

XVI | Tourism and Development in a Himalayan Border Area of India

TANKA B. SUBBA

The Himalayan border areas of India have always been neglected. These places were earlier visited only by pilgrims and fakirs, and traversed by explorers and traders. They were the spiritual citadel for the religious minded in the plains of India and never populated by the so-called 'civilized' human beings. The people, whom we now call 'tribes', lived in small clusters surrounded by forest, and lived on hunting, fishing, and pastoralism. There was no sign of 'development' as it is understood today but there was perhaps no need either for it until the so-called 'civilized' people began to intrude into their land.

The entire landscape began to be scarred as trade with Tibet was institutionalised in the second half of the nineteenth century for this required the expansion of road communication networks, which resulted in landslides due to thoughtless disruption of the delicate eco-system that the Himalayas here have. This worsened as aspiring people from outside began to settle in large numbers; people who professed different beliefs and harboured different cultural values. Still worse, it created congestion which infringed upon her green wooded cover whether for sheer want of space or for the escalating timber and firewood requirements.

But the mere entry of outsiders into the Himalayas did not bring in the concept of 'development'. The bounty of nature was indeed bountiful and they still did not need the 'engine' of development to be installed. Soon the population multiplied due to the coupled effect of natural population growth and continued migration from surrounding areas. While the resources were constantly on the wane, the consumers kept multiplying. Still 'development' meant philanthropy of the missionaries and the British magnanimity: there was no planning, and no perspective too. Then broke the war between India and China in 1962 which opened the eyes of the Government of India. It then turned its eyes towards the Himalayas : no longer as a physical shield for protection from the Chinese troops but as a terrain inhabited by people deserving as much attention as the people in Delhi or Calcutta. It realized the necessity of propitiating the local people by introducing the developmental works being practised elsewhere.

In the process, the Indian planners also realized that the Himalayan region is different from the Indian plains and their ideas based on the latter could not

be actualised without drastic modifications. But skilled knowledge on this area was not readily available and the conventional method of developing agriculture with high yielding variety seeds or chemical fertilizers and through industrialization and urbanization was found unsuitable due primarily to the geo-physical conditions. Still lacking were their knowledge about the society and culture of the people living there. Whatever knowledge they had acquired about them was based on the writings of the British administrators and travellers, who were not trained in scientific observation.

Incidentally, the situation even now is no better. The Himalayan region as a whole is still neglected, academically as well as administratively. Since the development plannings are based on rather inadequate knowledge and improper perspective the results are never satisfactory though 'satisfaction' is often seen only in the development reports of the various departments of the government even elsewhere in India. Still significant is the fact that there is little commitment among those who actually execute the developmental plans, born and brought up elsewhere as they are. Such works are part of their 'service' duty and not ethical or moral duty as yet.

It must be stressed at this juncture that one cannot expect the expertise knowledge to pile up so quickly or the plans to be successful overnight, especially when there is a built-in resistance in Indian planners to the building of such a process. However, it is quite evident from the scarce knowledge on the developmental aspect of the Himalayas that tourism has a vast potential for such areas. If the natural beauty can be utilised as a resource, what better choice! If proper care is taken there is no other factor than tourism which can contribute more to the development of this region.

Tourism development, especially in terms of employment generation, holds considerable hope for the future of this region. I shall attempt to illustrate in this paper how it is so. But before I begin with this, I should like to assess the achievements and failures of tourism as an agent of development. My comments here are based on my experiences in the Darjeeling and Sikkim Himalayas, which border on Nepal, Tibet (now China) and Bhutan.

