



**University of
Sunderland**

Roy, Sujama (2010) A Cultural Politics of Mobilities and Post-Colonial Heritage: A Critical Analysis of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR). Doctoral thesis, University of Sunderland.

Downloaded from: <http://sure.sunderland.ac.uk/id/eprint/3307/>

Usage guidelines

Please refer to the usage guidelines at <http://sure.sunderland.ac.uk/policies.html> or alternatively contact sure@sunderland.ac.uk.

A Cultural Politics of Mobilities and Post-Colonial
Heritage: A Critical Analysis of the
Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR)

Thesis Submitted By
Sujama Roy

University of Sunderland
Submitted in part fulfillment of the requirement of the
Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
October 2010

CONTENTS

Statement of Originality	3
Acknowledgement	4
Abstract	7
List of Figures	9
List of Abbreviations	10
Chapter 1: Introduction	11
Chapter 2: The Postcolonial Context	37
Chapter 3: The Mobilities Context	77
Chapter 4: Methodology	100
Chapter 5: Representing the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway	143
Chapter 6: Experiencing the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway	164
Chapter 7: Conclusions	198

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I, Sujama Roy, declare that this work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To begin with I would like to thank the director of my study Professor Kevin Hannam, who has played an immeasurable role in guiding me through this academic journey. My gratitude to the University of Sunderland for nominating me for ORSAS (Overseas Research Student Awards Scheme 2005) and to the Universities UK and the Department of Education and Skill, UK for awarding me the ORSAS. In this regard I would like to thank Dr. Proloy Sur, ex departmental head of Bengali Language and Literature, Presidency College, Kolkata (Calcutta) for being one of my academic referees. The Graduate Research Support, University of Sunderland, who were extremely helpful in clearing my administrative path, making it easier for me to focus on my work.

I received help from Murray Library and Inter Library, University of Sunderland; University of Edinburgh Library, National Library of Scotland Edinburgh

During my research, I received help and support from numerous sources. With due respect, I would like to mention the name of:

Mr. Tridib Basu Former Joint Director National Atlas and Thematic Map Organisation, India

Mr. Animesh Basu Himalayan Nature and Adventure Foundation Siliguri, India

Mr. Raj Basu Founder, Help Tourism, Siliguri, West Bengal, India

All of them played crucial roles by being key gatekeepers at various stages of my research fieldwork as well as providing me with their valuable suggestions.

I would like to pay my earnest gratitude to Prof. Jeta Sankrityan of North Bengal University, India, for sparing me his time and for giving his academic insight which were invaluable in shaping my thesis.

I also would like to remember my teacher in India, Late Mr Amiya Mukherjee, with whom I discussed my academic journey and received his moral and emotional support till the end of his life.

I would like to give my sincere thanks to Mr. Joydip Mitra Editorial Member '*Jaara Parijayee*', Travel Magazine who shared his experience of the DHR and offered me some of the wonderful photographs of the DHR taken by him to use in my thesis.

The official members of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway were helpful to me. My kind regards to Mr. Subrato Nath, Former Director, DHR and Mr. Utpal Sharma ADEM Tindharia Workshop for sparing me their valuable time.

In this regard I would like to thank people related to the DHR: Late Mr. Bangshidhar Dixit, Mr. Shushil Dixit, Mr. Hiren Trikhetri, Mr. Mothey, Mr. Hari Sharma, and all former and current employees of the DHR for sparing me their time and providing me with their invaluable insight which immensely helped to develop my thesis.

I would like to thank all the teachers and students of St Alphonsus School, Kurseong and the Students Union of Kurseong College for facilitating my research. My special thanks to Sisir Tamang for his sincere assistance during my field work.

My sincere thanks to the Manager and employees of Kurseong Tourist Lodge, Mr. Sameer Tamang and Mrs. Pushpa Tamang and all other families of Kurseong who provided their support during my stay in Kurseong. Also I would like to thank other people of Darjeeling and Kurseong who came to help during my fieldwork. Mr. N. P. Subba, Mr. K. K. Gurung and Mr. B Sharma are amongst them.

I would like to thank Mr. David Barrie President of the DHR Society UK and Mr. Rajen Baid President, DHR India Support Group. Also I would like to mention Mr. Peter Tiller and Ms Merilyn Metz and Mr. Kai Weise for providing me with materials and valuable suggestions related to my research. My special thanks to Mr. David Charlesworth, Editor of 'Darjeeling Mail' for all his kind support throughout my research work.

I would like to especially remember Mr. Naresh Bhowmik and Mrs. Sandhya Bhowmik and their sons Dipankar and Shubhankar who allowed me to stay with them in Siliguri during my fieldwork. My sincere thanks to them for their emotional support.

