



Tourism in Manali: a Quest for Sustainability
Evaluating 2005 Tourism Policy of Himachal Pradesh

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

ATV	All Terrain Vehicle
CNG	Compressed Natural Gas
Deptt.	Department
FCA	Forest Conservation Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoI	Government of India
HP	Irrigation and Public Health Himachal Pradesh
IPH	
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
Mts	Metres
Kms	Kilometres
MLA	Member of Legislative assembly
MT	Metric Ton
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PPP	Public Private Partnership

Abstract

Tourism a coveted industry world over has found a niche in developing countries where economies are growing and there is dire need to have foreign receipts to keep them growing. But this industry becomes necessity in Mountainous areas where scarcity of resources make them vulnerable to economic hardships. Since nature is bountiful tourism becomes way of life for the locals and governments weave policies to benefit economic sustainability often at the cost of environment. Though policies are formulated to safeguard environmental interests but in reality it is the economy that is paramount in policy documents. And tall claims of conservation and preservation of environment are left in dark and quest for sustainability continues.

Keywords

Manali, Environment, Economy, Community, Sustainability, Stakeholders, Policy, Implementation, Evaluation

Chapter 1

Introduction

Globalization has blurred the boundaries and world has emerged as a global village where an individual is a global citizen who is transcending distance to explore exotic in far off lands. Since the take off of tourism euphoria in late 70s the industry has grown manifolds and nations are reaping tourism dividend by opening their borders to cater avid traveler looking for something unique. This mass exodus has made tourism a global phenomenon over the years and now considered the 3rd largest growing industry in world contributing 7 trillion US \$(9.5%) of total global GDP in 2013 ,supporting nearly 266 billion jobs, one in eleven of all jobs in the world and exceeded its one billion mark first time ever in 2012 in international tourism arrival which is expected to increase by 3% a year to reach 1.8 billion by 2030(WTTC,2014).The influx has made road into growing economies of global south where being a dynamic industry, tourism is considered a ‘growth engine’ to foster their economies and free them from vicious circle of poverty and unemployment and bring sustainability.

To facilitate tourism industry specific policies are formulated to reap benefits and improve economy crucial in fund deficient nations. Tourism is an economic activity having tremendous impact on job creation, reduces unemployment, fosters entrepreneurship, stimulates production of food and local handicrafts, demands effective communication and contributes to a better understanding of an area (Edgall and Swanson, 2013, 7) and given special status by nations in their development plans. Tourism policies often encompass objectives such as socio-economic development, employment creation and development of peripheral areas, and are increasingly directed towards achieving sustainable tourism development in the long run(Scott,2011,4).During this policy process, national governments can shape trajectory of tourism development, one directed primarily by foreign interests and capital or whether it might seek to promote the economic benefits of local people as well as preservation of social, cultural and environmental assets(Nyakunu and Rogerson,2014,2)reflecting country’s development course. With the policy process extending beyond government to include other stakeholders such as private sector, tourist associations, local community and pressure groups, it’s no more a linear but involves a process that is inherently iterative,reflective,multi – dimensional and multi-faceted which occurs in a dynamic environment(Nyakunu and Rogerson,2014,4)becoming more holistic and inclusive addressing discontent voices.

Realizing tremendous potential of tourism in 1970s government of India formulated its first tourism policy in 1982 to bring economic sustainability for its teeming billions. Policy makers considered it a panacea for development woes and declared tourism a industry in 1986 that gained momentum and grew substantially in subsequent years through promotions and campaigns; concessions and subsidies and policy and plans and now crucial contributor in national economy contributing “6% in country’s GDP and providing employment to 8% ”in 2014(tourism.gov.in/).India was always on the tourist map for its unique diversity, varied

geography and distinct culture attracting travelers/foreigners since time immemorial. This striking diversity and year round destinations bring in millions of international tourists every year as in 2014 around 8 million foreign tourists brought in 198 million US \$ receipts with them (Nagaraju and Chandrashekhar, 2014) huge contribution in the economy. Country has gained substantially from FTA and many steps being undertaken to strengthen their inflow.

Table No. 1.1 Arrival of Foreign Tourists in India (in millions)

Year	Arrival	% Change
2005	3.92	13.3%
2006	4.45	13.5%
2007	5.08	14.3%
2008	5.28	4.0%
2009	5.11	-2.2%
2010	5.78	11.8%
2011	6.29	9.2%
2012	6.62	4.3%
2013	6.81	5.9%
2014	7.70	10.6%

Source:www.ibef.org/

Table 1.2 Foreign Exchange Earnings in India from Tourism

Year	Earning of Foreign Exchange(US Million Dollar)	%Change
2005	7493	21.4%
2006	8634	15.2%
2007	10729	24.3%
2008	11832	10.3%
2009	11136	-5.9%
2010	14193	27.5%
2011	16564	16.7%
2012	17737	7.1%
2013	18445	4.0%
2014	19756	6.6%

Source: Source:www.ibef.org/

1.1 Tourism in Himachal Pradesh

Tourism is a state subject in India where states are empowered to pursue and prefer their own tourism policies receiving only budget/funds from GOI under special schemes/campaigns. Himachal Pradesh, a small hill state in the North of India is synonymous with its pristine nature and rich culture is frequented by tourists from all over the world to enjoy its uniqueness. Endowed with many shakti peeths (pilgrimage centres), sacred lakes and hot water springs and with each village having its own local deity, state always had religious tourism in abundance and still known as 'Dev Bhumi' or 'Land of Gods', "fillip to tourism was administered when British declared Shimla as summer capital of India in 1864 and set up many cantonments and hill stations in the state" (Kumar, 2013). With Shimla becoming summer capital of British Raj in 1864, the nomenclature changed and leisure tourism gained prominence patronaged by both Britishers and Indian elite who frequented hills to enjoy 'English weather' promoting tourism in a big way. Since then state has remained a famous tourist destination on tourist map. Tourism is revered as third main contributor in state's economy after hydropower and horticulture, attracting 15 million tourists in 2013 who contributed around 20% in state GDP providing 14% of total jobs in this sector (www.teriin.org).

Areas with few natural resources other than scenery and climate have not developed any other alternative development opportunities and preferred tourism for the welfare of their people and sustenance of their economy (France, Lesley, 1997, 8). State abound with nature promoted tourism in the name of serenity, snow, tranquility, natural beauty, fresh air and an 'Unforgettable Experience' attracting tourism from all part of world.

Being a major tourism state, Himachal introduced a regulatory mechanism under the HP Hotel Registration Act, 2002 to register hotels in the state to facilitate and streamline the industry that was growing after neo liberal policies. And tourism industry gained further when government of Himachal Pradesh launched its first Tourism Policy in 2005 perceiving tourism as a "growth engine "that can free this hill state from all the "hill ills" of unemployment, poverty, slow economic growth and would lead resource scarce state to path of prosperity. The policy emphasized on infrastructure development of tourism and private hotel industry was invited by extending tax holidays, subsidies and concessions to make state self sufficient in tourism assets. The policy has paved way for tourism inflow as the number of visitors have increased over the years. Due to huge tourist influx state ranks among top 15 states of India in tourist numbers.

Table 1.3: Number of Tourists visited Himachal Pradesh (in lakhs)

Year	Tourists		Total
	Indian	Foreigner	
2005	69.28	2.08	71.36
2006	76.72	2.82	79.54
2007	84.82	3.39	88.21
2008	93.73	3.77	97.50

2009	110.37	4.01	114.38
2010	128.12	4.54	132.66
2011	146.05	4.84	150.89
2012	156.46	5.00	161.46
2013	145.86	4.14	150.00
2014			

(Source: Tourism Department, Himachal Pradesh)

1.3 Research Problem

A small town in Kullu district has grown in prominence due to its breathtaking beauty and serenity on tourism map of world attracting lakhs of tourists every year. Valley had always been on the map of trekkers and mountaineers who travelled from far and wide and was an important halting place for traditional Silk Route in 17th and 18th century, according to Shabab, “Manali was often called Dana Bazaar as travelers going to Tibet, Ladakh and Central Asia used to procure supplies and fodder for mules on their way”(Shabab,1996). Though tourism had a history in this valley but gained recognition in 1958 after the visit of first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was an avid mountain lover and traveler. Tourism gained further momentum when Western Himalayan Mountaineering Institute (WHMI) was established at Manali in 1961, to train local youth in adventure sports to earn a livelihood and to produce world class mountaineers and trekkers.

With the town gaining prominence in tourist arrival, GOI sanctioned a budget for the Integrated Development of Kullu-Manali in Vth Five Year Plan in (1974-1979) to build infrastructure (repair/construction of rest/circuit houses) to accommodate growing number. But scenario changed during 1990s when tourism surged in the valley due to shift of tourists from Jammu and Kashmir after state was inflicted with cross border terrorism and Manali was the best option for these tourists who identified it with Kashmir with its snow clad mountains. Tourism surge brought in prosperity to locals who built hotels/guesthouses/restaurants to accommodate tourism boom besides starting with the adventure sports to reap additional benefits. As tourism prospered, the valley was concretized and in absence of regulatory mechanism degradation and pollution set in turning it into another tourist destination riddled with aftermaths of mass tourism.

A small town has outgrown its boundaries with multiplication of visitors over the years taxing its assets. To accommodate this inflow services and infrastructure were expanded in valley often at the cost of fragile environment to gain short term goals. Tourism in Manali is identified with Rohtang Pass and Solang Valley where snow is the main attraction. These spots attract lakhs of tourist every year turning them into messy destinations where economic interests subside environmental concerns. The valley has grown in importance in last two decades not solely because of nature but this growth is result of three processes, increased transport network, construction of tourist bungalows/hotels and organized publicity and Information system (Singh, 1989, 105) besides progressive pro tourism policies.

Tourism explosion has transformed economy of this valley bringing in easy money and providing more options to locals to diversify their economy. Being entrepreneurial Manali people forayed into activities unheard in state and turning Manali into hub of adventure tourism. number. As tourists surged the number of hotels multiplied in every possible place turning this natural paradise into a concrete jungle. Appalled by changing skyline of Manali while addressing a PIL, honorable High Court of HP made an observation, “Manali valley is crown jewel of Himachal Pradesh and due to human avarice, unabated haphazard construction took place, especially in the heart of manali town, which is nothing more than an air conditioned bazaar of any crowded North Indian city. The main Mall of Manali does not appear to be the main thoroughfare of a hill station but looks like and is as crowded as any street of Karol Bagh, albeit the weather is cool and pleasant”(CWPIL No.15 of 2010-B). A small town with a population of 8000 transforms into a melting pot of different nationalities in peak season when town receives more than 70,000 visitors a day to find solace in lap of nature turning town into an eyesore when roads/streets are congested with people and vehicles, drains are overflowed, waste is littered, all questioning claims of sustainable tourism practices.

The incessant tourism growth had appalled honorable High Court of HP in 2010 and had directed state government to rectify deterioration of environment in valley due to tourist onslaught and later matter was taken up by National Green Tribunal (NGT), the apex judicial body in India to decide Environmental issues and it acted suo moto on a report published by NEERI (National Environmental Engineering Research Institute, Nagpur, India), highlighting environmental degradation in Manali, especially at Rohtang and government apathy to regulate this footfall. In its judgment dated February 6, 2014, the NGT hold state government responsible for this situation, “state government neither formulated nor issued any specific guidelines statutory or otherwise on prevention and control of environmental degradation and damage in relation to Rohtang”(NGT, 2014). The court has further directed state government to act speedily in restricting vehicular traffic, imposition of Green Cess, improving civic amenities and collection and disposal of garbage and adoption of green practices, CNG/Electrically operated vehicles and reforestation and afforestation in this valley. According to NGT, “development may be permitted but with enforcement of appropriate environmental conditions and safeguards” (NGT, 2014).

Objective: Against the backdrop of 2005 policy document where tourism is perceived as a major engine of economic growth, objectives of present study is to

1. To evaluate implementation of tourism policy in development of tourism in the valley through different campaign and programs.
2. Role of stakeholders in tourism in the valley
3. To analyze implementation problems and constraints
4. To suggest recommendations, if necessary.

Thus, the main objective of the study is to assess the growth of tourism in Manali after introduction of 2005 Tourism policy, its limitations during implementation, gaps that led to judicial intervention and suggestions for improvement in new policy.

Research Question: To what extent Tourism Policy of 2005 affected tourism industry and its stakeholders in Manali?

Sub-questions

1. What were the stated objectives of Tourism Policy of 2005 and have they met?
2. How tourism been promoted in Manali in the last decade (since 2005)?
3. Have policies affected employment generation and encouraged participation?
4. How environment been factored in these ten years and how it has been affected by tourism?

Methodology

The paper involved both Quantitative and Qualitative methodology to get broader perspective on the issues. For quantitative, both primary and secondary data from Census, Government statistics, reports and surveys of concerned departments for analyzing and interpreting the data concerning selected variables in this study was used. Texts were the secondary data and I used reports by independent agencies and NGOs, ISS search engine and Newspaper clips and websites and blogs to substantiate claims made by Government in pursuance of tourism policies.

The study largely relied on qualitative primary data collected through semi structured interviews with tourism stakeholders in Manali and Shimla. Qualitative approach, “begins with an intention to explore a particular area, collects data (Observation and Interview) and generates ideas and hypotheses from these data largely known as Inductive Reasoning” (Creswell, J.2013:13). To testimony the literature and content of policy documents, Interviews (both open ended and semi structured) were held with different stakeholders at Shimla, Kullu and Manali, responsible for both formulation and implementation of the policy. The interviews were cross sectional but guided one and were one to one with the respondents in their respective offices/workplaces/field and were recorded by taking notes.