The two key words 'tourism' and 'development' may be briefly discussed before assessing the former's achievements, failures and prospects. 'Tourism' is a concept that has gained a wide currency in the last couple of decades and has been used mainly in two senses : as a 'phenomenon' and as a 'catalyst' but seldom as a 'system' whose constituent parts are tourists, government entrepreneurs, and the local citizens. The recent developments in this field have gradually compelled us to view it as a 'system' in which each of its parts is equally important and each of them needs to be given equal weightage. There can be no tourists if the governments do not allow them, and the local citizens do not want them to come or the entrepreneurs do not come forward to make arrangements for them. Therefore, it is perhaps the interdependence of the 'system' that needs a careful observation and analysis by us rather than the causality between tourists and society. Being essentially a 'service industry', tourism is perhaps best understood if it is seen in this perspective.

Now 'development' is a concept which is still debated both in occidental and oriental countries. The third world countries in particular have their own ways of defining it. All this may require a classification of the ways in which 'development' has been understood, interpreted, and applied. For the purpose of this paper, however, it may suffice to mention that 'development' is used in a very narrow sense, that is, generation and distribution of employment opportunities.

In the backdrop of this conceptual framework, the achievements made so far by tourism towards employment generation and distribution in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas may be evaluated. This evaluation is based, let me admit frankly, on a small pilot survey conducted in the region during December 1986 and my life-long acquaintance with the region. Data limitations are often severe and at many occasions I have not been able to free myself from the uncertainties of the secondary informations available.

I

Before we begin to assess the achievements it is worthwhile to discuss briefly the history of tourism in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas. It may be pointed out at the outset that 'tourism' in the sense it has been defined here was established in Darjeeling and Sikkim almost together though the latter was merged with India only a little more than a decade back.

In West Bengal, the Tourism Department was established for the first time in 1958 but its only duty was to supply the tourists with some basic informations. There was no undertaking, financial or otherwise, until 1964 when the Directorate of Tourism was established to look after the interests of tourists and promote tourism in a formal way. But about a decade passed like that without much of development work with regard to tourism (Subba, 1987a).

Tourism in Darjeeling was for the first time organized and systematized after the establishment of West Bengal Tourism Development Corporation in November 1975, exactly one year after the establishment of West Bengal Forest Development Corporation. But there is still no separate department of tourism in West Bengal and the entire administration is looked after by the Department of Forest and Tourism.

Sikkim too welcomed tourism in a big way soon after it became the 22nd State of India in April 1975. But it has a separate department of tourism and all affairs related to it are directly controlled by this department.

Both Darjeeling and Sikkim were closed to foreign tourists for a pretty long time - 1962 to 1985 following the Indo-Chinese War - when only a few foreigners visited the place. Even now restrictions are there to visiting many parts of these places. Kalimpong, for example, is permissible to visit for 2 days only. Tiger Hill, Lebong Race Course, Jorebungalow, Ghoom and Kurseong are open for a fortnight. And in Sikkim, they can stay for 7 days in case of sight-seeing and 10 days for group trekkers not exceeding 20. In order to visit these places, the foreign tourists have to seek prior permissions from Indian Missions abroad, the foreigners' regional registration offices or Home Depart-

ments of the State Governments. For visiting Sikkim in particular, foreigners must obtain an Inner Line Permit from the Home Ministry, New Delhi, which should be applied for four weeks in advance before the proposed date of entry into Sikkim. A copy of the same is advised to be sent to Sikkim Tourism, Hotel Janpath, Room No. 10, New Delhi to expedite the matter. It may be further pointed out that there are places in the East Sikkim beyond Rongli and North Sikkim beyond Phodang, where they cannot go at all. Incidentally, even the Indian citizens have to face a lot of difficulty in getting the permits to visit these places.