I want to thank my parents for their support and encouragement as well as other friends and family members for their moral support and last, but not least, my friend Anu Sharma, for all her constant support to date that enabled me to carry out my work in the UK.

ABSTRACT

The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR) had been introduced in 1881 in the hills of Darjeeling as a vehicle for economic and social development in Colonial India. The importance of Darjeeling as the economic and strategic centre accelerated the implementation of the DHR as the main mode of transport in the Himalayan foothills of Northern Bengal. At the time of its inception Darjeeling Himalayan Railway was a commercial railway carrying freight and running regular mail trains serving the new needs of the region as it developed as a military base and tea production centre. Since then the DHR has evolved through different periods of time incorporating different phases of its own existence both as a mode of transport and as a heritage form. In 1999 the DHR was declared as a World Heritage Site due to its significance as a hill passenger railway and an example of the engineering excellence of 19th Century and the socio-economic development that it brought into the Darjeeling region. However, even after ten years of its inscription as a World Heritage, very little research has been done on the DHR. This thesis, thus, focuses on the DHR. In my research, I have firstly attempted a cultural analysis of the 'journey' of the DHR. How it is instrumental in making 'travel experiences' and how it is itself constituted through different embodied travel practices and performances. In this context it is shown how the 'hybrid geographies' of humans and machines that contingently make both people and materials move and hold their shape. In this way, it explores the complex relationality between the traveller and the mode of travel and how it incorporates different aspects of mobilities and materialities. I also focus on the DHR's relationship with the community alongside the railway track: how the people and this 19th century mode of travel, continue to be attached with complex and enduring connections. Secondly, I have focused on the representational aspects of the DHR. It is evident that tourists reorder the world through the manipulation of texts, images and practices

similar to what colonialism did to codify colonial people to better impose its institutions and policies. In the present context I therefore explore, in light of post-colonial theory, how the DHR has been proliferated in various discourses. Hence, I examine the significance of the intangible aspects inherent in the DHR and attempt to trace out these 'contact zones' by drawing upon aspects of post-colonial theory. Indeed, the research gains theoretical currency from two different theoretical perspectives, namely, 'Post-Colonial Theory' and the new 'Mobilities' paradigm. Methodologically, the research was broadly ethnographic and based on mainly on interviews taken in the field, as well as observations on board the train. Significantly, I also walked extensively along the track (nearly 35 km) from Kurseong to Darjeeling at different times as a comprehensive way to understand the whole process of the DHR. This can be conceptualized as the 'co-present immersion' of a researcher in the field for observing and recording. The thesis concludes with indications to possibilities of future research on the DHR such as the relations between cars and the DHR which could bring new understanding to the mobilities paradigm.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1P: 20	Maps of Darjeeling District, West Bengal, India
Figure 1.2 P: 36	The Route, Loops and Reverses of the Darjeeling Himalayan railway
Figure 4.1P: 129	Focus Group at St Alphonsus School Kurseong. 18.02.2008
Figure 5.1 P: 146	Darjeeling Station 1920s
Figure 5.2 P: 149	DHR in 1930s
Figure 5.3 P: 153	'Ghum' Railway Station; Monsoon 2003
Figure 5.4 P: 156	DHR in Present Context in Darjeeling Station 2006
Figure 5.5 P: 161	'Existential Comfort': DHR in Kurseong Station 2006
Figure 6.1 P: 168	The DHR 'B' Class Locomotive
Figure 6.2 P: 173	Popular Performance: Hanging out of the Running Train by Local Children
Figure 6.3 P: 185	Moving Through Landscape
Figure 6.4 P: 187	'Taskscape': DHR within Community
Figure 6.5 P: 190	Juxtaposed spaces of the DHR site and Community
Figure 6.6 P: 190	'A Railway only when a train comes'

Figure 7.1 P: 204	Cars and the DHR
Figure 7.2 P: 205	The DHR Crew
Table 4.1 P: 134	Characteristics of Participants

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADEM: Additional Divisional Engineer Mechanical

