traveler may stay. The opening of restricted areas in the state has attracted small numbers of travelers seeking new and relatively unexplored destinations not yet on the international tourist map.

3.2.3 Growth of Tourism in the Kullu Valley

The most obvious impacts of tourism growth has been on the town of Manali. In the seventies, the village originally consisted of approximately 650 households. However, with the sudden boom in tourist activity in the late eighties, peak day visitation was more than the resident population as a whole. The planned tourist core area increased from 47 hectares to 194 hectares in 1984. As noted by Singh (1991), before Manali turns into another tourist ghetto, decision-makers must work to preserve their Himalayan heritage from becoming prey to predatory tourism development.

Tourist arrivals in Manali increased dramatically between 1975 and 1985 with further dramatic increases projected through the nineties. Tourist statistics from 1964-65 estimated 10 200 visitors to the Valley, and increased to approximately 40 000 in 1975.
This figure then jumped to 140,000 tourists in 1985 (Figure 6). The overwhelming number of travelers in the region quickly created a gap between the supply and demand of tourist facilities in Manali and surrounding areas. In 1985, Manali had more than a five hundred room shortage. However, this was eliminated by 1989 as a result of State initiatives and incentives to hoteliers, thus prompting large investments by outsiders. At present, Manali has a greater bed capacity than Delhi (Kumer, 1995).

The people of Manali have the greatest reliance on tourism, although some of the larger tourist oriented businesses are owned by people from the plains, Kangra district, Lahaul to the north, Tibetans, and increasingly by foreigners. As noted by Duffield (1997), villagers show some antagonism towards this concentration of non-local ownership. According to Singh (1989), approximately 1450 people in Manali are directly employed within some sector of the tourism industry, however, it is not clear how these numbers were determined.

Since Singh’s 1989 study of the Kullu Valley, estimates of the growth of tourism in the Kullu valley have increased exponentially. As depicted in table 1, the numbers of travelers to the region (specifically Manali) has increased enormously (Kumer, 1995). Foreign tourists account for less than one percent of all tourists visiting the region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Domestic Tourist Arrivals</th>
<th>Foreign Tourist Arrivals</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1,231,731</td>
<td>15,317</td>
<td>1,247,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1,520,815</td>
<td>17,775</td>
<td>1,538,590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1,455,445</td>
<td>12,194</td>
<td>1,467,639</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: HPTDC

Table 1: Tourist Arrivals from 1991-93 (Kumer, 1995)
Figure 6: Tourist Arrivals in Manali 1975-90 (Singh, 1989)
Tourists visiting the region are generally younger in age with approximately eighty-three percent between the ages of 26 to 40 years (Singh, 1989). Peak tourist activity occurs in the summer (April-June) and autumn (September-November). There is a sharp contrast in domestic and foreign travelers. Whereas domestic tourists primarily visit the region for the purpose of sight seeing, outdoor recreation is the main purpose of visits to the Manali region by foreign travelers. Foreign tourists, who initially began arriving in the early 1970s, have lately tended to be young, backpacking students staying for long periods of time. One of the implications of this influx is that the tourist season of the region has extended well beyond the traditional May/June and September Indian holiday peak times.

In a study by Smaller (1997), interviews with 15 'hippie foreigners' revealed that the average length of stay is nearly eighteen days - a sharp contrast from the average of 5 day stays for domestic tourists. There exists a sharp social divide between international budget travelers and the national adventure campers as well. Adventure campers primarily refer to school groups that visit the region for camping, while trekking is a less important part of their activities. On the whole, it is felt that domestic and foreign tourists do not mingle. However, this may be a result of class, generation or language barriers rather than solely race or ethnic biases.

Mountaineering in the Himalayas first started as a sport in 1883 with the first European climber coming for the sole purpose of the sport (Sarin and Singh, 1995). Following independence, during the worldwide climbing boom of the late 1950s, many British returned to climb the peaks around the upper Beas valley. Mountaineering and trekking are popular activities in the Himalayas. The large number of climbers and trekkers visiting the Himalayas have wrought an unprecedented pressure on the fragile environment of the areas these people visit (Negi, 1990). There is a large distinction
between mountaineering and trekking. Mountaineering is an elite sport, which involves intensive climbs to remote locations. Trekking on the other hand is a pastime involving less expertise and expenditure (Negi, 1990). As outlined by Roberts (1995), the term 'trekking' is often associated with mountain camping and travel. Trekking differs from mountaineering in that trekkers are generally inexperienced to conditions. According to Denniston (1995), the actual number of tourists visiting the Kullu region for outdoor recreation include 250 000 Hindu pilgrims, 25 000 trekkers and 75 expeditions to the Gangroti glacier, source of the Ganges.

Out of the three main mountain-based activities (trekking, mountaineering and rock climbing), trekking has the largest potential to be utilized for the promotion of adventure tourism. The reason for its large potential is because trekking can involve a larger cross-section of tourists since it requires minimal special equipment and has the least risk factors (Kumar, 1995). The initial, as well as ongoing, investment in a commercial trekking company can be a lucrative business as opposed to providing guest house accommodation. However, there are some capital costs for trekking companies due to on-going cash inputs that are needed for food, new equipment and repair and above all, wages year after year.

The search for wilderness has become a craze; people wish to lose themselves in the Himalayan majesty and to be alone with their shadow, exploring the unknown (Singh, 1990). Trekking opportunities staging from Manali vary in duration and degree of difficulty. It is a combination of adventure travel, ranging from soft, medium and hard routes depending on the amount of elevation gain.

According to Singh's 1989 study, trekking activities are undertaken by about thirty-two percent of all autumn tourists (September to December), although this appears to be
an over-estimation. Of this group of tourists, only six percent take part in hard treks (understood to mean extended treks), while the majority of tourists mix medium treks with mechanized transport (regional treks).

An individual interested in trekking may either join a packaged tour or set out on their own. The majority of trekkers in the Manali area are associated with a fully organized trekking agent or company. Trekking companies supply porters, guides and basic equipment such as utensils, food, and tents. Except for personal items (such as a change of clothes, cameras, film, etc.), everything is carried by porters and ponies (Iozawa, 1980).

The majority of visitors spend relatively more money on transport and trekking than food and accommodation, as trekking services are costly. Direct local involvement within the commercial trekking industry is primarily through employment as either a porter or guide. At the present time there are approximately 108 registered travel agencies in the Kullu Valley. A complete presentation of the current state of the commercial trekking industry is contained in the next chapter.

3.4 Summary

The Kullu Valley is rich in cultural diversity and natural amenities which are a major drawing feature for tourists visiting the State of Himachal Pradesh. Over the past decade political conflicts in Kashmir, Punjab and with China have diverted travelers to the Kullu Valley as a relatively safe destination. Although the government has been involved in the promotion and provision of tourism services, the extent of tourism growth in the valley has been somewhat unexpected. The dramatic increase in tourism has had marked changes in the region, particularly in the town of Manali, as a result of the development of
countless hotels, travel agencies, shops and restaurant catering to tourists. The cumulative effects of these tourism-oriented developments are all impacting the fragile mountain environment of the Kullu Valley.
Chapter Four

TREKKING IN THE KULLU VALLEY

4.1 Introduction

Concurrent with the increase of tourist flow to the Kullu Valley, trekking has experienced tremendous growth among outdoor adventure sports. While the extent of trekking growth was somewhat unexpected, the local people of the region are increasingly becoming involved in every facet of tourism. The following chapter discusses the role of the local population in tourism development, specifically within the expanding commercial trekking industry. As an alternate source of income for local people, direct involvement through employment and ownership of trekking agencies are important factors for livelihood security.

4.2 Trekking in Himachal Pradesh

The Kullu Valley, specifically the town of Manali, is part of the main travel circuit for tourists visiting northern India and the primary travel destination for tourists interested in outdoor recreation. The 'abode of the gods', as this area is often referred to, is an attractive destination for visitors as a result of its distinctive cultural attributes and scenic qualities. Furthermore, the region has gained recognition as a relatively safe area for travel where language barriers are not a major problem in larger towns.