Interview with Director Tourism and District Magistrate Kullu were directed tourism policies, planning, vision and future of tourism in Manali, especially after orders of honorable NGT that has put ban on all commercial activities in Rohtang, Relief and Rehabilitation plan for the affected population and rethinking on present tourism policy. Whereas interview with line departments focused on implementation, execution and monitoring part of the policy, political intervention, pressure groups and gaps and those with office bearers of different Association

(Hotel, Taxi Union, Home Stay and adventure sports)and local ladies engaged in tourism related activities focused on their perception about tourism policy and its effect on their life and subsistence after orders of honorable NGT.For environmental concerns interview was held with scientists of GB Pant Institute of Himalayan Studies and officials of PCB who monitor environment in this area on regular basis.In total 26 interviews were held between 1st September to 10th October at different places with different stakeholders.

For research Manali was selected as this town is a relatively new entrant in tourism compared to established hill stations of Shimla,Dalhousie and Dharamsala,all three established by Britishers promoting Raj legacy whereas Manali has grown as a leisure destination solely dependent on nature.Since its emergence on the tourism map this small town has become “ the tourist destination” in the country receiving second highest number of tourists in Himachal after Shimla(the capital city) offering tourism activities at one destination which no other place in Himachal can boast of(trekking, white water rafting, Para gliding, skiing, heli skiing, mountaineering, helitours, angling,etc).The surge in tourism has riddled this destination with issues that are in direct conflict with policy objectives attracting intervention from National Green Tribunal in last few years to save it from tourist exodus. Besides this, having worked closely to improve tourism in this valley there is familiarity with the functioning of this department giving me an edge to probe deep into the issue.Moreover,close association with the local stake holders and officials helped me to understand better about the research problem and facilitated to access data with ease from different sources both government and private.

Chapter structure

The study assess the effect of tourism policy on economic, ecological and socio-cultural milieu of Manali over a period of ten years and how policies have shaped development in this tourist destination. Chapter one is the introductory part, background and relevance of research and methodology. Chapter two focus on Conceptual and Theoretical framework and literature review. Chapter three is the Contextual chapter with focus on tourism policy of 2005, its objectives,strategy and thrust areas and Judicial Intervention. Chapter four Analyze impact of 2005 tourism policy on Manali with respect to employment,participation and environment and outcome of this policy.Chapter five is analysis of process of Tourism Governance,Implementation of policy with the involvement of different stakeholders and its evaluation.Chapter seven is the conclusion part.

Limitations

- 1.High reliability on Government data having biases and almost non existence of NGOs work was my main concern, besides collecting reports/data from different departments personally as record /reports were not online.
- 2.Non availability of up to date data on departmental websites.

3. First tourism policy was operational for almost 8 years but there was no midterm review or performance appraisal and data/figures was the only resource to assess the policy implications.

4. Moreover, with the hacking of HP tourism department website the information/data remained inaccessible to me during this period and information was collected through telephonic conversations and emails.

5. After return to India I joined new office on 1st September and had pressure to balance work and research and at times it was stressful.

Chapter 2

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

In order to review the Tourism Policy that was implemented in Himachal Pradesh between 2005 and 2013 from the perspective of sustainability, it is useful to consider some relevant concepts and theoretical discussions that could guide the analysis. The concept of sustainable development and sustainable tourism framework within the tourism industry is therefore a fundamental issue of concern. Furthermore, and as noted previously the policy was developed after lengthy consultations and discussions with government officials, subject experts and stakeholders with specific objectives and included discussions on implementation strategies and action plans, with thrust on sustainable and quality tourism through participation (www.himachaltourism.gov.in). This chapter focuses on a critical examination of Tourism Governance, Policy Implementation and Evaluation, Participatory Approaches and Interactive Policy Processes to assess policy performance in these ten years that shaped tourism in the valley.

2.1 Dimensions and Debates on Sustainable Tourism

A term coined by World Tourism Organization in 2004, Tourism that “takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities is called sustainable tourism” (sdt.unwto.org/). The need for this type of tourism arose in 1990s when once considered clean industry tourism was accused of environment degradation, cultural vandalism, pollution, damaging local interests, infringing rights of indigenous communities, and neo-colonialism depriving local communities of their natural rights. Sustainable tourism was coined by World Tourism Organization to harmonize interrelationship between three components of sustainable tourism, economy, environment and society and to save destinations from wrath of ‘mass’ tourism and opt for ‘small’ tourism, synonymous with sustainable (Clarke, 2010, 226). And it was perceived that this ‘small’ would sustain environment in long run, less tourists less damage. Tourism strategies to have stress on small scale, locally owned development, community participation, cultural and environmental sustainability (Brohman, 1996, 65) for sustainable tourism.

Ambiguity of term raised many questions about its measurement, monitoring and implementation in the absence of its clear and concise definition (Butler, 1999, 19). Sustainable tourism a vague concept and a promotional gimmick adopted by entrepreneurs to advertise their tourism product without any real steps being taken to apply it (Cohen, 2002). Interpretations are webbed around sustainable tourism in documents and policies highlighting its inevitable link with environment, but in reality tourism still considered an economic booster, that can transform economies of global south by alleviating its natives from miseries inflicted by abject poverty and

unemployment. Marfurt question the claim of tourism providing employment to every soul in a nation when he cites example from Sri Lanka, Caribbean and East Africa where despite swarms of tourists, swarms of employment still a distant dream (Marfurt, 1997, 173). Himachal Pradesh, in its second tourism of 2013 incorporated sustainable tourism as thrust area with a vision to, “make it one of the prime engines of socio-economic growth in the state by establishing state as a leading global sustainable tourism destination by 2029” ([hptourism.gov.nic.in](http://tourism.gov.nic.in)) echoing the economic sustainability and not environmental one. Through sustainable tourism states aims to achieve its socio-economic goals but without explaining sustainability of environment, claims to fulfill its new policy vision, mission and goals is debatable. Countries through their policy documents and plans illustrate sustainable goals overlooking its broader issues, reducing the likelihood of tourism in contributing effectively in national development (Pearce, 1997, 215).

2.2 Tourism Governance

A recent interpretation in tourism in last one decade, “a process of managing tourist destinations through synergistic and coordinated efforts by governments, at different levels and in different capacities; civil society living in the inbound tourism communities; and the business sector connected with the operation of the tourism system” (UNWTO, 2008, 31-32), encompassing three pillars of Governance - Government, business and NGOs and their interdependence and inter relationship. And this governance is used in five ways of associationism, marketing and promotion, tourism policy, decentralization and interorganizational networks for tourism development (UNWTO, 2008, 32-38). Being a multi dimensional and multi actor industry, governance in tourism become more relevant to integrate different stakes and interests. “Governance is a practice of government that is measurable, that is aimed to effectively direct the tourism sectors at the different levels of government through forms of coordination, collaboration and /or cooperation that are efficient, transparent and subject to accountability, that help to achieve goals of collective interest shared by networks of actors involved in the sector, with the aim of developing solutions and opportunities through agreements based on the recognition of interdependencies and shared responsibilities” (Fuentes, 2013, 14). The concept has gained importance over the years due to increasing dominance of neoliberal policy discourse and changing role of state in mediating tourism related social, economic, political and environmental policy problems (Bramwell, 2011, Hall, 2011). Tourism policies often accused of being biased and discriminatory protecting interests of tourism industry engaged in its development in fund starved nations. Since tourism is considered a catalyst in these countries transforming socio-economic life of host communities by bringing in easy foreign receipts, policies largely promote economic growth that benefit a few, rather than sustainable development which pays attention to the environment and are inclusive. Unfortunately, while paying lip service and even using the language of sustainability, many governments often promote tourism that may not be compatible with the principles of long term sustainable development since governments are short of revenue and stagnant economies (Tosun, 2001). It is ironical in developing countries, where policies are formulated for sustainability but goals become elusive and implementation far from satisfactory

due to vested political interests and short term vision. Sustainable tourism is political in nature meaning about who has the power, host communities, governments, the industry and tourists and how they use the power. (Swarbrooke, 1999, 42)

2.3 Policy

From an ideal perspective Policy can be viewed as an “organizing construct” involving both participants and observers to make sense of governing process and to contribute to it. (Colebatch, 2006, 3). Policy is more than what governments do and being a political activity is influenced by economic and social characteristics of society, formal structures of government and other features of political system (Hall & Jenkins, 2004, p. 527). Policy is a complex, dynamic ambiguous phenomenon, with inputs at a number of different levels: at a macro level, it contains issues of the relationship between economic power and political power; at the middle-range level, organizational inputs in policy formulation are important, with a focus on negotiation and bargaining over policy issues; and at a micro level, individual policy detail such as objectives receive attention and implementation of policy involves interaction between all three levels (Greenwood, et al., 1990, p. 54). The formulation of policy involves many stages to bring into practice and it was Laswell who put policy process in stages for first time in 1951 while supporting prescriptive and multi disciplinary policy and elucidated seven stages- intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination and appraisal (Fischer and Miller, 2006, 43). According to Jann and Wegrich there are four stages in conventional policy process, Agenda Setting and Formulation, Decision making, Implementation and Evaluation (2006, 43). Of these four stages, the most relevant to my study is policy Implementation, a crucial stage in any policy structure that will reflect how 2005 policy was implemented in Manali to achieve documented goals and objectives.

2.3.1 Policy Implementation

Implementation is carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually made in a statute, stipulates the objectives to be pursued and structures how to implement this (Sabatier, et al, 1980, 540). Policy implementation is intention on the part of government to do something or to stop doing something having ultimate effect on world (O’Toole, 2000, 266) The stage of execution or enforcement of a policy by the responsible institutions and organizations that are often, but not always, part of the public sector, is referred to as implementation and would include core elements of specification of program details, allocation of resources and decisions (Jann and Wegrich, 2006, 51 -52). Policies are implemented in dynamic environment with complex pattern of decisions, interaction, reaction and feedback (Hall and Jenkins, 1995, 10). Despite riddled with power games, conflict of interests among different stakeholders, the policy should promote collaboration, consensus, engagements and dialogue to among actors to make policy a successful venture benefitting people at large than serving to a handful. (Bingham, et al, 2005, 554).

Thus policy process is no more a government owned linear rational process but an Interactive political process where many actors with different interests decode and shape the policy outcome. These actors/stakeholders are generally government, bureaucrats, politicians,

private sector, voluntary agencies, associations, host communities, pressure groups, local elites, etc.who exercise power to influence outcome of policy implementation. And implementation becoming product of interaction between policies, people and places questioning not only what is implementable but what works for whom, where ,when and why(Honing,2006,2).With the inclusion of many stakeholders in implementation process,Grindle and Thomas in their Interactive model of policy implementation has facilitated policy makers to anticipate outcome of policy while in process and alter its design to ensure successful implementation of the policy(1991,126-127).This model would assess interaction between different stakeholders and their power play in shaping tourism in the valley.Two tools are applied to assess 2005 policy implementation in the valley, one is Evaluation and other is Interactive model of Implementation.

2.3.1Evaluation

According to Weiss an enlightenment that aims to assist people and organizations to improve their plans, policies and practices on behalf of citizens (1999, 469).Evaluation reflects effectiveness of a policy or a program and becomes bench mark for the next policy.It is a profession that uses formal methodologies to find useful empirical evidence about public entities(such as program,products and performance)in decision making contexts which are inherently political and involve multiple, often conflicting stakeholders,where resources are seldom sufficient and where time pressure are limited(Trochim,1998,248).According to UNWTO document Evaluation is part of sound policy process and helps to inform decisions on tourism policy by providing feedback on the efficiency and effectiveness of existing policies and programs(Bartle,2015,4).The tool is applied to evaluate role of policy in economic well being of local community,increasing participation and safeguarding environmental heritage in this study.

2.3.1.1Interactive model

It has gained importance due to change in development paradigm with inclusion of stakeholders besides government being no more a sole authority to reach any decision.With the decentralization and reorganization of government many new actors and stakeholders with conflicting interests are part of policy process bringing in power play and vested interests. An approach rooted in the criticism of development policy as being ‘top-down’, not generated from the communities in which policies are implemented and argues for an ‘actor-perspective’,emphasising the need to take into account the opinions of individuals, agencies and social groups that have a stake in how a system evolves, promoting an interaction and sharing of ideas between those who make policy and those who are influenced most directly by the outcome(Sutton,1999,11). Scharpf argues that policy takes shape in complex network of public and private actors, connected by diverse relationships and dependencies and under the influence of divergent and opposing interests. (Scharpf,1978, 347 in Driessen, et al, 2001, 323). Interactive projects are narrowly focused on finding solutions for policy problems constructed as horizontal networks of interactions and interdependencies among participatory actors often excluding vertical relations of inequality and the institutional context (Tatenhove, et al, 2010, 610).The tool implied to assess relationship, coordination and conflict between different actors in tourism field.

2.4 Participatory Approach and Tourism Development

A participatory approach in the development and implementation of policies and plan is often viewed as important to build social cohesion and achieve consensus in times of differences and conflicts(Slocum,2003,10).The notion of participation has become a new mantra in development discourse with suggestions that it increases efficiency and effectiveness,brings in accountability and leads to self governance, improves quality of policy making, mobilize urgently needed resources, increase public acceptance of policy decisions and social capital (Oels, 2003, 19). But the issue of participation is not easily implemented as the policy process is often influenced by range of interest groups exerting power and authority over policy making, influencing and affecting each stage of policy process ,weighing up the options, choosing the most favorable and implementing it (Sutton,1999,26).Nevertheless participation has the potential to bring about an inclusive process particularly if the different participants have stakes, claims and own the policy.