The permit system is perhaps the biggest constraint on tourism development in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas. In this regard, the lack of adequate communication facilities and the long distance from the rail-head or the airfield are really not so important as some would perhaps like to think. Restriction on foreign tourists was a major theme of discussion in a conference held in Gangtok in May 1981. The consensus of the house was clearly in favour of a 'restricted entry' for foreigners (Bhaumik 1981). A government report that came out 3 years later also ruled out any relaxation. A senior Home Ministry official is quoted to have said that "It will not be in the interest of our security if foreigners are allowed access to such areas and, thereby, secure information about the actual deployment of our military personnel" (Stat Oct 9, 1984). But one wonders how Kashmir in the western Himalayas is strategically less vulnerable than Darjeeling and Sikkim or why there is no restriction on foreign tourists to visit that place. Anyway, the fact remains that there is no change in this conviction of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Despite all this, the record at West Bengal Tourism Development Corporation Office at Siliguri shows that as many as 22,000 foreigners visited Darjeeling in 1985. This is quite a figure when compared to the figure for 1974 when only 3,299 foreigners had visited Darjeeling. Even as late as 1983, only 10,977 were reported to have visited this area. The sudden increase is perhaps due to the relaxation on their entry after 1985. Most of them came from countries like Germany, Canada, England, America, and Japan. There would be many more tourists from many more countries but for the permit system because any foreigner who cared to come upto Calcutta could not have missed the opportunity to visit Darjeeling, if not Sikkim, because Darjeeling stands prominent in the tourist map of India. A study, for instance, shows that in 1979 only 15 percent of the foreigners visiting Calcutta came upto Darjeeling. In 1980, the foreigners visiting Darjeeling out of the total foreigners arrived in Calcutta were 18 percent and in 1981, 19 percent (Paul 1986: 431).

Such figures are incidentally not available anywhere for the domestic tourists who need no 'permit' to visit either Darjeeling or Sikkim. According to official sources, an average of 1,30,000 domestic tourists visit Darjeeling per annum. Less than 15 percent of them come by air and about 23 percent by bus while about 63 percent by train.

The figures for tourists are important specially for estimating the employment capacity of the private sector though even the employment in public sector depends partly on the number of tourists or the requirement for personnels to

man the tourist business. It is also found that employment roll in the public sector is easily known but the same about the private sector is almost impossible. For instance, there are 165 persons employed (105 as regular and 10 casual employees under West Bengal Tourism Development Corporation and additional 50 in the payroll of the West Bengal Government) for running the various tourist information centres, tourist lodges, and vehicles. (There are 9 buses, 3 cars, 4 jongs, and 2 jeeps; 11 tourist lodges and 2 youth hostels under the Corporation.) 165 persons out of the total working population of 2,82,442 persons in the district is but obviously an insignificant figure.

It is difficult even to estimate the number of persons employed by tourism in the private sector. There are very few occupations like tourist/trek guides, hotel-staff, and photography, which may be considered as exclusively employed by tourism. Most other occupations like driving, shop-keeping, and even portering are only partly dependent on the same. Even if we take all such occupations which are totally or partly generated by tourism, the total number of persons employed at present are estimated by various officials and local citizens to be about 2,000 in Darjeeling and 1,100 in Sikkim. (The rough distribution of such people is like this : tourist guides (5%), photographers (5%), drivers (30%), hotel staff (17%), porters (9%), and the shop-keepers (34%). The above figures are pretty small compared to the number of working persons. But since tourism has been confined almost entirely to the urban areas of this region many urban youths have been gainfully employed though not round the year.

The ill-effects of the urban-centred tourism are being gradually felt and there are earnest attempts to open up new places for diverting the crowd who would otherwise flood into the urban areas, creating severe problems of water and electricity supply. Trekking and mountaineering are quite developed in Darjeeling but not so in Sikkim. Obscure, off-the-beaten-track areas, are also being explored and developed to divert the tourists from the main towns. Mirik, for example, is one such place. Though an excellent scenic spot situated at about 5,800 feet above sea level, it was little known to the tourists until some 6 years before. Now, it is one of the most frequented resorts. Its 1.25 kilometres long lake and the 80 feet long arch type over bridge are simply fascinating. Plans for boating, fishing, and night accommodation are being finalised. Similarly, Rissisum, Lava and Loley Gaon in Kalimpong are being gradually developed as tourist resorts (Subba 1987a).