The tourist economy of the region is expanding, thus resulting in increased numbers of both foreign and domestic tourists. While domestic travelers dominate
tourism, foreign travelers seeking trekking and other outdoor opportunities still represent a significant portion of visitors to the region. However, despite the recent increase in foreign travelers to the area, their numbers remain small by comparison to domestic tourists. Domestic tourists differ from foreign tourists because they can generally be characterized as sightseeing or ‘windshield’ visitors. Domestic tourism has increased throughout India as a result of the expanding middle class having access to disposable income.

The increasing number of foreign tourists visiting the Kullu Valley is a reflection of the growth of international tourism worldwide. While many foreign tourists enjoy scenic and cultural attractions, a number also participate in outdoor recreation. Visitors to the region participating in trekking activities tend to be young backpackers from Europe and North America on extended vacations, travelling throughout India and adjacent south Asian countries. It is becoming increasingly common for tourists to extend their stay in the Kullu Valley for several weeks or months due to relatively cheap accommodation on the periphery of the resort town of Manali. These semi-permanent visitors are not looked upon favorably by local society because of their association with cheris (marijuana or hashish), readily available everywhere in the region. A wide range of individuals interviewed during the field study voiced this view. These individuals included local villagers, guesthouse owners, trekking company owners, and tourists themselves. A more complete overview of social perceptions of increased tourism to the region is discussed in the next chapter.

Until recently, the majority of trekkers relied on commercial agencies and local guides for trekking excursions due to inadequate maps of the region. However, this dependence is in decline as self-organized trekking activities are possible due to improved availability of adequate trek route maps for the region. Detailed trek route maps are widely
available to the public from the Mountaineering and Allied Sports Institute as well as the Directorate of Tourism in Shimla.

Trekking activities in the region are highly season dependent. Based on information from trekking agencies in Manali, table 2 depicts the seasonal calendar of local, regional and extended trek activities. The limiting factor for the trekking season is the weather which varies from year to year. While winter trekking is limited by snowfall, summer trekking is hampered as a result of heavy annual monsoon rains. This seasonal limitation on trekking is consistent with the peak tourism season for the region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Local Treks</th>
<th>Regional Treks</th>
<th>Extended Treks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
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Table 2: Trekking Season in the Kullu Valley
4.2.1 Local Treks

It is nearly impossible to outline the number of potential trek routes throughout the Kullu Valley, since the activity generally follows previously established trails used for travel by local people. Trails used for the majority of trekking activities connect villages located in the higher hills. The main exception to this are extended treks into neighboring northern valleys that follow high mountain passes that are uninhabitable locations. It is outside the scope of this study to review all of the potential trek routes.

Local treks are the most common type of treks in the Kullu Valley. The majority of these activities stage from, or near the town of Manali to local villages, temples, or other scenic locations. The length of time for a local trek generally ranges from one to three days. Since local treks may include day hikes, it is common for tourists involved in this activity to self-direct themselves to the desired destination. Local treks extending more than one day, typically rely on guesthouse accommodation where food is readily available at villages along the route. However, there are also some popular camping locations in the valley such as Bhrigu Lake and Solang. The main locations to visit are as follows Solang Valley, Naggar, Bhrigu Lake, and the falls behind Bhurwa. This list is by no means exhaustive and is likely to change in the future.

4.2.2 Regional Treks

Regional treks are those that extend from three to ten days. They generally stage from, or terminate around Manali (map 4). Often regional treks also include some bus travel between staging locations. However, regional treks contrast from local ones in that equipment needed tends to be more sophisticated (Chand and Puri, 1989). There is a
large variation in the services required for regional treks. While some trekkers may use
porters and cooks, others may be more self-reliant and carry equipment independently.
Nevertheless, unlike extended treks, food is still available at various locations along major
regional trek routes.

Some of the attractions of regional treks include mountain glaciers, alpine
topography and hot springs. Mountain glaciers are the source of water for a large part of
India and are easily accessible by trekkers willing to climb to elevations in excess of 4500
metres. Alpine lakes and vegetation are also an attraction for their scenic beauty as well
as cultural significance for nomadic shepherders. Hot springs located throughout the
Parvati Valley, an extension of the Pir Panjal range, are shrouded in myths and legends
regarding the origin of the springs. As such, the springs are an ideal destination for
domestic tourists seeking religious pilgrimages, as well as foreign trekkers seeking
relaxation. In particular, there are major Sikh and Hindu temples located in Manikaran
which draw people from the plains to worship in the steaming waters.

4.2.3 Extended Treks

Extended treks are categorized as those treks that take between ten days and six
weeks. Extended treks within the northern areas of Himachal Pradesh generally stage
from and/or are completed from the Kullu Valley (map 5). Due to the nature of equipment
needed to participate in these types of treks and the relatively difficult terrain, it is rare that
travelers on a tour of India would participate in these treks. As noted in Singh’s 1991 study
of the Kullu Valley, only six percent of all trekkers participate in extended or ‘hard’ trek
excursions. Most often, participants in this activity would have selected the route prior to
reaching Manali, and generally leave following the trek expedition.
Map 4: Regional Treks (Chand and Puri, 1989)
Map 5: Extended Treks (Chand and Puri, 1989)
Trekking excursions to northern regions of the state are the only types of treks that occur during the summer months of July and August (when travel within the Kullu Valley may be hazardous due to mudslides). The neighboring northern valleys of Lahaul and Spiti are relatively unaffected by the monsoon. There are concerns however, that an influx of tourists to these northern regions may disrupt the balance between limited numbers of people and very limited natural resources (Sarin and Singh, 1995). Much of the concern arises from the fact that vegetation in these treeless northern areas is scarce due to the harsh winter climate. Thus, increasing numbers of trekkers placing demands on the natural environment for fuel for cooking and heat during trek expeditions are cause for concern.

Extended treks are limited by the availability of ponies to transport food and equipment. Ponies are more efficient than porters for transporting trekking gear due to their ability to carry a larger load. The vast majority of ponies are from rural communities from the Mandi District and are typically used to transport grain and other supplies to and from villages not accessible by road. During the summer months of June, July and August, pony and horse owners rent to trekking parties when ponies are generally unutilized. However, by September of each year, the vast majority of ponies return south for the fall harvest.

4.3 Travel Agencies in the Kullu District

One of the most prominent features of the tourism boom in the Kullu Valley is the number of travel agencies. Similar to the core downtown tourist centre in Kathmandu, Nepal, the streets of Manali are filled with numerous shops and agencies geared toward
tourists. A large majority of these shops, restaurants and travel agencies are only open for the main tourist season running from April to November. It is common for business owners to either shut down to return to local farms, or move to southern tourism destinations for the winter.

The first activity undertaken during the field study was to identify the number of commercial travel agencies operating in the Kullu district. Travel agencies are required to register with the state through the Directorate of Tourism. Essentially, the only requirement for an agency to become registered with the state is payment of a registration fee of 200 rupees\(^4\) ($10 Canadian) and to secure an office with a telephone. Travel agents as defined by the government of Himachal Pradesh are those businesses that offer services to tourists. These services include trekking and other outdoor activities, sightseeing bus tours, and accommodation services. According to the state government, in 1996 there were a total of one hundred-eight registered travel agents in the Kullu District. Of the one hundred eight registered travel agencies, eighty companies are based in the town of Manali (74%). Six travel agencies are located in villages adjacent to Manali (6%), such as Vashist and Aleo. An additional three percent of agencies are located in the City of Kullu. A list of registered travel agencies is contained in Appendix C.

There has been an exponential increase in the number of travel agents since the start of the Kashmir conflict. While there were only nine travel agents in the Kullu District in 1988, the region experienced a sharp increase during the following ten years (figure 7). According to the Directorate of Tourism, this number is expected to continue to increase in the next few years (Labroo, 1996).