Such a multidimensional notion of participation is particularly relevant in developing a sustainable tourism industry as the later involves stakeholders from different interest groups, affecting as well as affected by tourism. Stakeholder according to Freeman (1984), is“any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objectives” (1984,46).Swarbrooke,pioneer of Sustainable Tourism Management identifies six main stakeholders in this sector, the public sector; the tourism industry; voluntary sector organizations; the host community; the media and the tourist(Swarbrooke,1999).Any sustainable tourism policy without involvement of local stakeholders is not possible, observed in a study by Ioannedes(1995)of Akmas(Cyprus) where villagers threatened to stop the development of the National Park being processed by Government but without involving villagers, the main stakeholders(Byrd,2007,7).Stakeholder involvement add sustainable value by building on the store of knowledge, insights and their capabilities and give voice to those who are most affected by tourism(Aas,et.al.2005,31).Stakeholders involvement approaches tourism as a proactive force and if developed appropriately, seeks to maximize positive returns to a community’s overall growth while minimizing the costs to the environment and culture(Sautter and Leisen,1999,313). The participatory aspect is checked with the **Stakeholder Analysis**, exploring who were the stakeholders in this process?After identification of stakeholders,a **Stakeholder Importance and Influence Matrix** is cited to highlight power game among them.

Chapter 3

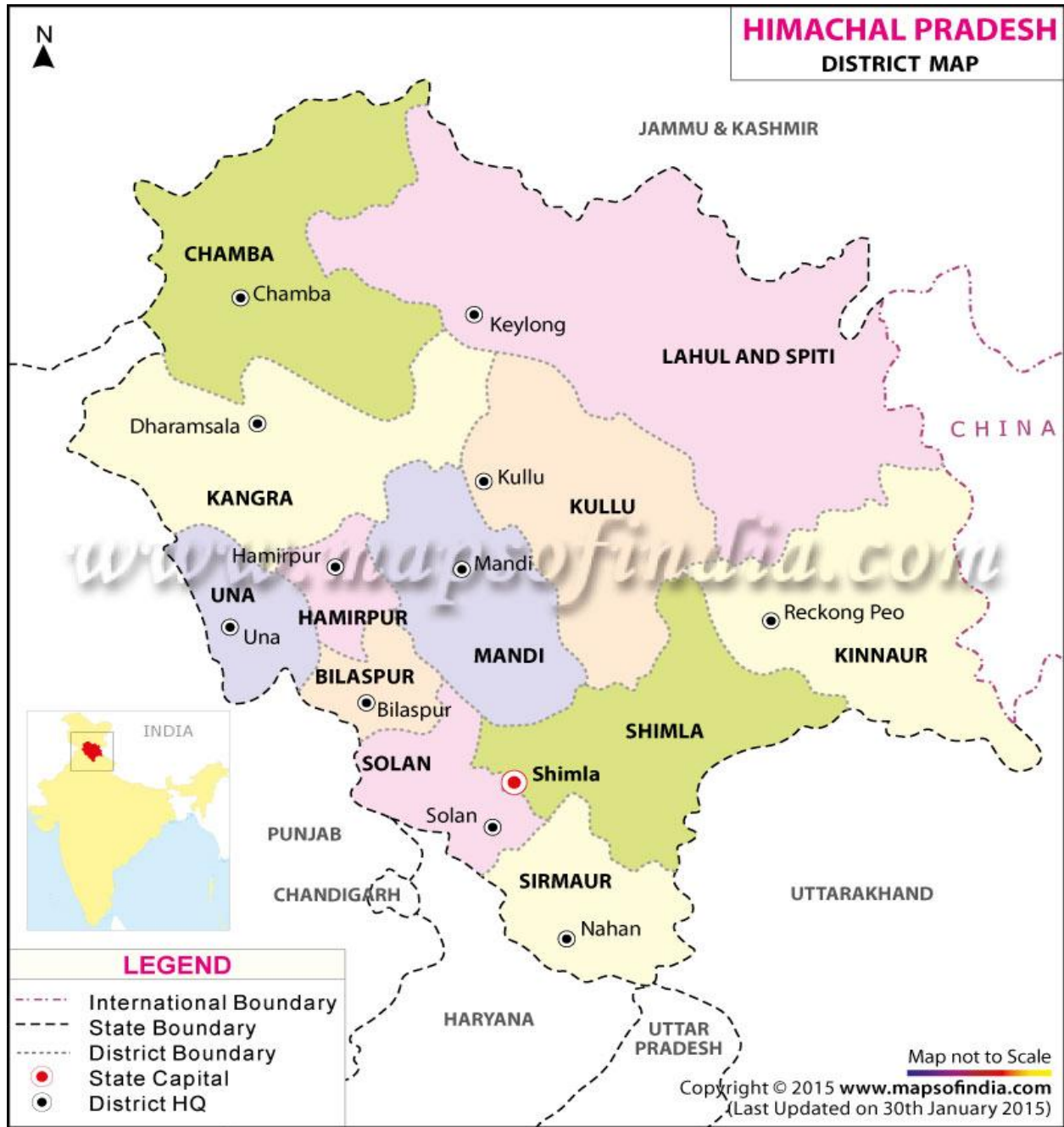
Tourism in Policy

Nestled in Himalayas, this small hill state in north of India, also called Dev bhoomi is known for its unique traditions and culture is a major pilgrim centre besides endowed with natural beauty. Being a mountainous state there is a diversity in terrain with altitude varying between 400 to 7000 metres making it distinct climatically also attracting tourist from far and wide. After attaining its statehood in 1971, the state has emerged as a model state in governance and development and has fared well on human index, ranking 3rd among Indian states after Kerala and Delhi in 2011. Being mountainous and scarce in resources, the state has harnessed its water to produce hydroelectricity, salubrious climate promotional in horticulture development and incredible nature has transformed state into a major tourist destination attracting visitors from all over the world.

Table 3.1 HP: Demographic and Social Development Indicators

Sr.No.	Indicators	HP
1.	Total Area(square Kms.)	55,673
2.	Total Population(in Lakhs)	68.79
3.	Decadal Growth Rate	12.81%
4.	Percentage of Rural Population	92%
5.	Literacy Rate	83.78%
6.	Number of Districts	12
7.	Forest Cover	66.52%
8.	Altitude	450 to 6500 metres
9.	Per Capita Income(2013-2014)	Rs.95,582

Figure 3.1 District Map of Himachal Pradesh



Source: www.mapsofindia.com

3.1 Tourism in Himachal Pradesh

Tourism in the state has grown over the years from rudimentary religious pilgrimage to a thriving industry reaping benefits for all those involved for subsistence. Tourism in state is leisure tourism and not like pilgrim tourism in Uttarakhand and ranks in top 15 most visited states in India. State though endowed with bountiful nature was always known for its Apple Orchards and religious sites attracting visitors across India gained in number when Manali surfaced on tourist map of country in 1990s and tourists made beeline for “Land of Gods” besides visiting established destinations of Shimla and Dalhousie.

Today tourism is million dollar industry in the state and managed by Department of Tourism and Civil Aviation headed by Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation assisted by Commissioner/Director Tourism, who is administrative head of the department. The head office is located in Shimla(capital) and policies and programs of the department are implemented by field offices in all 12 districts headed by District Tourism Development officer (DTDO) assisted by Tourism inspectors and office staff. The department with marketing wing, Himachal Pradesh Tourism Development Corporations(HPTDC) established in 1972 to promote tourism in the state is headed by a Managing Director and assisted by staff at head quarter at Shimla and staff posted in himachal and in other states. This wing largely responsible for commercial activities of tourism department managing tourism properties across the state and outside, besides operating transport wing of department catering tourists only.

Table 3.2 Tourism Indicators in HP

Serial No.	Indicators
1.	Contributes 7.5% in State GDP
2.	Rs.3,481 lakh budget in 2014-2015
3.	10% employed in tourism industry
4.	2,377 hotels in state with a bed capacity of 61,236
5.	576 Homestay units with a capacity of 1580 rooms
6.	3 airports at Shimla, Kullu and Dharamsala
7.	63 Operational Helipads
8.	95 million USD ADB aid to boost tourism
9.	Shimla, Manali, Dharamsala, major tourist destinations
10.	163 lakh tourists in 2014

Source: admis.hp.nic.in

3.2 Tourism Policy 2005

To strengthen tourism in state few efforts were made in past but scenario changed only in 2005 when state came up with its first tourism policy to benefit all. The policy was result of wide scale consultation with different stakeholders within and outside the industry with an aim to provide clear direction for the development of tourism in state. However policy also addressed problems of concomitant chaos and haphazard growth created by tourism explosion in late 80s

and 90s after occurrence of Kashmir problem that increased number of tourists manifolds in the state(hptourismpolicy,2005,3-4).Realizing the importance of tourism in its economy,8% of SGDP and alarmed by its effect on environment with incessant hotel growth ,the policy was an effort to regulate and streamline the sector that was growing manifolds. The policy had a *mission statement* of, “*making tourism the prime engine of economic growth in the state by positioning it as a leading global destination by the Year 2020*” (hp tourismpolicy2005, 2).

3.2.1Policy Objectives- The policy targeted eight fold objectives to achieve this mission:

(1)Establishing Himachal as a leading tourist destination in country and abroad by building brand image of HP and media strategy and upgradation of tourism infrastructure to meet international standards.

Action Plan-The emphasis was on

(i)Marketing- building image by hiring consultants, strengthening of Tourist Information centers updatation of tourism literature

(ii)Infrastructure development- assistance/funds from GOI under schemes like circuits,destination, rural tourism and to have tourism sub plan to manage tourism at local level

(iii)Increasing Connectivity-upgradation of existing airports at Bhuntar(Kullu),Jubbarhatti (Shimla) and Gaggal (Dharamsala);promotion of heli taxi services and setting up of new airport at Sundernagar(Mandi) and construction of 3-5 star hotels to accommodate both budget and high end tourists.

(2)Make tourism a prime engine for economic development and a major means for providing employment and this can be achieved by attracting outside investment and employing maximum local people in the industry besides monitoring economic impact of tourism in the state and strengthening of tourism sector.

Action Plan-

(i)Inviting Investment-Extending tax exemptions and concessions; prioritizing PPP;recasting existing schemes and preference to rural tourism;holding of regular tourism conclave;setting up of Investors cell and single window clearance for tourism projects

(ii)Generate Employment-Opening up of new Food Craft Institutes in Kullu and Kangra districts and strengthening of HMI kufri;setting up of hospitality training institutes with private participation and capacity building of local youth under Atithi Devo Bhava scheme of GOI.

(iii)Build Strong database-Periodical surveys and Review;regular monitoring by Tourism Board to ensure 70% of employment of local people in this industry.

(3) Encourage strong and sustainable private sector participation for infrastructure development through PPP mode by disinvestment of HPTDC properties

Action Plan-

(i) Disinvestment of HPTDC run properties

(ii) Leasing out of properties.

(4) Promote sustainable tourism for environment compatibility and economic betterment of rural people by setting up of new units, regulating existing units and bringing income to rural people.

Action Plan-

(i) **Guidelines for New Units-** Adopt hill architecture to blend with local environment; no/minimum felling of trees; strict building code of 4 storeys; mandatory water harvesting structures and provision of proper garbage disposal and sewerage plants besides providing maximum employment to locals.

(ii) **Guidelines for Old Units-** To comply with pollution control standards; deregistration in case of violation of norms; promotion of rural tourism.

(5) Attracting quality tourist

Action Plan

(i) Increasing their length of stay; building Brand Himachal through electronic and print media and its marketing within India and abroad through conducting road shows and participating in tourism and trade fairs.

(6) Safeguard state's natural and manmade heritage

Action Plan-

(i) **Conservation of nature-** Forest department a nodal agency for this; imposition of cess on entry in sanctuaries/national parks; utilization of funds for development and conservation of flora and fauna; and promotion of bird watching and angling.

(ii) **Conservation of manmade heritage-** conservation of heritage buildings/structures/churches/graves/monasteries in association with departments of Urban development, Town and Country Planning and Language, Art and Culture.

(7) Encouraging civil societies and nongovernmental organizations to promote and conduct tourism activities for capacity building and their active participation in tourism activities.

Action Plan-

(i) **Identification of proficient bodies by TDB** for community projects and capacity building

(ii) Participation of these bodies in department committees, classification of hotels/dhabas and in organization of adventure tourism events.

(8) Positioning state as a one stop destination for adventure tourism with active role of TDB /deptt and WHMI,Manali

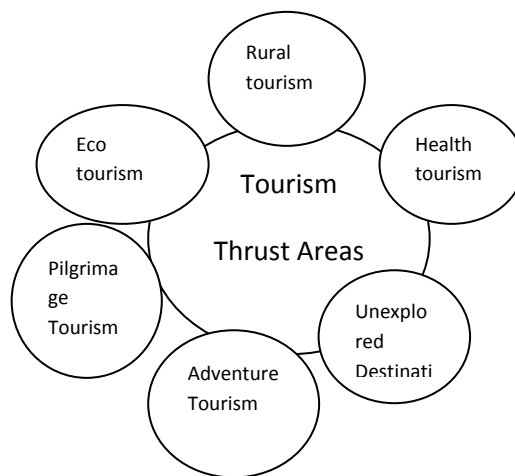
Action Plan-

(i) **Capacity Building**-organizing and funding training camps; holding annual events of adventure sports; training local unemployed youth/students; run river rafting and Para gliding schools set up by tourism department besides running special courses for tourists.(hptourism policy,2005).

3.2.2 Thrust Areas

Besides objectives, policy identified thrust areas to address tourism concerns. The policy identified seven thrust areas for action and to make state a “State for All Reasons and All Seasons “then merely being a summer destination. These thrust areas were outlined for development of tourism and focused rural, pilgrim, ecotourism, adventure and health tourism, development of lesser known destinations and art ,craft and souvenir thus encompassing social, economic and environmental aspects of tourism.