II

One of the biggest failures of tourism in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas is that it has remained a pasture that remains green only twice in a year - during April-May and October-November (Subba, 1987a). The public sector personnel are to be paid round the year while their active service is utilized only for about 4 months in a year. In the private sector, this has two major consequences. One, soaring up of the prices of every article, hotel tariff, taxi-fare, and what not, making it difficult for the low-income domestic tourists to stay even for a week or so. This also bears heavily on the water and electricity

supplies and limited transport facilities. The congestion in bus or abnormal taxi-fares or hotel tariff ward off many from going to these places and even those who are adventurous think twice before they visit this area again.

The second consequence is that the people become inactive for most of the year and eagerly wait for the next season to come. This idleness often distracts them from specializing in tourism business. As a result, there is always a shortage of professionals in this field, dissatisfying the incoming tourists. The need for specialization or professionalism even in a service industry is as yet not realized. Thus, in every season, strangers flock into this area and return with low satisfaction. Besides, 'seasonal tourism' tells heavily on its 'net employment capacity'.

Another big failure is seen in the field of recreation. Neither the governments nor the entrepreneurs are in the knowledge of the kind of recreational facilities desired by the tourists and acceptable to the local people. One study in Darjeeling shows that 88.5 percent of the tourists come for 'sight-seeing' (Chakravorti 1986 : 420). But there is little that is left for sight seeing. The green wooded hills have been denuded after they were left to the sweet care of the Forest Development Corporations and they now wear an ugly, deserted and dejected look. In the autumn season, the ground grass makes a desperate attempt to show the hills greenish but in April-May the grass is dried up, giving the hills a weary look. In the urban areas, multi-storeyed buildings have sprouted up everywhere, which are not only ecologically unwise but also aesthetically painful. The concretes are raised without keeping the least harmony with nature. The roads are encroached in the urban areas, leaving no scope for them to broaden anywhere.

Trekking and mountaineering are those tourist activities which are related to the rural areas. But these activities are confined to Darjeeling and West Sikkim which too is more easily approached from Darjeeling via Lebong and Jorethang. The rural areas through which such trekkers and mountaineers pass have seen the following changes :

First, tourism is rapidly bringing about capitalist relations by almost institutionalizing wage-labouring which earlier was dormant as the wage was low. In places like Yoksum and Pelling in West Sikkim, the males still get Rs. 4-5 and females Rs. 2-3 per day for agricultural works. On the other hand, the wages as porters are Rs. 25 per day plus *bakshish* or tips either in cash or in kind in the form of shoes, socks, sweaters, jackets, etc. And in seasons, more than 500 porters are required, which drains off almost the entire able-bodied menfolk in these areas.

Second, it has monetised the economy. The tourist beaten areas have lost the traditional systems of labour exchange like *parma* (direct labour exchange between two persons) and *hoori* (cyclical system of exchange between 3 to 20 members or so), in which labour supply was assured without payment and cultivation took place in appropriate time. The traditional concept of *guhar* or mutual assistance in the form of labour or otherwise has also completely eroded.

These consequences have been considered as failures for these have led to severe negligence of agriculture which is almost totally left in the hands of

female and child labourers. Since the tourist seasons, specially in the summer, coincide with the peak agricultural seasons, large areas remain either uncultivated or poorly cultivated (Subba 1983). There is also a haunting uncertainty of labour supply and the cost of cultivation has gone up very high, as the labourers now demand higher wages, but the production has remained static if not fallen.

The real beneficiaries of tourism development so far have been the entrepreneurs who, with the capital in hand, are out to earn some quick money from the tourists. Still worse, their profit has attracted a large number of tea-garden owners who have found investing on hoteliering much more lucrative than investing on rejuvenation of their century-old tea bushes (Subba 1984). This has led to further sickening of tea-gardens which are the major sources of employment in Darjeeling. But now 12 out of the total 84 functioning gardens have closed down and another 30 are 'sick' meaning, running at losses. While labour demands grow every year, infringing upon the profit of the owners who are mostly merchant capitalists excepting few under industrial capitalists like Duncan, Goodricke, and Birla, more and more of them are on the look out for greener pastures.