\(^4\) Approximately $10 Canadian
Figure 7: Number of Registered Travel and Trekking Agencies in the Kullu District

Number of Agents

Year

1997
1995
1993
1991
1989
1987
1985
1983

0
20
40
60
80
100
120

Offering Trekking
Travel Agents
Travel Agents
Figure 8: Rate of Growth of Travel Agencies by Year
Although the majority of registered travel agencies offer a diverse range of services, such as jeep safaris, rafting, bus travel and the like, the more recent opening of agencies that specialize in providing trekking services is limited. In order to determine the number of travel agencies that offer trekking directly, it was necessary to conduct short interviews with individual travel agents. Approximately ninety of the one hundred registered travel agencies were interviewed to determine which agencies directly offered trekking for tourists. Although many of the agencies advertise that they offer opportunities to participate in treks, it was revealed during the study that only thirty-nine of the one hundred-eight travel agencies directly offer services for outdoor recreation. Many of the agencies that advertise trekking services, only refer customers to other agencies for a commission, and do not actually offer trekking. For the purposes of this study, agencies that referred clients to other companies were not considered as part of the commercial trekking industry. As such, the focus of the following discussion is on the thirty-nine commercial trekking agencies in the Kullu District.

4.3.1 Commercial Trekking Agencies

Detailed interviews with twenty-nine of the thirty-nine trekking agencies were conducted during the field study for the purpose of determining the scope of trekking activities in the region and to obtain some basic employment data. The vast majority of interviews were conducted with the company owner(s). Ten companies were not interviewed because their offices were closed for the fall season. Information on these agencies was compiled where possible, although, the majority of the closed agencies appeared to be one-person operations.
The interviews established that the range of services offered by trekking agencies varied dramatically. While every agency interviewed offered local treks, only a few agencies offered the opportunity for extended treks (table 3). Reasons stated for this was the lack of experienced guides and difficulty in finding equipment. The interviews also indicated that the usual practice of trekking companies is to cater and organize excursions according to the client's desires. Generally, the trekking company will supply a guide who arranges transportation, food and equipment and leads the clients from village to village.

According to trekking agencies surveyed in the study, between 90 to 100 percent of all clients seeking information on trekking in the region were from Western countries. Guesthouse owners on main trek routes substantiated this information with claims that the majority, if not all, trekkers were foreign tourists. This is consistent with Singh's 1991 findings that indicate foreign tourists dominate the market for trekking. The lack of interest in trekking from domestic tourists may be a reflection of Indian culture, which has not historically emphasized outdoor recreation as a leisure activity.

Trekking agencies in the Kullu Valley are increasingly taking a more proactive approach to attracting tourists due to stiff competition among agencies (table 4). Ten of the twenty-nine trekking agencies surveyed had at least one office outside the Kullu District (35%). Six companies had in Delhi and twenty one percent of the agencies had offices in Europe in countries including Sweden, France and Germany (21%). Three agencies had offices in the United States and Japan (10%). However, an office as defined by agency owners more closely resembled an affiliated travel agency that referred clients.
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Table 3: Types of Treks Offered by Each Trekking Company
It was difficult to determine the number of expeditions undertaken by each trekking company. It is believed that some agencies were not truthful about the amount of business they had over the past year when interviewed. Many of the responses were evasive and some questions were never directly answered. Nevertheless, there was a common concern among agencies interviewed that business had begun to slow down over the past year. Many attributed the lag in tourism to floods in 1995, which made travel to the Kullu Valley difficult. Thus the decline in trekking was attributed to poor road conditions. However, there was a consensus among all trekking agents that 1996 was a slow year for tourist visitation as well. Some reasons attributed to this was the bad publicity following the flood as well as the opening of new trekking agencies by local youth which offered cheaper prices and thus ‘stole’ potential customers.

Ownership of trekking companies was deemed an important consideration in the study as it was a reflection of local involvement in the industry. Interviews revealed that Indians own all twenty-nine commercial trekking operations, but not all owners were
indigenous to the Kullu region. Local people owned the twenty-two of the agencies interviewed in the Kullu Valley (77%). The remaining seven agency owners were from areas near the Kullu Valley (23%). Three of the trekking company owners were originally from Tibet (10%). An additional three percent were originally from Kashmir, and another three percent from other districts within Himachal Pradesh. Respondents from both Kashmir and Tibet all expressed a desire to return to their place of origin in the event of relaxed political conflicts (Figure 9).

Of all the agencies interviewed, only two companies operated year round due to their affiliation with skiing. As such, it was found that the vast majority of company owners have other sources of income. There was wide variation in these other sources of income. While some entrepreneurs also owned hotels or organized bus tours, others relied on family farms for the bulk of their income. The latter group reflects the recent opening of commercial trekking operations by local youth as a part-time livelihood. Since the peak trekking season occurs during the off-season for farming, many respondents found that involvement in trekking provides additional family income. Furthermore, it was found that many of the commercial trekking company owners themselves acted as guides on treks and would simply close down their office when out on an expedition. Of the twenty-nine agencies, twenty-one had owners who themselves acted as guides.

4.3.2 Employment

The main forms of employment within the trekking industry in the Kullu Valley has been either through direct ownership of a trekking company and / or
Figure 9: Trekking Agency Ownership

- Kullu Valley: 77%
- Himachal Region: 3%
- Kashmir: 3%
- Tibet: 10%
- Other: 7%
employment as a guide. In addition, porters are hired on a casual basis. Employment within the commercial trekking industry is an important consideration in livelihood security. It reflects the state of local involvement and changes in the mix of livelihood activities.

Porters are generally transient workers from Nepal or other regions of India that come to the Kullu Valley primarily to work on local farms during the harvesting season. Although, the majority of porters are drawn to the region for employment during the apple harvest, growing numbers of porters are also hired on a casual basis for trekking expeditions. Porters are used in treks to carry equipment and food. Since they are often hired casually by trekking companies or hired on the street by self-directed trekkers, it was impossible to get an estimation of the numbers of porters hired by each company. However, they are an important consideration because any increase in transient workers may take work away from local people. This is especially important since transient or seasonal workers often accept a lower daily wage than do local people.

Guides are used to lead trekking expeditions. The main requirement for a guide is knowledge of English. Although there are no specific training requirements, many of the better-trained professional guides have taken courses through the Mountaineering and Allied Sports Institute. The Himachal Pradesh Directorate of Tourism sponsors some of these courses. The selection process to take courses in guiding is dependent on the level of education and origin of the application. That is, preference is given to local youth who have at least completed secondary school. This has met with some animosity because many of the guides interviewed felt that training courses should be geared towards those who have no formal education and thus are in need of some type of training to secure a livelihood. However, the selection process outlined by the Directorate of Tourism did not reflect this view.
Interviews with trek companies revealed that only four of the twenty-nine trek companies surveyed (14%) employed guides that had some form of formal training. Many of the company owners felt that training courses were unnecessary because locals generally have a basic knowledge of the trails throughout the region.

A clear definition of a guide is difficult to provide. Numerous individuals claiming to be "guides" immediately bombard a tourist arriving in Manali. However, the bulk of the population claiming to be guides are actually "touts" working for a commission to entice tourists to accommodation facilities and travel agents which offer a commission for increased business. For the purpose of this study, only those individuals who were formally hired by a registered trekking agency were considered guides.

Table 5 depicts the total number of guides employed by each of the twenty-nine trekking companies interviewed. The total number of full-time, year round guides working for trekking agencies surveyed was twenty-two. Full-time, year round guides are those individuals who gain income from a trekking company all year. Despite the fact that trekking itself is highly season dependent, off-season activities primarily entails marketing trekking excursions for the following year. In addition, there are approximately thirty-three full-time seasonal guides who work during the main trekking season in the Kullu Valley. However, trekking is not usually the only source of income for these individuals. A more complete description of the mix of income sources for guides is contained in the next section. The length of seasonal employment varied by company, but for the most part the average length of employment for seasonal employees ranged from three to six months. An estimation of casual guides is approximately eighty-five, but this figure may be an overestimate because some casual guides are employed by more than one company.
Many of the trekking company owners guide trekking expeditions themselves. Table 5 also includes the number of agencies where the company owner(s) also participate in trekking activities in the field. In addition, many of the companies surveyed expressed concern over having hired fewer guides than the previous two years and that current staffing levels may be low due to the floods of 1995. The numbers presented in the table reflect the number of employees for each company for 1996. They should not be interpreted to reflect stable employment in the commercial trekking industry over the past decade, especially given the volatile growth of the industry.