Figure 3.2 Tourism Thrust Areas in 2005 Tourism Policy



- (i)**Rural tourism** to provide employment opportunities to local youth to arrest their migration to other states, providing an alternative other than agriculture and horticulture, promoting apple and orchard tourism, and local culture and handicrafts besides being sustainable and responsible;
- (ii)**Ecotourism** to conserve fragile flora and fauna, promoting awareness of environment and maintenance of ecological balance through community based eco tourism projects and generation of income through these projects for sustenance of these units;
- (iii)**Pilgrimage tourism** to strengthen in state by developing basic infrastructure in these destinations while developing them on lines of Vaishno Devi temple in Jammu;
- (iv)**Adventure tourism** to have comprehensive promotion plan and capacity building of local youth for their economic betterment;
- (v)**Health tourism** to popularize Indian medicine system through Panch karma and massages (on line of Kerala) to be managed by department of Ayurveda;
- (vi)**Development of lesser known destination** to decongest established tourist destinations reeling under mass tourism influx and to make tourism a state phenomenon.
- (vii)**Arts, crafts and souvenir** to promote and encourage local handicraft with technical inputs from NID, NIFT and Auroville to sharpen skills of local artisans and improvement in designs to popularize rich cultural heritage and revival of tradition (hptourism policy, 2005,16-27).

Chapter 4

Tourism in Manali

Situated at a height of 2050 mts.in Pir Panjal range of Western Himalayas,Manali town lies on the right bank of river Beas. With temperate climate and profound nature the valley is known for its lush green meadows, dense deodar forests, towering peaks, perennial glaciers, fresh water streams and salubrious climate, making it a perfect tourist destination.

Distanced 41kms from district headquarter of Kullu, Manali is a administrative sub division created in year 1963 with one tehsil and a development block and house 70 villages. The village became town in 1981 and elected Nagar Panchayat in 1997 with seven wards.

Table4.1 Important Indicators of Manali

Indicators	Manali
Total population	51,661
Rural Population	84%
Urban Population	16%
Male Population	54%
Female Population	46%
Density of town Population	2690/km sq
Area of town	4 sq km
Population of town	8086
Total households in MC Area	1832

Source:Census of India,2011 and District Profile

Bestowed with bountiful nature,unlike other tourist desinations Manali grew as leisure tourism destination attracting tourists from far and wide.The valley has three tourist seasons-March to June, the peak season when place is thronged by Indian holiday makers largely from plains of Panjab,Haryana,Delhi to escape scorching heat of plains and to find solace in snow clad Rohtang; July to September when valley is alive with the trekker enthusiasts coming from all over the world to explore the unknown in various treks of Manali and December to January, the time of snow and winter carnival when skiers make a beeline for the slopes of Solang and heli skiing on the higher slopes of Manali.

Though whole valley is dotted with abundant nature and a tourist delight but tourism is largely concentrated in two main destinations, the 3400 meters high Rohtang pass and Solang Valley, a must in every tourist's itinerary. Since all tourism activities are centered around these two destinations, tourism is the backbone and only source of income for the residents of nine villages surrounding these two areas who monopolize tourism here,Burwa, Ghoshal, Shanag, Ruwar, Palchan, Kothi, Kulang, Majach and Solang.

Fig 4.1 Map of Kullu-Manali



Source:www.mapsofindia.com

Fig 4.2 SWOT Analysis of Manali

<p><u>Strengths</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Year round destination 2. Perennial snow 3. Salubrious climate 4. Pollution free environment 5. Hub of adventure sports, white water rafting, paragliding, skiing, trekking, etc. 6. Raw combination of snow, wilderness & water. 7. Culture and heritage tourism 8. Tourism Infrastructure 9. Accessibility by air and road 10. Multinational cuisine 11. Enterprising people 	<p><u>Weaknesses</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Poor road network 2. Excessive concretization 3. Poor parking facility 4. No major tourism project in last 10 years 5. High dependence on nature 6. No new destination developed 7. Saturating carrying capacity of Rohtang and Solang 8. Inadequate Budgeting 9. No spatial land use planning 10. Absence of tourism master plan 11. Irregular air connectivity
<p><u>Opportunities</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. New destinations can decongest core area 2. Tremendous scope for world class adventure tourism competition & activities. 3. Salubrious climate conducive for health tourism 4. Ideal place for eco-tourism 	<p><u>Threats</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Defacing skyline by unregulated construction 2. Increasing waste generation and poor garbage disposal straining existing capacity 3. Degradation of natural resources & environmental pollution 4. Unscrupulous vehicle growth causing congestion 5. Poor civic amenities collapsing during peak season 6. Lack of coordination among different departments 7. Aggressive marketing by other tourist states through print and electronic media. 8. Shrinking open spaces due to encroachment and commercialization. 9. Depleting green cover

4.1 Effect of Tourism on Employment

Tourism, the fastest growing sector in the world is perceived as a game changer for poor economies solely dependent on their natural resources for their development. Its role highly acclaimed in employment generation accommodating teeming skilled and unskilled manpower in its fold thus improving living of the millions. Tourism opens up new range of employment opportunities for particular skills, as well as for females, young people, casuals and the unskilled, besides enhancement in wages and salaries of the employees (Pigram, 1980, 578). Tourism in developing countries often associated with upliftment of host community from abject poverty by providing assured employment avenues besides making them participatory to achieve tourism

goals. It is observed from many studies that tourism help communities to have additional source of income and improve their living maximizing benefits when strong linkages are developed into the local economy and integrated development is planned with the full participation of both industry and the local communities supported by access to credit and with appropriate training” (Goodwin,1998).

Tourism in Manali has opened up many avenues for locals and provided solace to youth of the valley to harness their childhood skills to earn income without being displaced from their homes, a burning issue in hill economies where scarcity of resources have led to mass migration of young male population to plains to earn a living as observed in Utrakhand, another hill destination. With tourism becoming a major economic activity the migration has been arrested and youth becoming entrepreneurial opening up new ventures to earn their livelihood, one can see mushrooming up of new activities like plying all terrain vehicles (ATVs), snow scooters,river crossing, paragliding,white water rafting besides traditional activities of trekking,skiing, guides, tour and taxi operators, potters besides those involved in restaurants and hotel industry. Growing tourism has revived woolen cottage industry in the region benefitting local women at large engaged in making socks, caps and weaving bringing work to their doorstep and supplementing income.

Table No.4.2 Number of employed persons in tourism activities

Year	Tourist of Guide	Number of Photographer	Number of Travel Agent
2004	71	191	217
2005	71	209	248
2006	73	249	279
2007	74	260	310
2008	76	298	349
2009	87	314	403
2010	114	321	456
2011	119	326	523
2012	122	330	591
2013	129	331	647
2014	187	360	724
2015	279	397	885

Source:Office of District Tourism Development officer,Manali

With growing tourism there is manifold increase in the number of employment opportunities and tourism activities.The period registered a growth of 293% in number of Tourist guides since 2004, 108% increase in number of outdoor photographers and 308% increase in number of travel agents,indicating tourism boom in the valley providing opportunities to locals to harness their skills and earn a decent living.

Besides providing employment to locals, tourism is boon for large number of migrants to earn a living during tourist season. It is estimated that around 5000 people in the valley are directly dependent on tourism whereas 35000 indirectly making a living out of this industry doing a business worth Rs.500-700 crores annually. The town witness a rush of seasonal migrants visiting Manali every year to earn extra income during peak summer season and one can find Rajasthan vendors selling herbs, Kashmiris selling handicraft, many foreigners opening up small eateries to serve their authentic national cuisine, turning old Manali village into global kitchen and floating population from surrounding districts of Mandi, Kangra and Bilaspur to earn money to keep them going for a year. It is a saying in hills, “work for three months in tourism and eat for nine months”. Lot many people especially women are engaged in part time jobs and multi-tasking to utilize their idle labor besides bringing security and supplementing their household income.

Table No.4.3 Employment Position in tourism sector in Kullu-Manali

Year	Hotels	Restaurant/ Bar	Travel Agency	Home stay	Tourist Guide	Outdoor Photographer	Total	Himachali	Non Himachali
2009	5183	284	1556	78	113	321	7457	5914	1543
2010	5319	301	1664	122	116	326	7726	6104	1622
2011	5514	311	1735	154	121	328	8009	6327	1682
2012	5622	328	2015	218	129	331	8425	6615	1810
2013	5724	339	2201	253	187	360	8811	6841	1970

Source: Office of District Tourism Development Officer, Manali

People of Manali are excellent entrepreneurs adopting new skills to diversify tourist activities. The locals developed small and medium enterprises in Manali, like renting of boots and ski material, serving fast food at Rohtang top, renting out traditional kulluvi dress to substantiate their income without any support from government while local elite and outsiders built hotels after availing subsidy from government to strengthen infrastructure in the valley. Largely dependent upon agriculture/horticulture locals looked to other petty works in tourism and forayed into guide, potter, white water rafting, skiing, paragliding and other tourism activities. Being demand driven the outdoor activities generated lot of jobs for local youth and brought easy and good returns and were preferred by them over working in hotels where skill and experience is pre requisite. In the absence of any hospitality training institute locals being unskilled and unprepared for this sector opted for adventure sports and local transportation network leaving these jobs in hotel industry to youth from other districts of Himachal.

During field work this assumption was ascertained when a waiter was interviewed who hailed from neighboring district of Mandi and was employed in that hotel for last ten years, though the hotel was in name of a local but was leased out to an outsider for a sum of Rs.5 lakh annually. And he conveyed that locals feel shy to work even in their own hotels as its considered below their dignity to work in hotels. Though locals are availing concessions and subsidies extended by Government to construct hotels but they are not the direct service providers.

Moreover being used to easy work and quick returns, young population is averse to traditional agriculture and horticulture practices and shortage of manpower has led to migration of Nepali labour to work in orchards and fields, a growing concern among elder generation. Tourism is labor intensive and rich paying industry that attracts more labor than the agricultural sector creating more demand for them and causing migration to support traditional activities. (OECD, 1980, 23-24 in Coccossis etc, 1995).

Table No.4.3 List of activities and Number of people dependent

Sr.No.	Activity	Number of dependents(approx.)
1.	Taxis	2300
2.	Horses	200
3.	Small hotels and dhabas(eateries)	200
4.	Petty shops and kiosks	100
5.	Renting traditional dresses	100
6.	Paragliding	240
7.	Skiing/sledging	100
8.	ATVs	100
9.	Snow scooters	44
10.	Photography	245
Total		3,629

Source: Office of District Tourism Development Officer, Manali

4.1.1 Rural tourism

In tourism it is the core area that draws maximum visitors leaving periphery neglected and same was observed in Manali where town and few villages have become hub of tourism forcing population from other villages to migrate in these centers to substantiate their income. According to Pearce, et al in Moscarda, rural and peripheral areas lack tourism experience and potential of impact of tourism on the resources, needs government intervention (1996, 11). Himachal government to bring equity made headway in promoting and encouraging Rural tourism to garner development in periphery by initiating Home stay scheme in this policy. And Manali has the distinction of registering first homestay unit in the state in 2008 since then number of units have grown from 300 units with 900 rooms in 2008 to 500 units with 1300 rooms in 2012, out of these 500 units more than 130 are in Manali alone (o/o DTDO). The scheme was targeted for poor households to enhance their income by becoming part of tourism industry adding another source of income. The scheme registers a rural household with minimum one room and a maximum of three rooms and is exempted from paying VAT, Luxury Tax etc besides paying water and electricity consumption charges are at domestic rates. These concessions have brought many rural families in its fold and at present there around 215 home stay units in district Kullu out of which more than 130 are in Manali. The scheme has been

instrumental in generating employment opportunities for rural people who were earlier dependent upon traditional means of livelihood.

The policy succeeded in generating employment for the locals by bringing equity in both urban and rural areas as discussed above explaining growing absorption of locals in ever expanding tourism industry in the valley by diversifying their economy. But it has been observed that there is growing dependence on tourism because of easy work, quick returns, less hard work, limited tourist season, disorientation of youth for agriculture and horticulture(dependent on vagaries of nature)and lack of skills, driving more and more people to join this industry posing threat to very existence of tourism in valley. Though tourism has benefitted locals at large but this unchecked growth has played havoc with local environment polluting natural sources thus drawing intervention from National Green Tribunal(NGT).

Pic 4.1 Manali Homestay pictures





4.2 Tourism and Participation

Tourism becomes more inclusive and sustainable when planning is participatory involving all stakeholders benefitting locals at large since they are the first to bear brunt of tourism that alters not their economy and social life but also their immediate environment they are dependent upon for sustenance . Participation is “not only about achieving the more efficient and more equitable distribution of material resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people’s self-development” (Okazaki, 511). The participatory development approach would create better opportunities for local people to gain larger and more balanced benefits from tourism development taking place in their localities (Tosun,2006,493). Tourism to host population is often a mixed blessing, on one hand it creates jobs and increases cash flow on other,the tourists become a physical as well as social burden (Smith, 1997, 124).

The policy document of 2005 emphasized participation of only NGOs and Civil society in its framework for promotion and coordination of tourism related activities.Besides direct participation of these bodies in policy fold there was inclusion of selective few from local community to be part of Tourism Development Board at state level,chaired by Chief Minister and Tourism Development Council,Manali,headed by District Magistrate to voice concerns of locals of Manali.Generally these appointments are political in nature and few powerful from ruling party are made members of these boards and councils who change with the change in government after five years.This exclusiveness affirms argument proposed by Liu while

emphasizing the needs and interests of the local communities it should be realized that local communities are not some kind of homogeneous mass but contain deep divisions of class, status and power and in most cases their involvement is 'relational' rather than 'participatory' (2003,466).