DGHC: Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council

DHR: Darjeeling Himalayan Railway

DM: District Magistrate

I.A.S: Indian Administrative Service

I.P.S: India Police Service

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR) was introduced in 1881 into the hills of Darjeeling as a vehicle for economic and social development in colonial India. The importance of Darjeeling as an economic and strategic centre accelerated the implementation of the DHR as the main mode of transport in the Himalayan foothills of Northern Bengal. Indeed the Darjeeling district has its long history of tourism as a hill station since colonial times, and is rich in culture, heritage and nature based tourism products. The district is encircled by international boundaries with Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh and interstate boundaries with Sikkim, and Bihar. This multitude of boundaries means that the district witnesses visitors from bordering countries/states as well as international Western visitors (see Timothy 2001). In recent years the region has witnessed considerable unrest related to demands for Gorkha political autonomy meaning that it is important to develop an awareness of the political dimensions of tourism in this context that the nature of tourism development emerges from a political process and this process involves the value of actors (Hall 1994). Hence, all these factors have given the region a dynamics which is worth-exploring in the context of tourism research. However, current research has focused on one of the major aspects of this region, namely, the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway ((DHR). At the time of its inception the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway was a commercial railway carrying freight and running regular mail trains serving the new needs of the region as it developed as a military base and tea production centre. Since then the DHR has evolved through different periods of time incorporating different phases of its own existence both as a mode of transport and as a form of heritage. In 1999 the DHR was declared a World Heritage Site due to its significance

as a hill passenger railway and as an example of the engineering excellence of the 19th Century and the socio-economic development that it brought into the Darjeeling region. The DHR has long been used in popular media both in India and in the West. The loco section of the DHR remains as a centre of attraction to the steam-enthusiasts world-wide. However, even after ten years of its inscription as a World Heritage Site, very little research has been done on the DHR from a critical stance of travel research. In the context of railway heritage, Halsall's (2001) account focussed upon the paucity of discussion about leisure and transport heritage in transport geography. Thus he discussed a preserved rural tramway in the Netherlands, drawing upon studies of tourist images and places, in order to develop a critique of the concept of the tourist gaze in the context of the Noordholland landscape. This research, although, based on a heritage railway, is more critical in understanding as it is posited on two theoretical concerns which work as double axes for the research topic. The aims and objectives of the current research is therefore:

1. To complete an ethnography of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway.
2. To critically evaluate the discursive representation of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in light of Postcolonial theoretical context.
3. To critically analyse the material culture of the 'journey' of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in the context of 'New Mobilities' paradigm.
4. To find out convergences between the two paradigms, namely, the Postcolonialism and the New Mobilities paradigm into the single context of the DHR and hence, to open up possibilities for more innovative travel research in future.

In the current research, the rationale for choosing the two paradigms of poscolonialism and new mobilities are as follows. Kerr (2007) noted that the railways of India can be studied in a myriad different ways, each fascinating and significant in its own right, and each contributing

to a better understanding of the many ways in which the development and operation of the railways contributed to the making of colonial and postcolonial India. This thesis significantly addresses the historical interface of the colonial and post-colonial issues available in the context of the DHR travel. Indeed the railway and imperialism were interdependent and that was one of the significant aspects of the DHR. As noted by Lee:

[c]olonial railways were part of this process of the spread of empire, its economic patterns, its ideas and its institutions. The process was essentially the same throughout the world: production of new commodities to feed the burgeoning industries of the West; new populations to produce them; new patterns of land ownership, often involving dispossession of previous inhabitants; new legal codes to make the conquered land safe for investment and exploitation (1999:7).

The DHR was a product of colonial period. Thus, its aesthetics, iconography and social relation –all but inform colonialism. However India became decolonized, the fate of the DHR has also been changed from an imperial project to a branch line of the Indian Railways. So as a heritage product seeing the DHR means stepping to a different political system where colonial and postcolonial are intertwined, often critically. And not only that, as society changes, that informs that seeing the DHR in present context is, again, stepping back to a different productive system as well as different social relation. As has been described above, the DHR has both colonial and post-colonial histories. Being a colonial mode of transport it still retains most of its original features and is functioning in its original form, thus, it offers a unique touristic travel experience in the contemporary period. It is has become evident that tourists these days reorder the world through the manipulation of texts, images and practices similar to what colonialism did to codify colonial people to better impose its institutions and policies. In the present context I therefore overall explore, in light of the postcolonial theoretical framework how the DHR has been proliferated in various discourses. Hence, I

examine the significance of the intangible aspects inherent in the DHR and attempt to trace out these 'contact zones' by drawing upon aspects of post-colonial theory.

Secondly, as the DHR has got heritage status due to its cultural significance. Therefore I have attempted a cultural analysis of the 'journey' of the DHR. How it is instrumental in making 'travel experiences' and how it is itself constituted through different embodied travel practices and performances. In this context it is shown how the 'hybrid geographies' of humans and machines that contingently make both people and materials move and hold their shape. It explores the complex relationality between the traveller and the mode of travel and how it incorporates different aspects of mobilities and materialities. I also focus on the relationship between the DHR and the community alongside the railway track: how the people and this 19th century mode of travel continue to be attached with complex and enduring connections.