The vast majority of guides employed in the commercial trekking industry are young males. This is not surprising given that many of the older local residents of the Kullu Valley do not have a good working knowledge of English and therefore are limited in their ability to deal with tourists. The growing number of young males working in and around Manali may be problematic from a social perspective because historically the eldest males commonly worked on the family farm, while the second and third males went to the city for employment. Nevertheless, involvement in the commercial trekking industry was clearly male dominated. During the field study in the Kullu Valley, it was found that virtually no females were employed as guides. However, this may change in the future given shift in customs and cultural roles often associated with increased development.
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Table 5: Guide Employment Statistics for the Kullu Valley
In order to gain a more clear understanding of the effect of tourism employment on the local population, guides were interviewed for the purpose of assessing the extent of their involvement and the associated impact on livelihood security. A total of thirty-five guides were interviewed during the field study. This included the twenty-one individuals who were trekking company owners who also guided trek expeditions (in some cases companies were owned by two or more people) and, an additional fourteen guides who were formally employed by a company.

The majority of guides formally employed in the trekking industry were indigenous to the Kullu Valley. Many of those interviewed first became involved through friends or other family enterprises such as a hotel. Table 6 provides a summary of the origin of the thirty-five guides interviewed. From the information compiled on the origin of guides, it is clear that the industry has a high level of local involvement. While twenty-six of the respondents (74%) were indigenous to the Kullu Valley, this number increased to thirty-one (89%) if people originally from Tibet were included as part of the present local population. The most surprising result of the survey was that guides from Kashmir only represented six percent of those surveyed. The researcher did not obtain the exact place of origin for four of the respondents; however it was noted that all of these individuals were from the Manali area.

**4.3.3 Income Sources**

The findings of the interviews with guides were consistent with interviews with company owners (although there is a large amount of overlap between the two), where both groups primarily used earnings from involvement in the tourism industry as
supplemental income. The tourism industry represents an alternative source of income and adds to the mix of income sources. Thus, this is believed to reduce vulnerability of the local economy to potential future tourism crashes.

The amount of income gained from employment in the commercial trekking industry is dependent on a number of factors. First, the type of trek involved is a major factor determining the wage received by a guide. The average wage for a guide, according to trekking companies surveyed, ranges between 100 - 300 rupees per day depending on the degree of difficulty of the trek and the number of participants. As with all aspects of trekking however, fees are negotiable and there is wide variation. Income derived from other aspects of the trekking industry such as accommodation, cost of food and transportation to and within the Kullu Valley are beyond the scope of this study. As such, the focus on sources of income was based on the interviews with guides formally employed by trekking agencies.

It was found that the majority of individuals involved in trekking have alternate sources of income, including the majority of trek company owners who also had other sources of income. Only six of the company owners (respondents were also guides) relied solely on trekking for their livelihood (21%). In the case of one livelihood activity, the company owners were long time operations that were established in the early part of the tourism boom. In general, companies which have opened more recently, all had owners with other, more stable sources of income. Tourism in its present form only contributed to their mix of livelihood activities.
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Table 6: Guide Origins
The mix of livelihood activities of the respondents is depicted in table 7. It is clear from the results that agriculture is the main form of income for those employed in the commercial trekking industry. The majority of individuals who depend on agriculture are indigenous to the Kullu Valley and are historical landowners in the region. Respondents, who were involved in other businesses, were generally originally from Tibet or were not the first male in the family and thus would not be entitled to claim the family farm. The table below differentiates between businesses based on tourism (such as hotels and transportation providers) and other occupations such as weaving and herding.

4.3.4 Regional Economic Benefits

The economic benefits of the commercial trekking industry are widespread. The town of Manali is the primary tourist destination, however trekking disperses a small amount of revenue to villages located in the higher hills through the purchase of food at locally owned teahouses and fees paid for accommodation. The inputs into the local and regional economy from trekking activities are especially beneficial because tourist dollars from trekking are mainly from foreign tourists. As a result, tourism benefits the economy of the entire region due to the multiplier effect from economic spin-offs.

Another regional benefit of increased trekking activities is the rental of ponies (a smaller ‘mountain horse’) for extended treks. It is common for expeditions into more northern regions to use ponies to transport food and equipment. For the most part, ponies are rented from the southern Mandi District. However, the availability of these animals for trekking is limited because their primary use is to transport grain during the harvest season. As such, they are generally available during the months of July and August.
There are two organizations that regulate pony use in the Kullu Valley, both of which are located in the town of Manali. The primary purpose of these organizations is to establish a price for rental and provide an equitable distribution of animals. The average price for a pony rental is approximately 300 rupees per day.

Porters who are hired to transport food to villages in the higher hills, also add to the economic benefit to the region. Despite the fact that the vast majority of the porters hired are transient workers from Nepal, they generally spend their earning in the Kullu Valley and thus increase the overall economic activity in the region.

A discussion of the impact of cheris in the region, as it relates to tourism, is pertinent to a discussion of regional economic benefits. Cheris (marijuana) often acts as a drawing feature to tourists. It is readily available everywhere because hemp is grown legally for other purposes, and thus it is one of the main drawing features for the western hippie-type traveler. Although the region has historically grown poppies for opium, cheris now appears to be a more commercial commodity. The hippie culture in the Kullu District, particularly in the villages adjacent to Manali, is quite prevalent and according to many of the guesthouse owner and trekking agencies, is growing quite rapidly. Among other activities, moonlight parties are held on each full moon of the month and it is common to hear loud "techno" music echoing throughout the valley. Since the culture of these tourists is in sharp contrast to the local culture, they stand out and are often viewed negatively by the local population. Despite feelings of animosity, some guides interviewed claimed to make a sizeable amount of income selling drugs to tourists.
Table 7: Livelihood Mix of Guides

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4.4 Summary

Employment resulting from increased numbers of tourists is a major factor contributing to livelihood security for the local population. While trekking is only a small part of the tourism scene as a whole, it is still an important consideration for sustainability. The field research in the Kullu Valley revealed local and regional treks are the most popular types of trekking excursions, while extended treks are not as common due to cost and difficult terrain. Trekking is highly season-dependent due to severe winter snowfall and summer monsoon. As such, trekking activities are generally undertaken in the spring and autumn. The local population is highly involved in the commercial trekking industry,
primarily through employment as guides and / or ownership of trekking agencies. Although much of the current development involves local people, hence creating obvious economic benefits, the growth of trekking is not without its associated costs. The following chapter examines the implications of increased trekking activity for the local population, as well as its socio-cultural and environmental impacts.
Chapter Five

**IMPACT OF TREKKING ON THE LOCAL POPULATION**

5.1 Introduction

It is imperative to acknowledge that mountain tourism can be sustainable only if it contributes to the economic, environmental and socio-cultural development of local communities. The opportunity for trekking in the Kullu Valley provides a unique advantage to attract visitors who are generally sensitive to the needs of the environment and therefore may be useful in achieving sustainable tourism development in the region. Despite the fact that it is difficult to separate the effects of trekking from those of other factors of modernization (because adequate control sites are not easily identifiable), it is however, clear that the greater the numbers of visitors and the longer their contact with native people of the region, the greater the potential for change. These changes can affect local social systems, causing environmental degradation and increased dependency on tourism.

The following chapter focuses on the link between tourism and sustainability in the context of development in a historically self-sufficient society. Given the changes in livelihoods for the local population resulting from the emerging commercial economy, there are both positive and negative impacts for the natural and socio-cultural environments. While some of the impacts on the local population of the Kullu Valley have become clearly evident, other impacts are not as apparent and have the potential to have greater implications for sustainability in the future.
5.2 Livelihood Security and Trekking

According to ICIMOD (1997), experiences from trekking and mountaineering areas in the Himalayas suggest that the bulk of the income accruing from tourism in mountain areas is not retained locally. This is because accommodation owners are often from outside the destination area, foods and other essential goods for tourists have to be imported from outside the region, and income is remitted to family members living in urban areas. It is generally believed that a considerable portion of income leaks out of rural destination regions in the form of economic benefits to urban-based trekking agencies. In addition, royalties, taxes, and fees of various kinds to the central government sometimes magnify this effect.

Despite these findings resulting from increased trekking in other areas of the Himalaya Mountains, it is difficult to assert that these negative impacts have occurred to a large extent in the Kullu District. Instead, the field study revealed that the vast majority of individuals involved in this sector of the economy are local people whose villages of origin are dispersed throughout the valley. Nevertheless, the effects of tourism on the native people are important to consider given that commercial trekking is a relatively new phenomenon in the Kullu Valley and the local population has not yet felt the full effect of the growth of the tourism industry.