Both participation by and empowerment of local people is clearly identified with Agenda 21 as an important aim of sustainable development programs and is extended to include empowerment through which individuals, households, local groups, communities, regions and nations shape their own lives and kind of society in which they live (Nelson and Wright, et al, 1995, in Earthscan, 149). There is much literature to affirm role of community participation in sustainability of tourism but with the exclusion of community at large this selective participation failed to do justice to tourism concerns of valley. Moreover, during field work, I did not come across any association that was engaged by the department of tourism for capacity building and tourism promotion in the valley. And there was no contribution from even those locals who were TDB and TDC members to address discontent voices in Manali. And community in Manali despite having no voice in policy process strengthened both politically and socially to pursue their need based goals and reap tourism benefits and with their strong association they have shaped tourism in the valley deriving little intervention from policy makers.

4.3 Effect of Tourism on Environment

4.3.1 Tourism and Environment

Tourism is the only source of sustenance for few countries that rely completely on their scarce natural environment to reap benefits. During this process, many a times economic stakes overpower environmental concerns leaving a polluted environment and resource vandalisation. There are range of policies and legislations to protect environment (including protected areas, land use planning and obligatory (Environment Impact Assessment) but sometimes they are inconsistently enforced (Bailey, et al, 2010, 111) either due to power of a particular stakeholder who is steering policy or lack of political zeal to streamline the system fearing backlash from power groups in the industry.

Policies designed in these fragile areas are often pro-tourism because of economic compulsions leading to manipulation of conservation policies to exploit nature for short term benefits without realizing its repercussions in the long run. These destinations consider tourism a zero priced public good susceptible to excess demand and over utilization and this over utilization during peak season and ill planned tourism development bring tourism in direct conflict with the environment. (Mathieson and Wall, 1982 in Coccossis and Nijkamp ed. 1995, 4). Being dependent on environment, tourism has both symbiotic and antagonistic relation with environment, symbiosis lead to preservation and conservation of the nature, promoting and improving environmental ethics whereas whereas antagonism lead to degradation and excess

demand on limited natural resources in a place having both visual pollution and impact of excessive tourism on environment in that area.(Inskeep,1991,343).(Inskeep in Coccossis,etc,1995,5)

With industry involving many stake holders it becomes difficult to priorities issues, as Cater argues, “the relation- ship between tourism development, socio-economic development and the environment is circular and cumulative and without adequate environmental protection, prospects for development will be undermined. There is an essential need to build the positive links between the environment and tourism and to break the negative links”(Cater,1995,21). Madan and Rawat(2000) in their study on Mussorie(a hill station in state of Uttrakhand in India)reflects the plight of local population when during peak tourist season(May -June), “the town of 25000 people become home to more than 200,000 people, straining existing infrastructure of the town and leading to plethora of problems, including illegal construction, unplanned growth, excessive garbage, encroachment on the forest lands, sanitation and sewage problems, water scarcity, overcrowded roads, resultant traffic jams and vehicular pollution”(Madan and Rawat,2000,251).This scenario is true for Manali also which gets choked with tourists during peak tourist season.

Like other hill stations Manali too bearing brunt of rapid mass tourism affecting its resources is reflected in a study by Cole and Sinclair, “ecological footprints in Manali in 1995 expanded to 25 times the area of Manali, and with such a substantial increase is a sign that Manali is moving away from, rather than toward, sustainability and this increase also highlights the magnitude of the impact of tourism in Manali, affecting all the unique mountain attributes, the Beas River, forestlands, productive soils, native vegetation, etc”(Cole and Sinclair 2002,138). This growing trend has led to chaotic growth in the town bringing environmental problems for the locals and area.Pandey et al(1998) has gone so far as to suggest that the “quality and quantity of hotels and guest houses have reduced [Manali] from a tourist destination to an urban slum without adequate water or sewerage facilities.”(Pandey,et al,1998,140).

The unregulated development on the pretext of accommodating tourist inflow has fractured fragile ecology of this town leaving it with disfigured skyline; depleting green cover; multiplying concrete structures; garbage heaps; congestion; water, noise and air pollution; reducing snow fall; inclement weather; flash floods; besides visual pollution, all reflecting repercussions of mass tourism that has riddled this valley for the last two decades.

4.3.1 Pollution

Pollution in simplest term is the introduction of harmful materials, called pollutants(both manmade and natural) into the environment damaging the quality of air ,water and land(education.nationalgeographic.com).Unabated tourism over the years has definitely made a difference in the environment of Kullu valley especially in Manali where growing footfall, increasing number of private and commercial vehicles and conversion of agricultural land into

commercial holdings has started reflecting in studies conducted by NEERI as well as Himalayan institute of Environment. Though the damage is not severe but degradation has set in and if tourist influx and their related activities not controlled the repercussions can be severe for this valley.

4.3.1.1 Air Pollution

Increasing tourism and heavy rush of vehicles especially during peak tourist season has affected air quality of valley once known for rejuvenation and green destination. With growing economy number of both private and commercial (taxis) vehicles have increased in the valley. The number of private vehicles has grown from 312 in 2005 to 4615 in 2013 recording a CAGR of 35% whereas number of taxis has increased from 165 in 2005 to 2725 in 2013, registering a CAGR of 10.46%, in total the local vehicles in Manali recorded a CAGR of 37%, speaking of its negative effect on valley's air. The effect is more apparent in Rohtang which witness daily ferrying of 10,000 to 15,000 tourists in 2500 to 3000 vehicles (both private and taxis) making beeline on this 51 kms stretch to catch glimpse of snow. This unregulated traffic flow leads to massive traffic jams and high emission by these stranded vehicles.

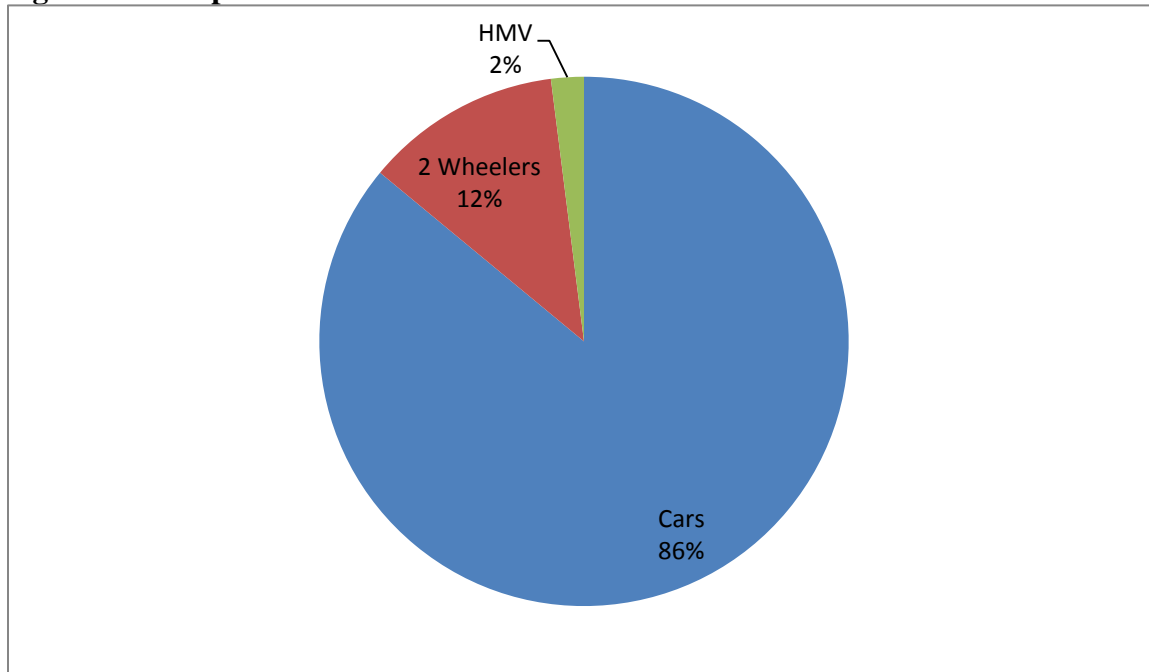
Table 4.5 Number of Registered vehicles in Manali

Year	No.of Private Vehicles	No.of Taxis	Total
2005-2006	312	165	477
2006-2007	310	214	524
2007-2008	433	227	660
2008-2009	409	269	678
2009-2010	557	276	833
2010-2011	738	310	1048
2011-2012	706	519	1225
2012-2013	722	506	1228
2013-2014	740	404	1144
Total	4967	2890	7857

Source: Office of Registration and Licensing Authority (RLA), Manali

Besides these local vehicles, 5000-7000 outside vehicles enter Manali daily during peak summer season choking town with regular traffic jams and haphazard parking.

Figure 4.3: Composition of vehicles



Source: NEERI, Study of Rohtang pass, page 10.2

During the study period it was the cars/taxis/jeeps and SUV's that dominated the vehicular traffic on this highway, constituting 86% of all vehicular traffic followed by 2 wheelers 12% whereas HMV were of very small percentage (2% only) largely trucks carrying army supply to Leh and Laddakh besides transport buses running between Manali to Lahaul and Kaza and further to Leh, a seasonal service restricted to summer months only.

The dramatic increase in vehicular traffic in Manali has not only polluted air but has retreated glacier also as cited in orders of NGT, posing threat to water resources. And to fathom effect of tourism on Manali a study was conducted by scientists in 1990-1999, when tourism was settling in this valley and SPM (Suspended particulate matter) was found beyond the permissible level of 100/ug/m³ (142.6 in 1998 in Manali) along with concentration of both Sulphur Dioxide and Nitrogen Oxide during peak summer season (Kuniyal, et al, 2004, 115). Same results were drawn by NEERI after 12 years in its study carried out in 2011-2012 both in Summers and Winters at different stations on way to Rohtang, Marhi, Solang and Kothi, where an increase was recorded in concentration of carcinogenic elements, As (the chemical element arsenic) and Ni (Nickel) exceeding the CPCB limits but Pb (lead) concentration was found within stipulated standards (NEERI, 2012, 2.12). Besides these several other factors, such as inadequate and poorly maintained roads as well as inadequate practices of inspection and maintenance of vehicles, unplanned traffic flow, and non-availability of effective emission control technology etc also contribute to the air pollution from vehicular sources (NEERI, 2012, 3.3).

Besides taxis and private vehicles, recreational vehicles like ATVs and Snow Scooters are additional source of both air and noise pollution in valley and their number has grown over

the years with increasing demand in adventure sports. A total of 140 ATVs and 74 snow scooters are registered in valley after direction of NGT. Both these vehicles run on diesel polluting snow with spillage and creating air and noise pollution. At Rohtang pass 40% of glacial retreat attributed to impact of black carbon and biggest villain is vehicular emission and number of steadily increasing vehicles between 2010-2012 in Kothi village accounted for TSP matter above permissible limits—a situation unthinkable for a high altitude Himalayan village (Baig, 2015). Other factors like dust generated from landslides due to widening of roads, burning of fossil fuels (coal, kerosene oil) for warmth and cooking and burning of woods also contribute to air pollution.

It is apparent from these two studies that though the pollution is less in Manali but deterioration of our environment has begun and timely intervention and stringent measures are required to arrest further degradation.

4.3.1.2 Water Pollution

Himalayan belt was once known for its fresh water lakes, rolling rivulets and therapeutic medicinal springs but onslaught of tourism has polluted these sources once considered lifeline and Manali is no exception to this fallout. There are two important issues pertaining to water pollution in Himalayas, one drying up of water sources leading to shortage of drinking water and second is contamination of water by unplanned manner of garbage dumping (Kuniyal, et al, 2004, 116). Once used directly for potable water, river Beas, the lifeline of Kullu valley is slowly turning into sewer in absence of proper sewage system and effluents are released directly into the river without any treatment. Moreover the local nallahs (rivulets) are seen filled with plastic, building waste, muck dumping and other waste turning them into dump yards.

So far so even the very source of River Beas, the Beas Kund situated at a height of 4085 meters above sea level in Pir Panjal range at Rohtang has turned into a sewer littered with plastics wrappers, animal filth and waste disposal from local dhabas (small eateries) to cater tourists. The situation in town needs immediate intervention to save Beas turning into a sewer as the existing sewerage treatment plant in town was designed and set up by IPH department with a capacity of 1.82 MLD for 1000 households has already crossed its capacity by giving more connections, 1072 out of 2102 households whereas remaining households have their own septic tank/plant.

Water samples collected from river water, springs, ground water, water supply and nallah (rivulets) showed no significant water pollution in terms of chemical constituents but quality of water found deteriorated from upstream to downstream where large population is concentrated (NEERI, 2012, 4.5). Though the pollution is not alarming yet contamination has begun with the release of untreated sewerage from mushrooming hotels and domestic waste asking for mitigation measures.

4.3.1.3 Visual Pollution

The term coined by Inskip to showcase ugly side of tourism where poorly designed hotels are not in sync with local architectural style; tourist facilities are badly planned; inadequate and inappropriate landscape planning; obstruction of scenic view by development on river side and use of large and ugly advertising signs (Inskip, 1991, 345) and this kind of pollution

is very imminent in Manali where skyline is disfigured by rampant hotel construction ignoring local architecture. Often tourism fails to integrate its structures with the natural features and indigenous architectural of the destination. Large, dominating resorts of disparate design can look out of place in any natural environment and may clash with the indigenous structural design (www.gdrc.com).

Increase in built-up land and deforestation are two major negative impacts of unmanaged tourism in the valley(Singh,et al,2009,400)There are many examples existing right on the Manali Mall road flouting TCP norms to build up a 5 storied hotel. At many places hotels are constructed right on the river beds and in many cases Beas has been diverted and channelised to carry out constructions. In the absence of any spatial land use planning and ineffective building regulations in the town,the residential and commercial areas blur in Manali creating problem for its regulated growth.