All this shows that a vicious circle has been established between tea, tourism, and timber, each contributing to the other's decadence. No wonder, tourism which is considered as one of the most important resources of the region has not been able to employ even five percent of its working population round the year. In fact, it is displacing more people than it is employing. For instance, the recent closure of Maharani Tea Estate near Tung in Kurseong subdivision has thrown more than 400 workers out of job but the new hotel constructed by its owner at Mirik has not been able to employ more than 5 persons.

One becomes more disappointed if one looks at the distribution of employment opportunities generated by tourism. It is estimated that about 90% hotels, 70% lodges, 60% restaurants, and 70% buses are owned by plainmen. Since most tourists (42%, see Chakravorti 1986:417) come from Calcutta via Siliguri it is the plainmen who benefit most from their travel and hotel-bills except the local tours which offer some respite for the local entrepreneurs. The majority of the employees in the public sector (67%), which is still small, and almost all top ranking officers in the West Bengal Tourism Development Corporation being plainmen, the sense of participation among the locals in the promotion of tourism is never upto the expectation. Even the menial jobs in the hotels, restaurants and lodges are all occupied by the immigrant labourers from Nepal or Bihar, who are always prepared to work at a much lower wage than the locals. The portorage in towns is also their monopoly.

The only local community which has a big stake in tourism business is the Bhutia who sell woollen garments, curios, handicrafts, etc., which are some of the objects of attraction for the tourists. The Lepchas are almost completely cut off from this enterprise while a negligible percentage of the Nepalis depend on tourism.

As a consequence, any step towards the promotion of tourism in the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas has largely meant the promotion of the material

interests of the plainsmen who have both the capital and the contacts. Even in the cultural front, the local citizens are found at the receiving end. Most significant of all impacts of 'mass tourism' on local culture is the large-scale borrowing of the culture of the plains like celebrating Saraswati Puja, Kali Puja, and Durga Puja with thousands of mud-idols bought from Siliguri, which was unknown in the hills until a couple of decades back.

Had the Nepalis who preponderate the region been well integrated into the tourist industry and had they not been made a mere insulator for absorbing culture shocks, the present movement for separate statehood, calling strikes for more than a week at a stretch would not have received such a massive popular support. But since they are virtually excluded from this industry they can afford to ignore the heavy losses due to other communities and the governments who control it.

Finally, it may be pointed out that 'carrying capacity' of the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas has not at all been estimated until now. While cultural and psychological carrying capacity may be difficult to estimate, estimating geographical carrying capacity is not a very difficult task. If this could be done, it would help us enormously in assessing its capacity to generate employment opportunities. But till now, there is no 'tourism survey' of the area nor a representative sample study of the tourists worth mentioning. Even some basic informations like how many beds are actually available for tourists are sadly lacking. (A rough and ready estimate puts the figure at 3,000 beds in Darjeeling and 900 in Sikkim. See Karkaria, 1984).

III

Now the question that may be raised is what prospects lie ahead of us in view of the above discussion? If serious thought is given, the situation may be a little improved, if not developed significantly. But a lot depends on how much weightage do the governments give to tourism development.

Let me first of all deal with the 'restriction' problem. It is quite obvious that relaxation on foreign tourists is a far cry. Even if Sino-Indian border disputes are amicably settled and friendship prevails, which is more wished than hoped, the Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas may not be opened to the foreign tourists completely and immediately. The hostility and mutual suspicion grown and nurtured over years, nay decades, cannot be erased overnight. Therefore, there is little prospect in this regard. But the domestic tourists can very well be encouraged to come and stay for longer duration than they usually do. Duration of stay is important not only because it has important relationship with employment generation but also so because it gives greater scope for the tourists to interact with the local citizens, understand and appreciate their cultural traditions, and meanwhile abreast them with their own background. It no longer becomes the patron-client relation which it is at present. It helps to build friendship and thereby a national society, if not an international society. This is proved by the experiences of anthropologists, living in an area for a fairly long duration, and being able to appreciate the otherwise weird cultures of the so-called

'primitive' peoples. The same is not usually experienced by a sociologist or economist who finds more sense in covering a wider area but without intensive interaction with the people in a small area.