Involvement in tourism development is an important avenue of gaining income for people living in the Kullu Valley. While only a small portion of the population is formally involved in the adventure sports aspect of tourism, it is an important consideration because of the potential for tourism trekking to affect a wide geographic region. Few of the respondents formally employed in this sector relied solely on tourism for their livelihood;
while the majority of those interviewed have used trekking as a means to diversify their mix of household income activities. Diversification of activities, or the use of multiple sources of income, is critical to dealing with shocks and stress in a livelihood security context. Participation in a range of livelihood activities reduces vulnerability to changes in the economic and natural environment. This is especially true in regions such as the Kullu Valley where much of the livelihood base is dependent on the natural resources of the region. Although households involved in agriculture do diversify their activities within the household, tourism adds an important facet because it is based on a growing market. While it could be argued that trekking is primarily a resource based activity, tourism's growth worldwide will likely continue in the future and people native to the Kullu region need to adapt to changes in their economic environment.

The results of the study clearly indicate that involvement in the commercial trekking industry primarily provides an additional source of income, often used as disposable income for those involved. When asked how individuals use the income earned from trekking, many of the younger respondents (generally aged 18-25 years of age) indicated that the income they received was "their own money" and was not shared with the rest of their household. This was especially true for guides who relied on family agriculture for their main source of income. This attitude towards income gained from tourism reflects a tremendous change in traditional values of sharing and reciprocity of economic resources which has historically characterized the people of the region. The sharing of wealth between both immediate and sometimes extended family members has in the past reduced vulnerability of individuals to changes in their environment. A marked change in value systems based on kinship has occurred. It is possible that income earned through trekking is contributing to increased disassociation from the traditional family.
livelihood base. However, this point should not be overstated. While may of the respondents felt that their income from trekking activities was an avenue toward increased disposable income, the vast majority still worked on family farms. Should the trend towards male disassociation from the family continue, there might however be marked changes in the lifestyle of the local people, such as requiring women to adapt their role in the household and community.

For those individuals not traditionally dependent on agriculture for their primary source of income in the region (primarily those from Tibet and Kashmir), tourism offered the opportunity for lucrative business enterprises that historically would not have been available. Despite the fact that many of these guides expressed the desire to leave the region should political conflicts in their place of origin subside, tourism growth in the region is a benefit by providing an avenue to gain a means of living. However, it is important to note that when asked what they would do if tourism in the region declined, a large portion of the respondents said that they would simply move to a better economic location in India.

It is difficult to assert whether the level of involvement in tourism development is a coping or adapting strategy. The guides participating in the commercial trekking industry that have historically depended on agriculture, would likely reflect an adaptive strategy. Others who are involved in businesses, seemed to have more of a desire to change traditional family bonds, reflecting more of a coping strategy. Nevertheless, the amount of effort and capital currently put towards tourism could negatively affect those involved in the industry should tourism decline in the future. The key objective of those involved in tourism should be to achieve a balance between dependency and taking advantage of the opportunities that tourism provides.
In the case of trekking (as opposed to other types of tourism involvement), the amount of capital and development required to become involved is significantly lower than other types of tourism ventures, such as building hotels or restaurants. Since loans from the government are often required for these larger developments, trekking has the benefit of offering the potential of gaining economic benefits, without the capital risks associated with bigger enterprises. For example, in the case of accommodation, it is likely that the town of Manali has exceeded its carrying capacity and should halt all development. However, it would be foolish to expect such a change to occur any time soon. Since many of the policies and plans of the government have historically been reactive, it is highly unlikely that any restrictions on development will make a profound impact since the main town site is currently experiencing high vacancy rates and some land scarcity, yet development of hotels is continuing.

There tends to be a lack of integration of the tourism sector's activities with rural resource-based economic activities resulting in few economic benefits being retained by remote rural communities. Generally, the majority of the economic benefits are retained by the local people located in or near the town of Manali. Thus, there is the potential for resource conflicts and inappropriate land use changes. However, income generated from the commercial trekking industry has indirectly induced some positive local resource-based activities in the region. For example, increased production of authentic local crafts for tourists has produced economic benefits for the local people with little construction costs or commitment of resources. In addition, it has enabled the local people to retain some of their traditional crafts. This has occurred to some degree with increased sales of Kulu scarves and shawls. However, it is not clear whether this will continue in the future. This
demonstrates the dual effect of both positive and negative impacts of tourism growth in a developing country.

From the perspective of the Kullu region as a whole, it appears that the majority the economic benefits received from trekking are retained because of the high level of local involvement. However, there is a substantial proportion of people employed that only seek seasonal employment and then move to other regions, specifically porters and pony owners. Although this is beneficial at a national level to keep earnings within the country, this is a source of economic leakages. Nevertheless, the emerging local commercial economy can not be expected to be fully self-sufficient given the globalization of world economies. In one interview with a well-established trekking company owner, the company has already begun to hire staff from Europe as ski instructors for the winter and plans to continue to do so in the future. In addition, the company has plans to start hiring foreigners as guides for trekking excursions. The reasoning behind this is that clients may be more comfortable with a guide that has a solid understanding of English and can relate to foreign clients better than local youth. The most obvious impact of importing labour from other countries is increased leakages from the local economy. More importantly, there may be increased animosity towards tourism development should foreigners ‘take away’ jobs from people native the region. However, given the relatively low wage guides receive (by Western standards), it is unlikely than employment of foreigners will have much of an impact on the trekking scene as a whole. Nevertheless, a more sustainable approach to planning tourism development in the Kullu region should to focus on local community needs and interests characterized by small scale operations which have been carefully planned.

Chapter Five: Impact of Trekking on the Local Population
5.3 The Natural Environment

Mountain environments are vulnerable and highly susceptible to environmental degradation, even without the intrusion of tourists. Although tourism for the masses generally has the greatest impact on the urban environment, due to the large scope of trekking activity throughout the Kullu region, the impact on the rural environment is also a major concern. This is especially true in areas where the people located in the higher hills are particularly dependent on the natural resources surrounding their village. As such, a discussion of the impact of trekking activities is pertinent. Again, while tourism depends on the natural environment in which it is based, it also has serious impacts on the environment due to usage by increasing numbers of non-local people.

5.3.1 Forest Resources

One of the hazards to the natural environment from increased trekking activity is deforestation and forest degradation. For centuries, the local population has used the forest resources for a variety of uses in a sustainable manner (figure 11). To some degree this has occurred as a result of government restrictions placed on the number of trees that can be cut each year. In addition, local people also have a system of 'lopping' trees for fuel for domestic use. This reflects traditional knowledge of the amount of sustainable timber use for the region. The problem of deforestation is especially a prevalent in mountain areas due to the short growing season and the mountain environment's vulnerability to erosion. As such, any type of increased demand placed on relatively scarce forest resources by tourists poses a danger for the local people who depend on the forest to meet their basic needs.
Forest resources are typically vulnerable to exploitation resulting from the increase in tourist traffic in rural areas. While local, and sometimes regional treks, rely on guesthouse accommodation and teahouse for meals, the majority of extended treks do not have access to such amenities. In effect, demand for firewood for heat and for cooking is a concern. The field season in the Kullu Valley revealed that this is not yet seen as an issue for people living in the region nor a major concern to the state government. As a result, the state government of Himachal Pradesh has not taken measures to ensure preservation of valuable forest resources for local use. While this may be justified at the
present time, there is a potential problem for sustainability of the forested environment in the future.

The lack of concern for forest resources from trekking may be a lack of foresight on the part of the government because other areas in the Himalayas have experienced fuel shortages resulting from increased demand from trekkers. In Nepal, where trekking is more well-established for example, it was found that trekking traffic was primarily responsible for degradation of forest resources through both trampling of vegetation as well as deforestation due to the need for wood as fuel. In order to combat the problems of increasing numbers of trekkers visiting the country, the Nepalese Government banned use of wood for fuel. As an alternative energy source, trekking parties are required to carry kerosene for fuel. However, this policy was only implemented once forest degradation reached critical levels and local people did not have access to sufficient resources to meet their basic needs. Following the Nepal example, Himachal Pradesh government should consider taking a more proactive approach to conserve their valuable timber resources.