Table 4.6 Number of Tourism Units in Manali

Year	Number of Hotels/Guest House	Number of Resturants	Number of Home Stays	Total Capacity	Bed
2004	511				
2005	534	29			
2006	548	35		16374	
2007	550	40		16500	
2008	558	47		17434	
2009	569	48	22	18105	
2010	575	50	75	18514	
2011	588	54	117	19190	
2012	605	57	143	20122	
2013	614	66	175	20649	
2014	626	69	183	20677	
2015	679	74	219	20781	

Source:Office of District Tourism Development Officer,Manali

The town registered an unabated increase of 2.40% in tourism units in last twelve years,restaurants increased by 9% in last eleven years and homstay units by 39% in seven years turning once peaceful town into a concrete mess where units are mushrooming up at every possible space defying all norms and regulations.It is the Town and Country Planning Department of the state that regulate all domestic and commercial construction by approving the site plan and design of the building and after receiving completion certificate from this department any commercial unit can be registered with Department of Tourism to run a hotel/bar/restaurant.But lack of stringent measures and shortage of staff the inspections are not regular and often norms are flouted during construction and hotels are found operational without obtaining NOC either from TCP or Tourism department.These illegal units are further leased out to outsiders(non Himachalis) on a fixed amount and are being run defying all kind of tourism ethics.This leasing out has

effected tourism industry in Manali and at present around 60 to 70% of these hotels are leased out to outsiders.

4.4 Municipal Solid Waste

With the changing lifestyle and increasing consumerism, the world is riddled with continuous generation of solid waste and its disposal. The situation is more critical in developing countries where high concentration of tourist activities have collapsed the existing structure and in absence of mitigation measures the tourist sites have turned into garbage yards. In the absence of proper waste management mechanism in hill stations, a common sight is slopes, valleys, rivulets strewn with garbage. Since mountains are more fragile and susceptible to pollution tourists generate a great deal of waste and on expeditions leave behind their equipment thus degrading the environment, due to this some most frequently visited trails in Peruvian Andes and Nepal have been nicknamed “Coca-Cola trail” and “Toilet paper Trail” (www.gdrc.org)

With the manifold increase in tourists in last few years, Manali too riddled with this menace during peak tourist season when there is rush of tourists, generating a waste of 20 MT per day as compared to only 7 MT in off tourist season. But with the intervention of NGT the waste is being collected from Rohtang and its surrounding areas also, increasing waste collection from 30MT/day in 2014 to 40 MT/day in 2015 (MC, Manali).

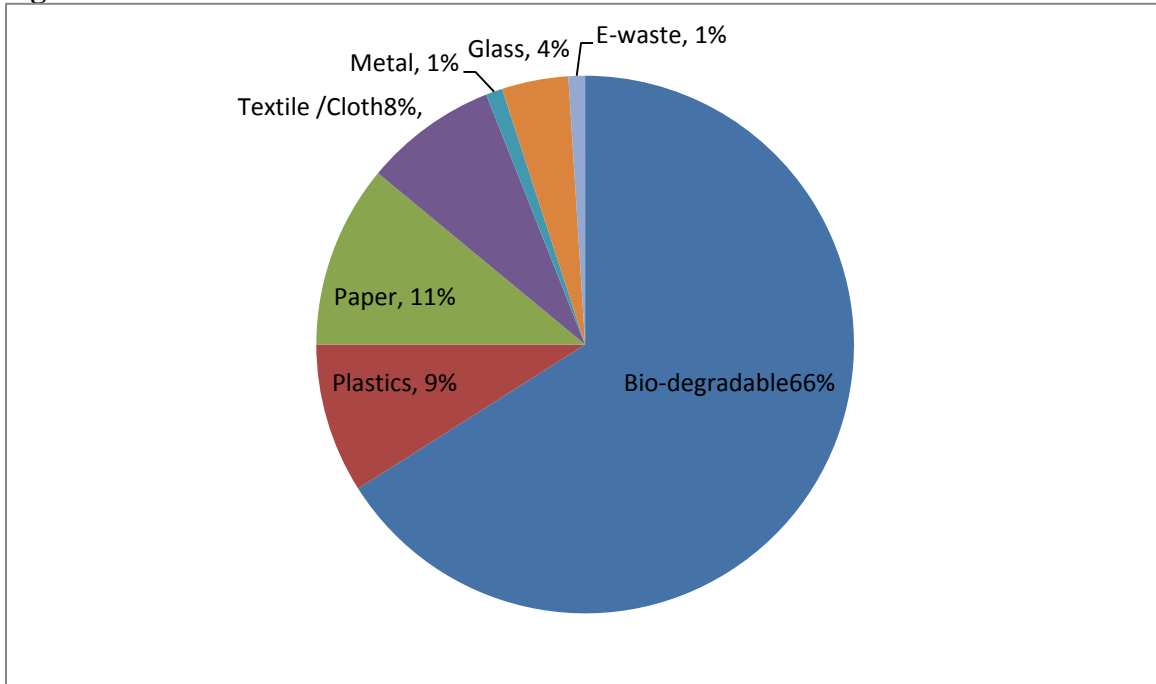
For waste disposal, Manali Municipal Council has set up an Integrated Solid Waste Management Plant at Rangri, 3.5 kms from main town, in 2003-2004 with the assistance from NORAD with a daily capacity of 30 MT. But with the increase in waste collection from 30MT in 2014 to 40 MT in 2015 the plant is near exhaustion and requires immediate intervention from concerned department for its expansion or development of an alternate site to treat this increasing waste. Waste is collected from door to door and outsourced to a private firm, though bins are provided to the residents yet waste requires manual segregation at the plant.

Table No:4.7 Characteristics of Waste in Manali

Sr.No.	Content	Domestic waste	Commercial waste
1.	Bio Degradable	66%	59%
2.	Plastics	9%	17%
3.	Paper	11%	18%
4.	Textile/cloth	8%	-
5.	Metal	1%	-
6.	Glass	4%	6%
7.	E-waste	1%	-

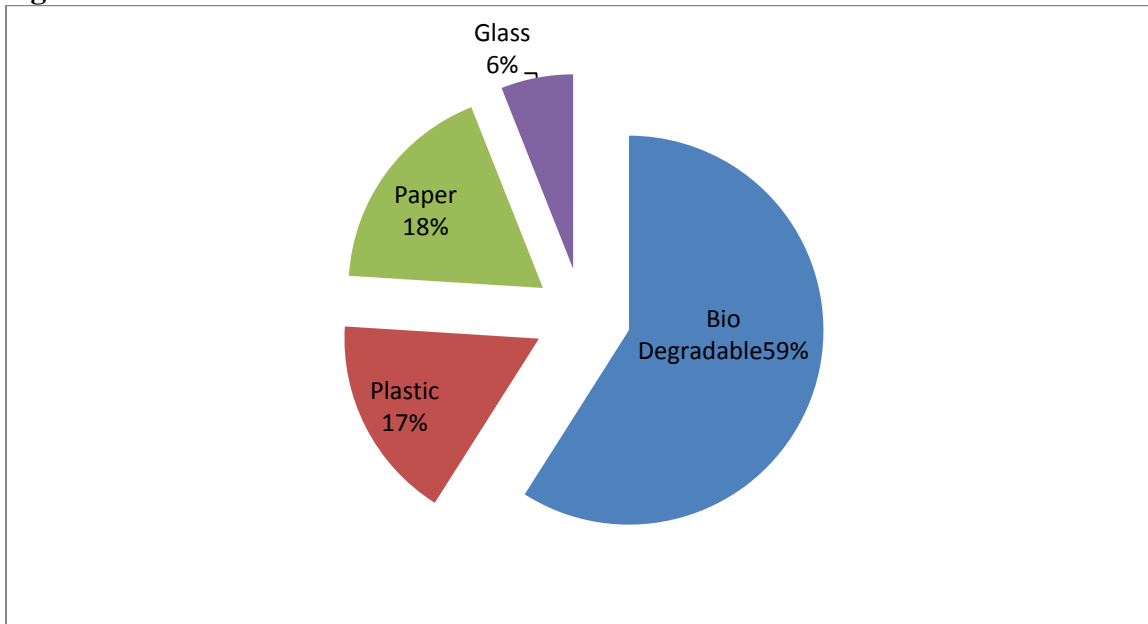
Source:GTZ,2014

Figure 4.4: Characteristics of Domestic Waste in Manali



Source:GTZ,2014

Figure 4.5: Characteristics of Commercial Waste in Manali



Source:GTZ,2014

The statistics reveal as much as 65% Manali waste is biodegradable that can be recycled into compost if segregated at the source (GIZ, Waste Audit report, Manali). At present

bio degradable waste is put in pits for decomposition and non biodegradable is sold to rag pickers(kawari wallah) and reject waste is land filled. The typical domestic waste generated is plastic packing, wrappers besides paper and glass whereas commercial waste is largely recyclables, plastic bottles, packing wrappers and other metal and all. The state adopted Green policy in 2009 when Himachal became first state in India to ban on use of Polythene carry bags and littering of non-biodegradable waste vide notification no.STE-F-(4)-2/2008 dated 07.07.2009 and 13.08.2009 banning all plastics in state since 15 August 2009 under HP Non Biodegradable Garbage (control)Act 1995.The notification put ban on littering and anybody found flouting norms were fined Rs 1000 to Rs.5000/([www.hp.nic](http://www.hp.nic.in) in).The drive generated awareness and regular inspections and challaning put stop to plastic usage in the state and plastic was confiscated was used in road construction.

4.5 Forest and Land Degradation

Spurt in tourism has affected forest cover in Manali which is challenged by trampling of indigenous flora, less survival of new plantations and retreating meadows due to increase in recreational vehicles and number of horses and ponies besides meeting requirement of burgeoning hotel industry.Every year in the Indian Himalaya, more than 250,000 Hindu pilgrims, 25,000 trekkers, and 75 mountaineering expeditions climb to the sacred source of the Ganges River, the Gangotri Glacier depleting local forests for firewood, trample riparian vegetation, and strew litter and to make matter worse, this tourism frequently induces poorly planned, land-intensive development(www.gdrc.org).

Though the valley boasts good forest cover yet tourist stretches, Rohtang, Solang, Marhi, Kothi and Gulaba are facing the wrath of commercialization as forests being encroached by small eateries, seasonal shacks, temporary parking and other tourist activities. In the 10 sq km area of the pass, there is no grass and alpine flowers once adding charm and common in the season, all vanished by trampling(Chauhan,2011)further aggravated by seasonal migrant grazers,Gaddis and Gujjars who move with their flocks from lower Himachal to higher Himalayas. Besides this there are few instances of timber smuggling and misuse of Timber Distribution (TD)Rights where local stakeholders have right to cut trees with the permission of Forest department to build their house but at a times this TD wood is sold for construction of hotels to earn quick money defeating the very purpose of this right. The tourism industry virtually eating into the vitals of forestry and mushrooming of concrete structures has not only gobbled up green areas but also encouraged illicit felling and misuse of trees allotted to villagers under the TD rules(Lohumi,1998).Besides this, cutting and widening of roads also require tree felling causing landslides and soil erosion leading to forest degradation. The total forest area in Manali is 13845.22 hectares which is increasing with special drives taken up by Forest department involving stakeholders after NGT ruling in 2014.

Above discussion reveals paradoxical relationship between tourism and environment where one industry grows after exploiting the free resources (environment) but requires its conservation for sustainability of other (tourism). The state is a low budget tourist destination

with low tourist spending, an average tourist stay less than two days and per capita spending barely Rs.2000/, the state's green cover rapidly disappearing under concrete and muck (Shukla, 2011). Tourism and environment are not merely interrelated they are inter dependent and with an appropriate commitment to planning, design and management, tourism can become an active, positive agent in the process of environmental enhancement rather than being destructive (Piagam, 1980, 563,579). But its often observed that to reap maximum benefits and bring economic sustainability environment is compromised leaving destinations over exposed and vulnerable to degradation. Overuse and misuse stress and even irreversibly damage environmental and other resources, reducing the attractiveness and competitiveness of an area *vis-à-vis* other destinations (Briosslis, 2002,1073).

The above discussed situation was prevalent in Manali even after notification of new Sustainable Tourism Policy 2013 and during field work nothing substantial was found to authenticate claims made in this policy regarding environmental issues. Infact, environmental concerns are being heard in Manali after intervention by NGT and on directions of honorable apex court stringent measures are being taken up to improve degraded environment by regulating traffic flow, removal of forest encroachments, banning all commercial activities and increasing green cover in Rohtang. The court intervened when policies failed to deliver on critical fronts and economic sustainability was preferred over environmental sustainability.

4.6 Policy Outcome

The 2005 Tourism policy was emancipated after many deliberations in 2005, by then Congress Government with a time frame of year 2020 making Himachal a year round global destination increasing its contribution in SGDP from 8% in 2005 to 15% in 2020 (hptourism policy, 2005).

(i) The policy succeeded considerably in marketing Manali a year around destination through print and electronic media but no substantial achievement in making it a leading global destination as town still inflicted with inaccessibility, lack of infrastructure, poor connectivity and absence of any new promising project. There was and there is no road map to harness potential of these destinations leading to congestion, overcrowding and pollution not only in Manali town, but at Rohtang and Solang also.

(ii) The policy succeeded considerably in bringing equity for rural people with the promotion of rural tourism through home stay scheme initiated in 2008 that has done wonders for rural people. Vacant hotels, parked home stays, cheaper with no luxury tax or service tax, home stays promoting not only rural tourism but also strengthening rural economy as demand for local vegetables, poultry, milk & fruits increasing manifolds (Dutta, 2013). Department of tourism is regulatory body for Registration of these units and tariff fixation but off late it is been observed that many such units are being leased out to outsiders or third party and not run by bona fide Himachalis, a pre condition to run such establishments. Moreover, scheme facing competition from Bed and Breakfast (B&B) scheme of Government of India under Incredible India Campaign, where registration process is easy with no tariff fixation as in homestay and

owner charging tariff at his own will. Interview with officials of Home Stay association revealed that instead of home stay units many cottages are being built for commercial purpose and are registered under this scheme and many home stay owners de-registering to register under B&B scheme as it is more profitable because of more number of rooms (5) and easy rules.