Incidentally, this aspect of tourism development is almost ignored by most. No doubt, roads, landscape and log-houses or lakes are important for attracting the tourists and creating employment for the people. Decentralization of tourist resorts will also help in balancing the scale of resources and manpower and avoiding some practical difficulties like scarcity of water, electricity, accommodation, and recreational facilities. But a mere catering to such things will belie the philosophy of tourism and create discord instead of music in the harmony of nature and conflict in society. The tourists must be encouraged to interact with the local people, which demands a longer stay, to accomplish the material as well as philosophical goals.

There is much cry for decentralization of tourist movement today. There is no way but to appreciate its need but exactly how can this be made possible, and to what extent, do not seem very clear to most, including myself. The real problem is what if the tourists want to go where they want and not where we want them to go? It will indeed take a long time to make arrangements for their deconcentration and even longer when actual deconcentration takes place. I have met many tourists who wanted to visit Darjeeling by all means while they would perhaps return more satisfied if they had visited Kalimpong or Mirik!

This happens because such smaller places are in the first place not known to most tourists. Even if they come to know about such places they wonder if there are any human beings around, let alone a hotel to stay and eat. They are worried whether vehicles would be available when they want, medical facilities are nearby, and whether there is anything to do at all! The governments can play a major role in informing the incoming tourists about such places and doing away with many of their practical anxieties.

An important handicap on deconcentration of tourism is the limited scope for building new roads in these Himalayas. The hilly terrain being what it is, full of precipitating walls and deep gorges, not many new roads can be added. Such a venture may moreover prove uneconomic even in the long run because the cost of building roads is unusually high in the mountainous areas. So many areas will remain open only for 'adventure tourists' who are usually few. Sikkim is even more handicapped with regard to roads than Darjeeling: it has to depend entirely on the National Highway No. 31A which passes through the Darjeeling district. This also means that Sikkim cannot have an independent tourism policy or programme for it may be disrupted anytime by Darjeeling. The present agitation for separate statehood in Darjeeling has frequently cut off Sikkim from the rest of India, resulting in serious problems of short-supply from outside. Even a minor skirmish between the Sikkimese and the people of Kalitar, Rambhi or Teesta Bazaar can bring about (and has brought about in the past) the same uncertainty which the district level political movement has. Though no alternative road seems possible at the moment, there is an alternative way, that is, to seek a constitutional amendment for the merger of Darjeeling with it. Though I am not very optimistic about such a change to come, for the hurdles are many

and almost unsurmountable, this would make tourism a viable source of employment to say the least.

I personally feel that employment opportunities can be multiplied by making tourism a round-the year affair. The heavy rainfall takes place only in July and August which could be made a recuperation period. Otherwise, there is no reason why the tourists should visit this area only in the two seasons mentioned above. Given the altitude variation of over 10,000 feet above sea level, the tourist could be easily encouraged to visit the lower altitudes during the winter and higher altitude areas during summer. But recreation facilities need to be created, keeping in view the different seasons. River-rafting is an unexplored activity that could be a hit in the winter season. While skiing has little scope in these Himalayas due to latitude, there are many other activities which could be easily arranged such as trekking, mountaineering, horse-race, car rally, casinos, etc. The tourists could also be encouraged to witness the various cultural/ritual activities of the local people, which take place almost round the year. 'Participative tourism' may go a long way in achieving many desirable goals of tourism.

But we should be careful not to allow only a section of people, whether local or from outside, to monopolise such activities. The sense of participation, which is important, cannot grow without some material benefit accruing to each section of people. Nor should perhaps the entrepreneurs be allowed to reign freely depriving the common masses of any benefit.