As already indicted, trekking can also have a marked effect on the natural environment through trampling effects. This is especially critical given that vegetation in the higher hills is used for grazing as well as the collection of plants for medicinal purposes. Travel throughout the region has so far been confined to existing trails, however, a few of the commercial trekking operators have expressed an interest in expansion of trekking routes in the coming years, thus this should be a growing concern. New treks in the region are primarily planned in the "newly opened" Spiti region as well as increased tours to the eastern Kangra district. Although the field study in the Kullu region revealed that trail conditions do not appear to have degraded to a hazardous extent, the
impacts of increased trekking in such a fragile environment has the potential to expand with growing amounts of tourist traffic.

5.3.2 Litter and Waste

Litter, in the form of non-biodegradable garbage, is a concern throughout the Himalayan region since many of the major towns are already cluttered with garbage and waste. From a tourism perspective, the decreased aesthetic quality of these urban centres may be a hindrance for destination areas. Litter and waste in the Kullu Valley are most evident in the town of Manali and surrounding villages, where gutters are cluttered with garbage. It is likely that much of this waste can be attributed to tourists because a large portion of the waste are water bottles and plastic bags; usually byproducts of tourists. However, any sustainable tourism strategy must address disposal of waste so that it does not distract from a visitor’s experience. Despite that fact that this is a problem throughout India, little has been done to combat the growing problem of garbage disposal.

The most common method of waste disposal, in particular human waste, is to direct raw sewage to the Beas River. This is problematic because the Beas not only supplies local people of the Kullu Valley as a primary source of water, but also acts as the headwater supply for those living downstream. An estimated ten million people are dependent on the Beas River. As such, tourism only adds to the present problems of improper waste disposal. Again, given the heavy demands of tourists on the system of waste disposal, the impact on those who are dependent on the Beas River as the main water resource can only worsen in time.
In general, the problem of waste disposal has been confined to the town of Manali and surrounding villages. For the most part, the field study showed that litter was not a great concern along major local and regional trekking routes. However, routes that rely on staging camps rather than guesthouse accommodation proved to have some early signs of litter and waste problems. Following the example of Nepal, should the commercial trekking industry continue to grow in Himachal Pradesh, it is likely that litter and associated waste resulting from trekking activity will be a greater concern in the future. Nevertheless, the situation in Manali and other major villages is deteriorating quickly and needs government intervention before the problem becomes critical.

5.3.3 The Built Environment: Demands on Infrastructure

The change in the physical environment around Manali is also problematic. While there is little doubt that the extent growth over the past decade has been phenomenal, it is likely that the extent of this growth has exceeded both the demand and capacity of the town. The mass influx of large hotels, which are in marked contrast with the local architecture of this mountain community, is changing the character of the built environment of the area. In addition, hotels and other developments that are currently being proposed by entrepreneurs directly conflict with the Manali Development Plan which restricted any commercial tourism development to the west side of the river. As such, the government is showing a lack of initiative to enforce policies that already have in place. Another problem with the extent of development has included land prices that are increasing beyond the affordability of local people and will likely continue to do so if tourism development in the
region continues. Furthermore, the growth of the main townsite has also encroached onto agricultural land, which is the main stay of local livelihoods.

Much of the change in the physical environment around Manali reflects a trade-off between tourism development and more traditional livelihood activities. As a trade-off, it is important to recognize that there are costs and benefits associated with this change. While tourism brings in some much-needed income, over-development is a concern because as depicted in the tourism growth model, destination areas have a lifecycle which needs to be rejuvenated in order to be sustainable in the long term. As well, from an urban sustainability stand point, mass development without appropriate infrastructure to support this development is a critical issue. As a result, this should be an important consideration for policy makers concerned with the longevity of tourism in the Kullu district.

It is likely that an excess amount of capital and resources have already been committed to the tourism industry. With a larger bed capacity than Delhi, it is possible that the common tourism development philosophy of “the bigger, the better” may result in or perhaps already has resulted in over development in the region. The high reliance of seasonal tourism is especially problematic if the political situation in Kashmir subsides and potential visitors return to that state. Seasonal tourist visitation is a pattern typical of many hill resorts in the Indian Himalayas. The most obvious implication of seasonal dependency is that tourist capacity in these areas remains unutilized during the slack or off-season. During the peak tourist seasons in the spring and fall, the concentration of tourism activity into a limited time and space can result in congestion, overcrowding, and pollution. As seen in many hill resorts and pilgrim centres, the building of infrastructure such as roads, electricity, water supplies has occurred at the expense of the natural beauty of the environment. This is the basic trade-off of tourism development; inappropriate
development can reduce the natural beauty which is the main attraction for the bulk of tourists in the first place.

5.4 Social Impacts

Tourism in the Kullu Valley has brought about profound changes in people's ideas, behavior patterns, and lifestyles. In addition, it has been partly responsible for changing norms, values, and expectations and made marked changes in material and non-material culture. The following discussion of the changes in the socio-cultural attributes of the local people of the region focuses on the impact of tourism, yet it should be understood that it is not only tourism that has contributed to the changes in local people. Globalization of world economies and technologies, that allow people living in remote communities to be linked with other parts of the world, is a worldwide phenomenon. The introduction of tourism in the northern regions of Himachal Pradesh has primarily acted as one of many factors that have spurred change, it is difficult to differentiate between the impacts made by tourism and those resulting from modernization, increased incomes, exposure to worldwide television networks, and educational systems.

Tourism in the Kullu region falls into two main categories. The first, urban "windshield" type tourism generally consists of travel by bus to a few well-developed, easily accessible villages such as Naggar, Manikaran and Rhotang Pass, where tourists can visit for several hours. The second category involves trekking between relatively isolated villages and staying overnight in these historically untraveled areas. Trekking generally uses local guides taking explorer type tourists to remote villages. Over the past decade, trekking has broadened to reach almost every corner of the region and hitherto. While the
most obvious major benefit of trekking growth is increased opportunity for remote areas to gain economic benefits, it has not been without its associated costs on the local culture.

The dual impact of cultural preservation and acculturation typifies many tourism developments. While changes in the host population’s culture are certainly most evident with changes in lifestyle and dress, there are other benefits. Since involvement in trekking as a guide requires a basic knowledge of English, many of the youth of the Kullu Valley have a desire to improve their language skills. In the long term, this will most certainly enhance the local people’s ability to deal with the expanding market economy.

One of the clearest cases of a change in local customs and culture is the village of Malana. Malana is located in the higher hills and is only accessible by foot due to the semi-steep mountain terrain (figure 11). Historically, when the British took over India, they did not have a major influence in the village due to its remote location. For centuries, the indigenous people of the area have strongly held the belief that “outsiders” would threaten their local culture. Even if the outsider was of Indian origin, they were treated as part of the untouchable or scheduled caste. As such, outsiders from other countries or even other parts of India were refused entry to the village and were required to walk around the village, rather than use the beaten path through the village. According to much of the literature, this practice remained common until the introduction of trekking. Over the past few years, two guesthouses have been built to accommodate visitors. Although visitors to the village are still not allowed to explore the village or touch the people (or they would face a jail sentence), the relaxing of local customs is a profound example the change in the local society.

During a visit to the village, the researcher as well as other foreign tourists, were asked if they wanted to purchase cheris. In many of the cases, it was adults who sent their
children to approach visitors to make the sale. It is well known throughout the travel circuit that the Kullu region provides ample opportunity to purchase cheris. This proactive approach reflects a relaxing of traditions and belief regarding outsiders and the caste system in general which has been in place for centuries.

Figure 12: The Village of Malana
A more extreme case of changes in local culture was seen in the remote village of Pulga, located in the far west end of the Parvati Valley. After trekking for two days, a traveler expecting to enter a remote or authentic village would be sadly disappointed. Moon light drug parties and loud “techno” music are the norm. Again, the influence of the wide availability of drugs is likely the main drawing feature of the village. Rumors in the
region are that this is a popular location for mass harvest of cheris for export to Europe. However, there was never any confirmation of these rumors during the field study. Nevertheless, the atmosphere of the village is not what one would likely expect. Guesthouses cater to the tourist market by providing meals such as macaroni and pizza. In addition, local youth tend to hang out with the trekking crowd thus partaking in illegal drug related activities. Informal interviews with villagers revealed a large amount of animosity toward tourists and the imposition of western culture on local youth. However, for those who directly benefited tourism (such as tea and guesthouse owners), it was generally felt that trekking was a positive influence on the village.