(iii) Besides rural tourism, for economic sustainability Adventure tourism has found its ground in Manali and being promoted by locals and department of tourism to bring local youth into mainstream after training them. Department in association with WHMI conducted many training programs in white water rafting, mountaineering, tourist guides & skiing for locals bearing all expenditure under capacity building program. All these activities are demand driven and with increasing interest of tourists in adventure sports employment opportunities are plentiful for the local youth. The valley sports around ten number of adventure sports activities but only two, white water rafting and Para gliding are regulated with framed rules rest all are illegal per se in the absence of any regulatory mechanism for them and needs immediate intervention.

(iv) As far as environmentally compatible sustainable tourism was concerned emphasis was on adoption of green practices and during my field work I could notice a handful of hotels with rain water harvesting structures & solar heater panels and plantation drive by forest department. Hotels were the largest waste generator and few unregistered units were found throwing garbage directly into the river Beas in absence of STP or connection with sewerage line. Besides waste generation, maximum hotels in Manali has diesel generators to tackle erratic electricity supply thus adding more to air pollution in the town besides vehicular pollution. For greening Manali, special plantation drives were carried out by Forest deptt. till August, 2015, and had planted saplings on 35 hectares of land in tourism vulnerable areas of Kothi, Gulaba, Solang, and Anjani Mahadev (Interview excerpt).

(v) Since Himachal is a low end tourist destination no big project besides beautification of Manali Mall Road was under taken in the valley to bring it at par with other global destinations while attracting high end tourists and only regular works were carried out to improve infrastructure.

(vi) The town has grown beyond its limits and construction boom has blurred urban rural boundaries but no headway made to have a spatial plan to streamline the spread. The town still lacks basic infrastructure even after tourism boom of two decades and struggle during peak season when it exceeds its carrying capacity.

(vii) Tourism largely dependent on road connectivity as valley has a limited air connectivity. Though the valley receives tourists second to Shimla yet air connectivity is underdeveloped and monopolized by national airlines making it the most expensive sector in India. Little efforts were made in last ten years to streamline these flights & invite more airlines

to increase competitiveness. The much hyped Heli taxi scheme was shelved as no takers were found to operate it.

(viii) Similarly, the policy made no headway in promoting tourism through PPP mode and no major project was initiated in the valley to authenticate this claim and construction that was carried out during this period was budget hotels by private stakeholder who availed facilities extended by Government in setting up of units not in town but in rural areas where concessions were more. These concessions have attracted many outsiders to invest in tourism in Manali through Benami (illegal) land transactions as in Himachal under provision of section 118 of Land Revenue Act, non Himachalis can't purchase agricultural land in Himachal, to safeguard rights of locals. But there were many cases where norms were flouted and outsiders had infiltrated this domain because of their politics-power nexus and had constructed hotels that are running even unregistered for many years now.

The state with scarce resources always favoured private hotel industry to develop infrastructure and same was ascertained when Government signed a pre-implementation agreement with great-grandson of Sir Henry Ford in 2006 to set up an ambitious 135 million dollar Himalayan Ski Village (HSV) project in Manali on 5 hectare of land to increase high end tourism. The project was massive with a plan to set up 600 rooms, a 5 star hotel, 300 chalets, food courts, a handicraft village, a theatre complex, a convention centre and a sanatorium for hospital tourism with a promise to employ 80% locals after training them in hospitality (Chauhan, 2006) But the local stakeholders (community and other association) including conglomeration of local deities (Jagti) resisted this agreement on the pretext that it would pollute water resources; ruin meadows, create unemployment among locals, adversely affecting flora and fauna of the area besides polluting abode of devtas who reside in this stretch (Chauhan, 2010). Besides Jagti, the local stakeholders denied this proposal in departmental public hearing at kothi on 6th October 2010, forcing Government to shelve this project and now the matter is sub-judice.

The discussion highlights degradation of environment due to increasing tourism affecting sustainability of the town. Indicators like number of vehicles, hotels and waste generation have reached critical level and require urgent mitigation measures to arrest their further expansion. Though NGT has intervened to rectify environmental concerns in the valley, effective policies and efficient mechanisms are required in streamlining tourism structure in the valley. Through Court orders government is bound to obey them but it is for the stakeholders who are running these units and dependent on them to realize the importance of regulated tourism. Over exploitation of the area has created imbalance in the environment posing threat to existence of tourism after NGT orders. It is for the local stakeholders to understand and strike a balance between their need and greed for tourism to sustain in valley.

Chapter 5

Analysis and Discussion

The 2005 Tourism policy of Himachal Government was a breakthrough in tourism industry in the state when it incorporated essential component of sustainability in its goals, objectives and strategy to make state “A Destination for All Seasons and All Reasons”. Many milestones were achieved since the inception of this policy and tourism brought laurels and popular awards for state. The chapter analyses this policy using theoretical & conceptual tools of Tourism Governance, Stakeholder Analysis, and policy evaluation.

5.1 Governance and tourism

Tourism governance has many stakeholders affecting and shaping tourism in a destination. These stakeholders are central government, state govt, line departments, hotel industry, local community, environmentalists, researchers and tourists itself, all engaged to make or mar tourism in a destination. According to Pierre, “governance refers to sustaining coordination and coherence among a wide variety of actors with different purposes and objectives”. Such actors may include political actors and institutions, interest groups, civil society, non-governmental and transnational organizations (2000).

During policy implementation, state initiated a number of good governance steps that encouraged tourism to grow in the valley. The department decentralized financial part and budget/funds were transferred to different line departments to execute tourism scheme. And DTDO was made nodal officer to review progress of these projects, a step to involve stakeholders and to meet out shortage of manpower in the tourism department. It helped in creation of assets like development of Van Vihar, beautification of Mall Road, repair of Gompas and development under Buddhist circuit developed by Forest department, PWD, LAC, etc.

For environmental sustainability, a notable step was banning of polythene bags and implementing this decision made state pioneer in stopping use of Polythene in the country. Stringent provisions of this Act reduced waste generation and altered type of waste in Manali which is more bio degradable now than few years back. Moreover, in pursuance of this legislation local administration developed a mechanism for bringing back waste and litter from Rohtang top by involving local mahila mandals (women clubs) who were engaged in cleaning Manali after tourist season.

For economic sustainability, capacity building of local stakeholders was emphasized and free training camps were organized in assistance with WHMI to train local youth besides holding short term courses for dhaba owners to enhance their skills. Tourism governance in state was centered around government only and barring lone departments no other stakeholders played a significant role in its implementation. Private sector was part of this process to bring in investment whereas NGOs and civil society was conspicuously absent in this whole process despite placing them in the policy document. Local community the main stakeholder and a

powerful group in Manali was neglected completely and barring nominal representations in TDB and TDC majority was denied right to be part of this process, a major drawback of governance.

5.2 Stakeholders and their stakes

Tourism being a multi-actor, multi-departmental industry has multi-pronged interests involving stakeholders not only from government sector but from private hospitality sector, local community, environmentalists and researchers, NGOs and Aid agencies. During my field work, a number of primary stakeholders were identified in Manali-Ministry of Tourism,GOI,Department of Tourism,TCP,PCB, MC Manali,local tourism Associations,having direct implication on tourism whereas secondary stakeholders were NGOs, researchers, environmentalists, local women engaged in tourism. Besides these main stakeholders other power group carrying weight & influencing policy implementation were local power groups of elected representatives, the MLA & local municipal councilors besides nominated members of H P Tourism Board who are generally from the party in power. These power groups bring budget and projects in this resource deficient area and virtually run the show by manipulating policy and provisions to gain political mileage.

5.2.1 Stakeholders & Policy Implementation

Tourism being a heterogeneous group of stakeholders witness negotiations and conflicts to sustain or fail tourism in any destination. Since all these groups have different level of stakes they influence implementation differently. Interview with a petty coat boat seller who earns Rs. 250/- for one pair(rates fixed on direction of NGT) even selling of five pairs was enough for him to make a living after the closure of all commercial activities at Rohtang.Earlier these sellers used to fleece tourists charging excess in the absence of any regulatory mechanism and their power nexus.Even hoteliers running leased hotels had same concern as business reduced to 30% only making it difficult to recover lease amount due to failed tourist season.Before NGT,this industry was in control dictating norms to run tourism at their terms under political patronage but now the biggest hitter due to fall in tourist numbers.The concretization of Manali is attributed to non existing regulatory measures and strong power nexus that didn't let Manali retain its green cover.

“.....tourism in Manali is due to God's grace & sincere efforts by local individuals,..... there is no tourism vision, no experts, no highway, no railway extension after Britishers, no aviation policy..... tourism is in doldrums but existing because of locals.....”

(Office bearer,Manali Hotel Association).

Another powerful group,the Manali Taxi operators with a fleet of 2500 taxis had monopolized local transportation in the town operating for long due to political backing & large vote bank resulting in manifold increase in number of taxis in last 10 years.The policy was operational for almost ten years but no efforts made to restrict number of taxi fleet,to blacklist

and close benami properties, to regulate number of vehicles plying to Rohtang, to penalize hotels flouting building norms, all reflecting that tourism is a political field with stakeholders having web of networks to steer their agenda.

5.2.2 Stakeholder Power Matrix

With the inclusion of different power groups in policy implementation, assessment of different stakeholders become necessary. The exercise is inevitable to reflect on key players maneuvering policies and politics at local level tourism. To analyze their influences & importance, matrix is prepared including all primary & secondary stakeholders in Manali, influencing tourism scenario. Two matrixes are drawn reflecting influence and importance of local Stakeholders in the years 2013 & in 2015 after the involvement of NGT to streamline tourism in the valley in Figure 6.1 and 6.2 respectively.

Figure 6.1: Stakeholders influence/ importance matrix of tourism in Manali, year 2013.

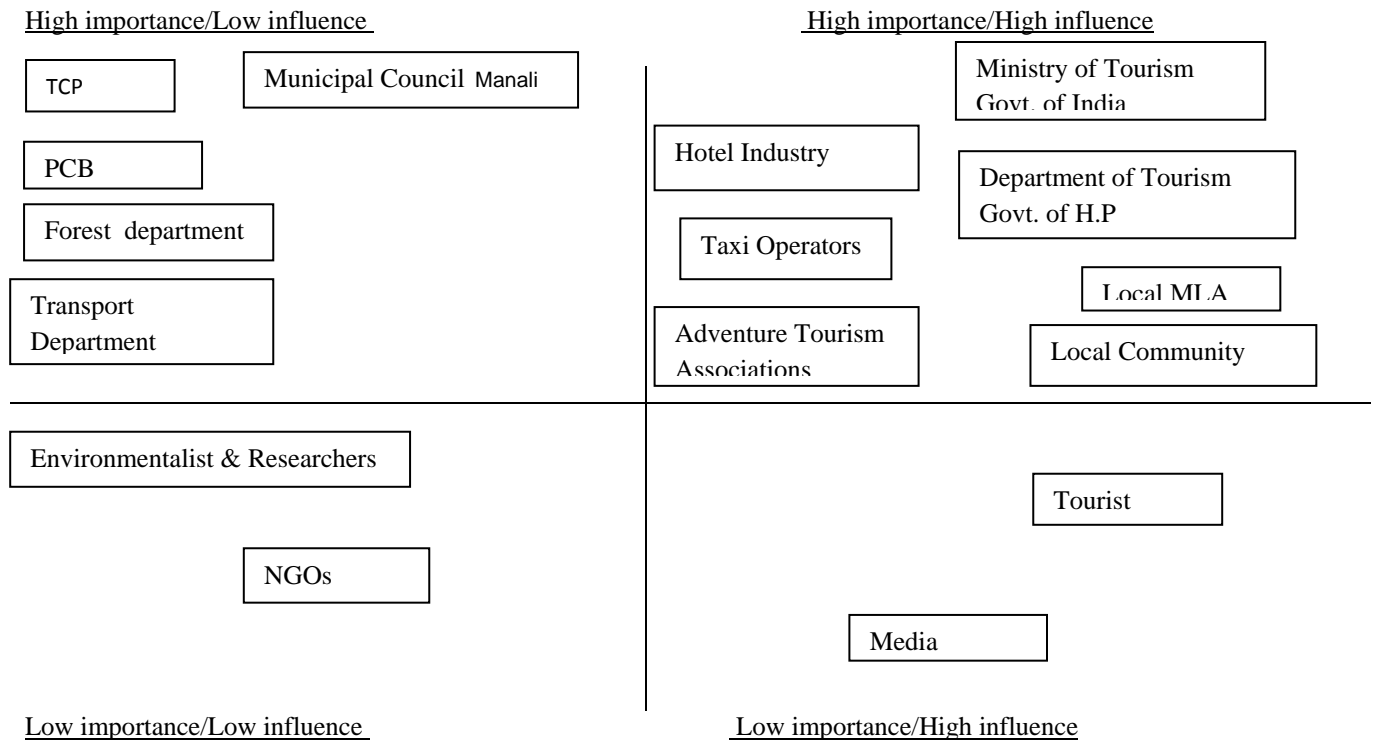
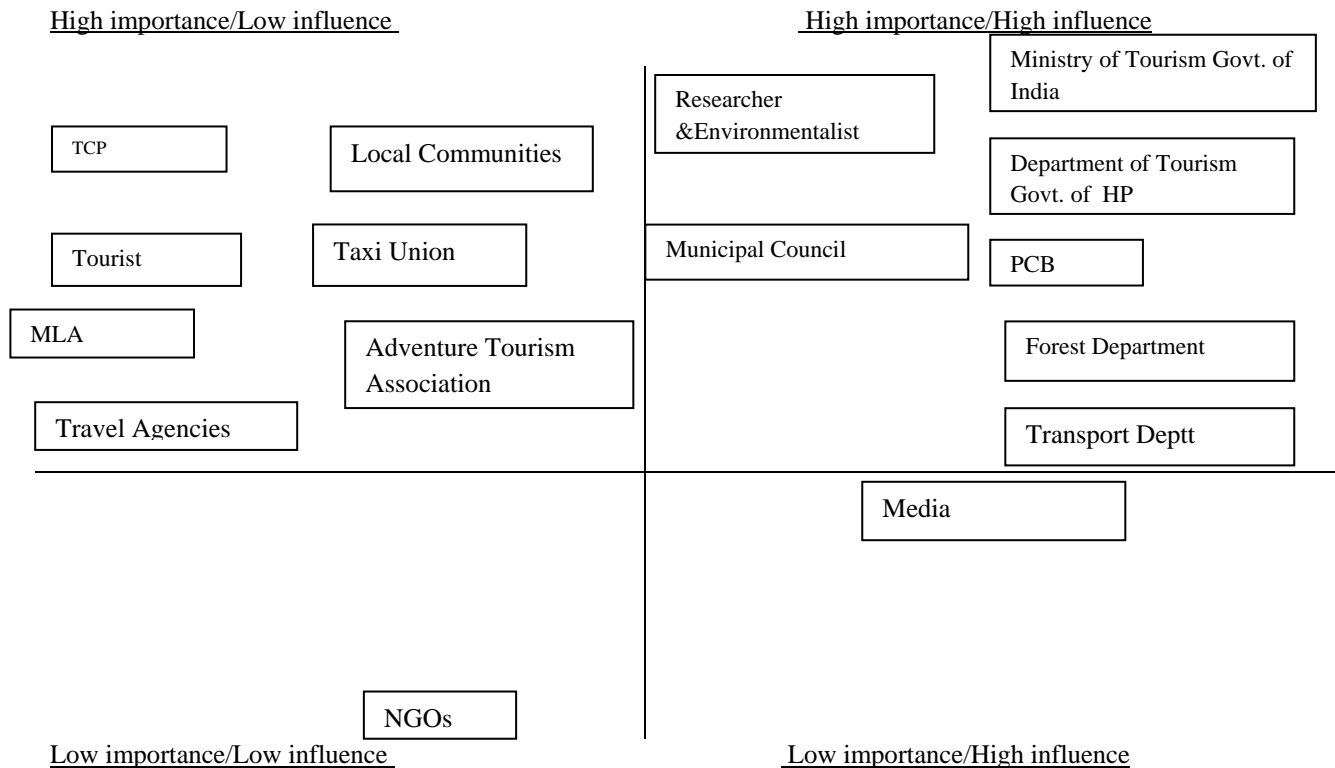