Therefore, an experiment could be made to introduce 'cooperative tourism' with a few hired professionals. Though nowhere tried until now, this is expected not only to bring about a wider sense of participation more easily but also enable the common masses to get a share out of the income from tourists. Instead of the governments competing with the entrepreneurs in the tourism business as it is seen at present, they could encourage the people to form 'cooperatives' oriented towards tourism. This would also perhaps enhance the employment generation capacity of tourism.

Finally, the future of tourism lies in being able to treat it as a part of the wider system and in the cognition of the fact that developing it means some changes in other systems of the society such as economic, political and social. Though it is a system in itself, it is also a part of the wider social system.

Conclusion

The role of tourism in the development of Darjeeling-Sikkim Himalayas may be considerably enhanced by giving adequate attention to the points raised above. There is not only an urgent need for renovating the landscape but also our own thoughts and activities. First of all, we need to give more serious thought to the fact that unless tourism is better organized and run, it may prove to be a matter of disgust for the people, forcing them to stop it altogether as it is happening today in Goa, western India. This demands more probing researches than it is conventionally done as a routine work. And above all we must have the relevant data on our fingertips for a planned development. The

interests of the masses should not be allowed to be encroached by the interests of a handful of entrepreneurs. And more importantly, our material interests should not overweigh our cultural and aesthetic ideals. Though tension and conflict are the order of the day, a sustained effort to bring about peace and understanding between the tourists and the local people should not be given up.

REFERENCES

- Bhaumik, Kirit, 1981. "Sikkim meet against less curbs on tourists", *Times of India*, May 5.
- , 1981. "Sikkim losing its pristine purity", *Times of India*, May 11.
- Chakravorti, K.C. 1986. "The Tourist Business of Darjeeling : A Survey ", in R.L. Sarkar and Mahendra P. Lama (eds.), *The Eastern Himalayas : Environment & Economy*. New Delhi : Atma Ram, pp. 412-26.
- Karkaria, Bachi J. 1984. "Tourism in Darjeeling", *The Statesman*, March 24 & 25.
- Kaur, Jagdish. 1980. "Tourism Recreation Resource Analysis: Fixing a Criterion", *Johsard*, 4, pp. 100-07.
- Paul, Chaya Rani. 1986. "Development of Tourism in Darjeeling Hill Areas (1974-84)", in R.L. Sarkar and Mahendra P. Lama (eds.) *The Eastern Himalayas*, pp. 427-36.
- Singh, Tej Vir. 1980. "Tourism in the Himalaya : Some Experiences in Tourist Ecology", in T.V. Singh and Jagdish Kaur (eds.), *Studies in Himalayan Ecology & Development-Strategies*. New Delhi : The English Book Store, pp. 199-205.
- . 1983. "Tourism in the Himalaya : How much is not too much", in T.V. Singh and Jagdish Kaur (eds.), *Studies in Eco-development : Himalayas Mountains and Men*. Lucknow: Print House India, pp. 427-45.
- Subba, Tanka B. 1983a. "Trekking in Sikkim Himalayas : Socio-Economic Outcome", *Himalayan Observer*, March 26.
- . 1983b. "From Sub-Himalayas to the Snow-Clad", *Sikkim Express*, 8 (10).
- . 1984. "Tea Gardens and Neighbourhood : A Study in Darjeeling". Paper presented in the seminar on *Sociological Perspectives on Plantation Labour in North-East India* at North Bengal University, Siliguri.
- . 1987a. "Sociological Consequences of Tourism in Darjeeling". Paper presented in the international seminar on *Impact of Tourism on Mountain Environment* at Garhwal University, Garhwal (Srinagar).
- . 1987b. "Future of the Tourist Industry in Sikkim". Paper presented in the national seminar on *Visions of India's Future* at Sikkim Government College, Gangtok.
- The Statesman*. 1984. "No Relaxation on Foreigners in Sikkim", October 9.
- Times of India*. 1983. "A hill station turns eyesore", July 13.