The increase of tourism has also brought about increased crime in the region. This is typical of many tourism destinations in developing countries. For example, there were problems faced by trekkers who were offered the opportunity to buy drugs on well-traveled trekking routes. In many cases, tourists are forced to buy drugs or face getting robbed for the same amount of money. In these cases, it was only independent or self-organized trekkers who were approached. The instances of crime seemed to be on the increase in the region. There were also reports of police surveillance on trekking routes at certain locations (in the lower hills that are largely accessible by road) for random drug checks. During discussions with travelers, it was felt that the police system in the region is corrupt, and whether the individual possessed any type of illegal drug or not, a pay-off to local police is still required.

In addition to the dramatic impact on local culture in villages in the higher hills, the main changes to the locals has been young males seeking employment within the main town site in Manali. There were many informal interviews with villagers who expressed a concern that young males working as guides receive a personal income greater than that
received through the traditional sharing of household resources. As discussed earlier, the changes in the traditional sharing and reciprocal relationships may prove to be problematic.

5.5 Summary

The local population of the Kullu Valley has proved to be a highly adaptive society and have embraced tourism by diversifying their livelihood activities. While the continued growth of tourism in the region is questionable, the extent of local involvement is such that few of the respondents interviewed during the field study have totally abandoned their traditional livelihood. However, increased demands on land for tourism development is placing unprecedented pressure on valuable resources and has the potential to cause resource conflicts and changes in relations of production. Should tourism increase in the future, it is unlikely that the present infrastructure is adequate for the high numbers of visitors. In addition, the lack of government policies surrounding trekking in the region will have to be addressed in order to avoid the problems that have plagued in other south Asian countries.

The introduction of mass tourism in the Kullu Valley has clearly provided a wealth of economic benefits for the local population. While the economy of the region is booming, there are both environmental and socio-cultural problems with this fast paced growth in the region. It is clear that the Kullu Valley is undergoing a transformation from a self-sufficient society to a more commercial oriented society, the ramifications of this change are difficult to fully determine. Trekking has the potential to disperse economic benefits throughout the region, thus improving the welfare of local people. However, there are some
environmental and social problems associated with trekking activities. The impacts of acculturation and environmental degradation have begun to be realized as adverse effects of trekking and tourism growth in general. A balance among sustainability objectives is urgently needed.

Few areas in the world offer the unique blend of natural beauty and a rich diversity of culture, socio-economic traditions and history as the Indian Himalayas (figure 14). It is indisputable that the scenic beauty and aesthetic features are an important concern for sustainability planning. There is an urgent need for activities that help diversify mountain economies, provide alternative livelihood opportunities for local people, promote environmental care, and simultaneously, address the problems of poverty and environmental degradation. Tourism has the potential to integrate mountain development in remote and relatively poor mountain communities. However, it is possible that without adequate safeguards, unplanned and uncontrolled tourism can potentially create new

Figure 14: View of the Great Himalayan Range from Chandrakhani Pass
CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion

Over the past decade, the Kullu Valley has experienced a transformation from a largely self-sufficient and self-reliant agricultural economy to one that is becoming more dependent on outside market forces. Some of this change has been a result of recent growth in tourism activities. The local population has become more involved in every facet of tourism development including accommodation, transportation, and restaurants and specialty shops catering to the growing tourist market. As one aspect of tourism development, trekking has had an impact on the local population by providing an avenue towards securing additional employment. This influence of tourism growth on the local population of the Kullu Valley is not an exceptional case. Many of the associated impacts of fast-paced tourism growth in south Asia have been well documented. Nevertheless, changes in the livelihood mix of the local people are an important concern in fragile and vulnerable mountain environments, especially through increased human intervention, and subsequent induced changes to the ecosystem.

Despite the deliberate promotion of the tourism sector by national and state governments, the extent of the growth has been largely unplanned, and has primarily resulted from external political influences in Kashmir, Punjab, and China. While much of the literature on sustainable tourism refers to a need for slow-paced and controlled growth with community level involvement as a prerequisite for sustainability, this has not occurred to a large extent. However, despite the lack of long-term planning, local people are
increasingly becoming involved in tourism developments. Trekking, as part of the tourism scene as a whole, is an interesting topic because, by the very nature of the activity, it has far reaching ramifications for rural areas that typically do not receive benefits to the extent of urban resort destinations. With the potential for both dispersing economic benefits, and creating adverse social, cultural and environmental impacts, trekking is an important consideration given the dramatic increase of tourism ventures in the Kullu region.

In keeping with the larger purpose of the "Sustainable Development of Mountain Environments in India and Canada" project, the goal of the research was to investigate sustainability of the natural environment and socio-economic systems given the recent growth of tourism in the Kullu Valley. Therefore, this study was conducted to investigate local involvement in the commercial trekking industry as a strategy towards securing sustainable livelihoods. This is based on the premise that tourism diversifies sources of income for local people and thus reduces vulnerability and exposure to shocks and risks. In addition, the research examined the socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts of increased tourism on sustainability in the Kullu Valley.

The first objective of the research was to identify formal trekking organizations in the Kullu Valley. Overall, it was found that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of travel agencies operating in the Kullu Valley, the bulk of which are located in the town of Manali and surrounding villages. Of the one hundred-eight travel agencies located in the region, thirty-nine offer trekking services to tourists. The vast majority of these companies are owned and operated by local people indigenous to the Kullu Valley (77%), while an additional 10% are local people from Tibet.

Formal trekking organizations range from one person operations, to more sophisticated businesses that have their own equipment and employ up to eight full-time
seasonal guides. It was found that many of the smaller commercial operations were opened more recently by individuals previously employed by other companies, or affiliated with other tourism oriented operations such as a hotel or store. The vast majority of trekking growth has occurred over the past decade.

The second objective of the study was to locate the range of trekking routes staging from the area around the town of Manali. Treks can be categorized as local, regional and extended, depending on the duration of time and degree of difficulty based on terrain. Local treks are by far the most common type of trek (extending up to three days in duration) because they rely on the least amount of specialty equipment required. Regional treks span between three and ten days in length. They usually entail travel to one of the adjacent valleys located east and west of the Kullu region such as the Parvati Valley or the Kangra district. Extended treks are ten days to six weeks in duration and usually involve travel through high mountain passes. The main destinations for extended excursions are north to Lahaul, Spiti, Zanskar or Ladakh. These treks are the least common given the difficulty in terrain and the amount of time and equipment required (and of course, subsequent cost). Nevertheless, they are an important consideration because as a tourist activity, it extends to destinations historically not traveled to or through by outsiders.

Although present day trekking in the Kullu Valley follows well-established trails used traditionally for travel between villages located in the higher hills, the activity is expanding. Interviews with trekking companies revealed that many of the larger commercial trekking operations are planning to expand the range of treks currently offered, particularly at the regional level.

Many of the main trekking destinations within the Kullu Valley and beyond have felt the effects of increased commercialization on local culture. Although it is difficult to
attribute this phenomenon solely to tourism growth, it is clear that tourism is a major contributing factor to the transformation of local societies. Since tourists often seek out destinations which are remote or primitive, their impact on local culture will likely increase in the future. This is a growing concern because much of the travel to northern regions of the state of Himachal Pradesh has historically been closed to tourists. With the "opening" of the Spiti region for example, tourists seeking authentic, primitive and remote communities will find that these 'new' areas offer experience other than those currently available along current major trekking routes.

The third objective of the study was to describe the role of the local population in trekking activities. This study found that the people indigenous to the Kullu Valley are primarily involved in trekking through either direct ownership of commercial trekking companies and / or through employment as guides for trek excursions. Although they are also involved through the provision of other services geared towards the tourist market such as accommodation, transportation and teahouses / restaurants, local people formally employed in trekking represent a small sector of the population. In Singh's 1991 study of tourism in the Kullu Valley, and estimated 1400 individuals were employed in the tourism sector. However, research in the Kullu Valley revealed that only twenty-two individuals are employed full-time in trekking operations. An additional thirty-three individuals are employed as seasonal employees, many of who have other, more stable forms of income.