Figure 6.2 : Stakeholders influence/ importance matrix of tourism in Manali, year 2015 (After NGT Intervention)



The matrix reflects the changing power structure in tourism industry in Manali over the years. Till 2013 it was the hotel industry (the private sector) that structured tourism in the valley with the assistance from department of tourism through special packages and tax concessions leading to unprecedented hotel constructions justifying 2005 policy objectives. Whereas the regulatory departments like TCP, PCB, Forest, Municipal Council & Transport Department, though of high importance to supervise tourism in valley were unable to exude influence because of private power nexus. Though ignored in policy document, local community because of its high importance and high influence in political circles and vote bank politics were placed in right upper corner along with parental department and local MLA.

In Low influence & low importance cell researchers / environmentalist & NGOs were placed and this requires immediate attention because researchers were doing remarkable job since 1990s alarming policy makers about changing environment scenario in Manali but their reports / studies were never incorporated in policy document. Role of NGOs in Manali tourism was found negligible.

The scenario was reviewed in 2015 after the intervention of NGT in Manali in Figure 6.2. One can notice the changing power structure and government departments getting their due and being placed in far right corner of high importance and influence. All the regulatory departments besides researchers and environmentalists were now placed in high importance

high influence cell as they were regulating and monitoring tourism activities of their respective field on the direction of NGT. Forest department had removed all encroachment on its land at Rohtang top which was an impossible task before NGT and tourism department had erected essential infrastructure there (wayside amenities and eco friendly units). Local administration now regulates vehicular flow and only 1000 vehicles were allowed to visit Rohtang top per day (600 petrol and 400 diesel vehicles). On the direction of court transport department made successful trial of running CNG bus to Rohtang, a step to make valley free from vehicular pollution.

The 2015 matrix witnessed shifting of local community and other associations and hotel industry to high importance/low influence cell reflecting NGT mandate that support environment sustainability than economic sustainability which this valley had enjoyed for almost three decades jeopardizing inception of sustainable tourism in the valley. This new phase in Manali tourism is due to judicial activism that has found a reason to intervene due to inefficient and ineffective tourism policies in the state often held responsible for distortion of environment in the valley.

6.3 Policy Evaluation

“Aim of evaluation is to assist people and organizations to improve their plans, policies and practices on behalf of citizens, to consider what they are doing to improve their individual practice” (Weiss, 1999, 469). A policy has an internal structure that entails process of intelligence, promotion prescription, invocation, application, termination and appraisal (Lasswell, 305), a linear model in policy cycle with its formal and informal structures’ policy cycle has four stages starting with agenda setting with problem recognition and issue selection; policy formulation and decision making; implementation and evaluation and termination, with evaluation not restricted to a particular stage but can be applied to different stages from different perspectives (Jaun and Wegrich 2006, 53). Evaluation is directed at (ex post) assessing the attainment or non attainment of the policy and program goals or at (ex ante) estimating the attainability of goals, dealing essentially with the effectiveness of policies and measures the amount of resources employed (or invested) in order to reach that goal (Wollmann, 2006, 395).

The policy succeeded at many fronts as it increased number of tourists with the availability of sufficient tourist infrastructure limited to not only urban areas but now tourists had an option to choose between a Homestay unit and a hotel. This policy facilitated choice to tourist which was missing before. Being short of state funds basic infrastructure and minor tourism works were undertaken in the town and were funded by TDC. Though no big project was materialized through PPP mode but wayside amenities and other facilities for tourists were taken up in this mode. Major works that were carried in the town, e.g. c/o Tourist Information Centre Manali, repair of Gompas, etc. the funds were received from GOI under development of Buddhist/Tribal circuit which promoted construction of requisite infrastructure. One major project, “Beautification of Manali Mall Road” was sanctioned in 2008 and it took seven years to complete this after spending an amount of Rs 3 crore from Green tax funds.

Moreover the state efforts were successful in portraying “Himachal A Destination for all Reasons & for All Seasons” through wide publicity in print and electronic media and by participating in tourism conclaves and marts. The publicity helped Manali to draw tourists even in winters and to promote Manali a winter destination, Winter Festival and games are organized every year in month of January to attract avid ski lover & promote winter sports. The policy lacked on opening up of new destinations to decongest core areas and opening up of a hospitality institute in valley. Policy had positive effect on economic front with the generation of employment opportunities but avoided a road map for environment well being bringing destination at the cross road of attaining economic sustainability or environmental sustainability.

6.3.1 Interactive Policy model

A process whereby multiple parties play an active role and jointly arrives at a decision after much negotiations and bargaining with multiple stakeholders where cooperation is the only way to create a basis for support, in view of divergent views at a stake (Driessen, et al 2001, 323). As observed in Manali, there was no interaction with the local stakeholders and both planning and decisions were centralized without taking any local stakeholder into confidence. The projects and plans were made either at Shimla or at Delhi without realizing the ground realities and need of locals and often generalized and not area or issue specific resulting in its failure. With this closed door process, the decisions were linear and percolated from top to bottom ignoring real issues. As happened in Manali, government was aware of environmental degradation because of growing hotels and unregulated flow to Rohtang but because of political interests the repercussions were overlooked. Now since NGT has intervened state making all decisions to satisfy its mandate overlooking livelihood interests of locals as NGT has banned all commercial activities in core areas of both Rohtang and Solang. Now government is listening to line departments and were empowered to take decisions at the local level as per the need arise, making a way for interactive process.

6.3.2 Evaluation of Participatory Approach

“Citizen Participation is citizen power”, according to Arnstein participation is having redistribution of power enabling the have not citizens to induce significant social reform by including them in the future political and economic process (Ainstein, 2007, 216). Discussion with local community, NGOs and researchers revealed that though they were integral part of tourism and were affected by it still they had no say in any stage of policy process. In the words of a local resident:

We are both beneficiaries and sufferers of tourism no platform to voice their concerns.....I am not aware of any policyif there was any policy it would have sailed me through this crisis (NGT orders)...I don't know about policy and its effect in Manali...all I know is my daily survival that is based on renting out coat and boot to tourists whose number have dwindled

considerably since last year...earlier I used to earn handsomely now I barely meet two ends needs....

A coat boot seller, Bahang

The policy has increased indirect local participation in Manali as different groups formed a common platform to voice their concerns and influence policy decisions. Many associations have surfaced in Manali making stakeholders aware of their rights and in dire need all these come together to achieve their goals. Moreover participation of few locals in TDB and TDC has strengthened these institutions where these selective few raise concerns pertaining to Manali. Local stakeholders claimed that tourism in this valley is because of their efforts and determination and government had no role in its development, they built up tourism but their concerns were never heard. Though they were the main stakeholders yet they were excluded from this process and decisions percolated from top to down without considering their demands and requirements. There are limitations to community participation in developing countries because of limitation at operational, structural and cultural level (Tosun, 2000, 618). The locals lack professionalism and with paucity of funds the state has centralized this industry with almost no participation at any level during this policy period. As argued by Alting, et al' "it is the power struggle and political maneuvering in formulation of tourism policy and its implementation among key actor groups including government, private sector, political parties, local elected representatives and communities"(2007,345) and policy will be steered by one with maximum power and clout.

Tourism officials during their interview conveyed that community was not considered an important component in this policy but with lessons learnt new sustainable tourism policy of 2013 has incorporated community as a critical factor in achieving goals of sustainable tourism and for their IEC and empowerment a sustainable wing has been set up in departmental headquarter at Shimla. The sustainable wing has started its work but no such initiative was found in Manali and even locals were not aware of this new policy. But with the implementation of NGT orders it is the opportunity before the government and local administration that orders are implemented for the betterment of Manali. NGT talks of

(i) regulating vehicle number in the valley which if unregulated would make it difficult for a person to visit snowline in a day

(ii) using less polluting vehicles for tourism purpose

(iii) stop activities eroding green cover and causing snow melting and pollution

(iv) stop illegal construction on government land

(v) regulation of tourism activities at present operating without norms

(vi) inculcating tourism ethics and adopting professional measures

Chapter 6

Conclusion

HP tourism policy of 2005 is credited with streamlining & steering tourism in the state to make it a year round destination. These efforts have won many awards & laurels for the State at different platforms placing Himachal in top fifteen destinations of country from time to time.

The policy achieved its stated objectives of providing employment to locals, making Himachal a year round destination, promoting rural tourism through Homestay scheme and improvised tourism infrastructure with assistance from private industry. It diversified local economy and encouraged revival of local handicraft and woollen industry and empowered women who multi tasked their labour to substantiate income. But policy fared poorly in conserving nature from onslaught of mass tourism and growing pollution with mushrooming of hotels and substantial increase in number of local vehicles. Moreover, besides beautification of Manali Mall road no other major project was undertaken to add attraction in the town and no new destination was explored to decongest core areas of Rohtang and solang valley.

Manali witnessed phenomenal increase in its number of hotels, commercial vehicles and tourist activities in last decade because of easy accessibility and publicity resulting in huge tourist inflow boosting economy and bringing in easy money for locals. And tourism was promoted in name of Unforgettable experience and Himachal for All Reasons and Seasons, portraying Manali an all weather destination with each season offering something different and unique.

The policy opened up many employment avenues for locals who gained a lot from trainings in adventure sports and other activities and with facilitation from tourism department rural tourism and hotel industry increased manifold. But participation was a neglected field in the policy implementation and document as no platform was provided to local NGOs to be part of this process making this policy a traditional linear process without involving any other stakeholder.

Environment was the most poorly factored component in this policy despite making a claim to preserve natural heritage and it was environment that bear the brunt of uncontrolled tourism affecting air, water, land, forests and skyline. No concrete steps to check onslaught of tourism on this fragile environment though tourism gained from this environment but nothing to stop its vandalization.

In the backdrop of above discussion few recommendations are made to steer Manali on the path of sustainable tourism

(i) Tourism department should come up with a Master Plan for Manali prioritizing issues after consultation with local stakeholders.

(ii) There is urgent need to have Carrying Capacity and Environment Impact Assessment of Manali before taking up any project.

(iii) Exploration and development of new destinations in Manali to decongest core areas.

(iv) Restriction and regulation on the use of natural resources to improve longevity of the area.

(v) Strengthening infrastructure and mandating green practices in hotel industry.

The discussion indicate the need to have holistic policies incorporating all stakeholders to attain tourism sustainability besides adopting green practices to save environment from further deterioration. NGT intervened in Manali when policies lacked efforts to check this growing trend that was harming environment on which tourism is dependent. At present, in given circumstances Manali has a long way to go to be a 'Sustainable Destination' till then quest for sustainability will be on. Tourism being an ongoing process can always be evaluated to ensure its implementations, outcome & impart periodically by its regular monitoring through surveys & feedback. Tourism is a highly political phenomenon and it is assured that while presence of rich & diverse tourism resources may be adequate for tourist activity, but success in the practice of tourism and hospitality is largely credited to the policy & subsequent implementation thereof (Singh, Shalini 2009,45).

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