The bulk of individuals involved in the commercial trekking industry are males, the majority of which are young adults (between the ages of 16 to 25). While many are still affiliated with family agricultural enterprises, others have family owned businesses. More recently, there has been a surge of local youth who have ventured to open their own trekking operations, thus committing increasing amounts of economic resources to the
tourism development. Training of guides through the Mountaineering and Allied Sports Institute has not occurred to a large extent, but the state government of Himachal Pradesh has plans to increase sponsorship of such courses in the coming years.

Individuals employed as cooks and porters are hired on a causal "as needed" basis. While cooking is often (but not always) included as part of the role as a guide, porters are often transient workers from Nepal or displaced from other regions that come to the valley seeking work during the autumn harvest. Employment within the commercial trekking industry is an additional source for income. Because of the casual nature of employment of porters, it was not possible to determine approximations of the number of transient workers in the region.

Although the focus of the study was on the commercial trekking industry, there is a large informal sector. Local youth hanging out on the street proactively seek out tourists to offer guiding services. Despite the fact that the term "guide" in this sense is used quite loosely, it reflects major change in local culture as youth from surrounding villages are increasingly exposed to foreigners. While some changes in characteristics of local culture, such as dress and behavior, may be attributed to tourism growth, other marked changes in values have also impacted local people involved in new developments in the valley. Employment which is disassociated from family owned businesses brings individual income which some feel has made marked changes in values and beliefs, such as increased materialism and changes in the role of the male in the family business. But, despite potential problems associated with increased income generated from the trekking industry, the vast majority of those involved in this sector have retained ties with family run enterprises.
The fourth objective of the present study was to determine the proportion of trekking guides indigenous to the Kullu Valley. Interviews with a range of individuals revealed that the majority of trekking guides are from villages surrounding the town of Manali, thus indigenous to the Kullu Valley. The research found that seventy-four percent of the guides are indigenous to the Kullu Region. Guides from Tibet constitute fourteen percent and six percent are from Kashmir. These findings are consistent with the ownership of trekking agencies. Despite the expectation that a large number of those involved in the commercial trekking industry would be individuals displaced as a result of the political conflict in Kashmir, this is not the case. Nevertheless, should tourism continue to expand throughout the region, it is likely that people not indigenous to the Kullu Valley may play a more dominate role in the future, however, this is only speculation on the part of the researcher.

The final objective of the research was to assess the influence of trekking on livelihood security. A livelihood is defined as the ability to gain a means of living. Livelihood security includes strategies to cope with and adapt to change, reduce vulnerability from shocks and stress, as well as enhance the capabilities of future generations to have opportunities for sustainable livelihoods.

The people of the Kullu Valley have proved to be highly adaptive to the economic changes which have occurred in the region. The level and extent of involvement has, for the most part, added an additional source of income for the local population while maintaining ties to more traditional livelihood practices such as agriculture and family-owned businesses. While this additional source of income reduces vulnerability though income pluralities, there is an impending threat of increased vulnerability should those involved in trekking operations disassociate themselves from family oriented livelihood
activities. At a household level, this larger mix of livelihood resources is an important coping strategy for the changes which have transformed the valley from a local self-reliant economy to a more commercially driven economy. In order to maintain some type of livelihood security, it should be acknowledged that maintaining a mix of activities should be promoted. Increased disassociation from family owned enterprises might reflect a major social change and actually induce vulnerability. Given the volatile nature of tourism (as seen in the crash of the tourism market in Kashmir that resulted from a political strife), committing increasing amounts of resources to an industry which is highly dependent on outside factors may be problematic. It is essential that local people maintain some of their traditional livelihood activities in order to ensure livelihood security for both the present and future generations.

While there is little doubt that tourism has brought about prosperity to the region, it is likely that this prosperity may be at the cost of future long-term sustainability. Environmental degradation, social and cultural problems have become apparent with the large influx of tourists over the past decade. It is difficult to attribute these adverse impacts solely to tourism, however it is apparent that tourism is a major contributing factor toward these negative changes.

6.2 Summary

In order to ensure that adverse effects on local people resulting from mass tourism are minimized, several measure need to be taken for sustainability in the region. First, further research related to gaining a more long-term perspective on tourism development is essential. There is clearly a lack of policy direction to maintain local involvement in
tourism development as well as few limits on the growth of the industry. Following the tourism growth model of destination resorts, it is imperative that the local government encourage appropriately managed growth that reflects local culture and values as well as maintenance of the natural environment upon which tourism is dependent. However it is possible that tourism development in the Kullu Valley has already exceeded the carrying capacity of the region. Further research in the field of tourism, particularly in the context of developing countries in vulnerable environments, is important. With integrated planning strategies to maintain a diverse mix of livelihoods, the local population of the Kullu Valley is more likely to enjoy the benefits that increased tourism may bring in addition to promoting livelihood security in the long-term.
List of References


Labroo, Vikas. 1996. Personal Communication with V. Labroo (Director of Tourism), Kullu District Directorate of Tourism.


Appendix A:

*Treking Agency Interview Questions*

**Company History**

1. When was this agency established?
2. Who owns the agency? Are you (is the owner) originally from the Kullu Valley?
3. How was the company established?
4. What did you (original proprietor) do before establishing this agency?
5. Are you affiliated with any other travel agencies? If yes, which ones and where are they located?
6. Approximately how many treks does this agency organise each year?
7. Does the owner of this company engage in any other activities to earn a means of living?

**Trek Services**

1. What types of outdoor recreational activities do you offer?
2. What types of treks do you offer (local, regional extended)?
3. How long is your operating season?
4. Do you provide equipment? Do you rent it or own it?
5. Do you hire ponies? If yes, how many in a year?
6. Where do you hire your ponies?

**Employment**

1. How many permanent staff do you employ? Where are they from?
2. How many seasonal staff do you employ? How many are from the Kullu Valley?
3. How long are your seasonal staff employed?
4. How do your seasonal staff gain a living after the trekking season?
5. Do you hire casual workers? Where are they from?
6. How many of your staff are employed as guides, porters, cooks...?
7. How is your staff trained?

**Marketing**

1. How do you recruit clients?
2. Have you or any of your staff been involved in training programs (government or MI)?
Appendix B:

Guide Interview Questions

General

1. Where are you from?
2. What village/area?
3. What does your family do to earn a living?
4. What is your level of education?
5. What is your knowledge of English?
6. How many people are in your family?

Employment

1. Are you formally employed as a guide?
2. If yes, by what company?
3. Do you work for more than one company?
4. How long have you worked as a guide?
5. Do you work full-time or part-time?
6. Do you have any training related to trekking?
7. How did you first become involved in trekking?
8. What types of treks have your guided (local, regional, extended)

Income

1. Do you have any other sources of income?
2. If so, what?
3. How do you use the money you earn from guiding?
4. How do you spend the income you earn from trekking?
5. How much do you earn in a season?
6. What do you do after the trekking season?
7. Do you think that tourism in the Kullu Valley will last?
# Appendix C:

## Registered Travel Agencies in the Kullu District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency Name</th>
<th>Year of Registration</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>2. Ambassador Travels</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Kullu</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Devíck Travels</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Kullu</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Wilderness Safari</td>
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<td>Vashist</td>
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<td>5. International Trekkers</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Himalayan Adventure</td>
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<td>7. Ess Pee Travels</td>
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<td>8. Layul Him Explorers</td>
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<td>9. Antrek Tours</td>
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<td>11. Ambassador Travels</td>
<td>1989</td>
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<td>12. Parvat Travels</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Kasol</td>
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<td>13. Himalayan Lancer</td>
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<td>14. Welcome Travel</td>
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<td>15. Himalayan Journeys</td>
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<td>Manali</td>
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<td>16. Himalayan Folkways</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Manali - Delhi</td>
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<td>17. Sea and Sky Travels</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Manali - Delhi</td>
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<td>18. Dragon Tours &amp; Camp</td>
<td>1990</td>
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<td>19. Trek Point Travels</td>
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<td>22. Tibet Trekking&amp;Tour</td>
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