Thus, I tried to seek this significance by analysing cultural politics of mobilities, that is, how as a socio-technical system the DHR created social relations and how those relations have been evolved around the DHR over time, from its colonial past to the postcolonial present. The discursive practices around the DHR have been addressed critically permeating the postcolonial theory whereas the socio-technicality of the DHR has been analysed by drawing upon the new mobilities paradigm to a greater length by delving deeper into the actual 'journey' of the DHR. The process goes beyond the discursive function of postcolonial theory and brings the material culture of the journey into the fore which is more innovative and original in nature as it relies on the hitherto subterranean theoretical currency as well as methods of mobilities research. Thus, the two paradigms become crucial in deciphering the fuller meaning of the DHR both as a mode of transport entailing colonial past and

postcolonial present as well as the meaning of its ‘journey’ itself – the socio-spatial relation that it created over time. Before going to describe the structure of my thesis, I am going to discuss briefly the histories of Darjeeling and Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR).

A Brief History of Darjeeling

From the early times of the British Empire, the occupation of the hills had been considered as an important step:

It has been the yearning for health and for shelter from the sweltering hot seasons...which have most moved these men, but some have thought that military colonies should be there placed, in which our men could be stationed. There are records that Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellington, Munro, Bentinck, Metcalfe, Ellenborough, Dalhousie, Malcolm, Canning, and the Laurences, amongst others, have favoured the occupation of the hills (Clarke 1881:528-29).

In 1819, Lord William Bentinck took the first practical step in this regard by authorising the establishment of Shimla and from that time various hill stations gradually increased in number. The foundation of Darjeeling in 1835 was a remarkable step in opening a hill station in Bengal. In February 1829 Captain G.W. A. Lloyd of the British military spent six days in ‘the old Goorkha station of Darjeeling’ and discovered its advantage as a site for a sanatorium. The name Darjeeling is thought to be a derivation of ‘Dorjeling’ – the place of ‘Dorje’, the ‘majestic thunderbolt’ of the Lamaistic Religion. At that time Darjeeling was a small village under the Kazi (minister) of the King of Sikkim. Captain Lloyd and Mr. J. W. Grant of the Civil Service –these two British officials represented the knowledge they had gleaned to the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck in 1829. He directed Major Herbert, Deputy Surveyor General to explore the site of Darjeeling. The result was brought before the Court of Directors of the East India Company. They approved a plan for the development of

Darjeeling as a hill station and extended it with a view of Darjeeling forming a depot for the temporary reception of English recruits and even as a permanent station for a European regiment. General Lloyd (formerly Captain Lloyd) was directed to enter into negotiations with the King of Sikkim. He succeeded in obtaining the execution of a deed of grant by the King of Sikkim on the 1st February 1835.

The whole territory of Darjeeling then came under the British occupation in three phases during the thirty years from 1835 to 1865. The deed of grant in 1829 was the first phase in this process. The second phase followed a war with Sikkim which resulted in the annexation of Sikkim's 'Terai' or 'Morang' at the foot hills and also a portion of Sikkim hills which was bounded by the Rammam river on the North, by the Great Rangit and the Teesta rivers on the east, and by the Nepal frontier on the West. The 'Terai' was ceded to Sikkim by the Treaty of Titalya in 1817 but the British began a war with Sikkim and annexed this ceded territory and that was ratified by the Treaty of Tunglong in 1861. The third phase was signified by the outbreak of the Anglo-Bhutan war which ended in the Treaty of Sinchula in 1865 and led to the British annexation of the hill territory which was situated to the east of the Teesta river, the west of the Ne-chu and De-chu rivers, and the south of Sikkim. In 1880 Siliguri was taken from Jalpaiguri district and included in the Darjeeling administrative region. This shape of Darjeeling remained unchanged but the political dimensions varied from time to time. The district of Darjeeling was annexed to Rajshahi (now in Bangladesh) after 1850. In 1905 the region in the present shape was included in the Bhagalpur of Bihar and re-included in Rajshahi in 1912 and for that reason it was incorporated into the state of Bengal after independence.

The town of Darjeeling was one of the most important places in connection with the British

settlement of Bengal. The drive of the English East India Company towards Darjeeling and the adjacent region was motivated by several factors. Lord William Bentinck was eager in establishing a settlement in Darjeeling as Clarke noted that he (Bentinck) “never lost sight of the expediency of establishing on this tract of the Sikkim hills a station for the benefit of those whose health demanded relief from the heat of the Bengal plains...This undertaking likewise received fostering care of Lord Auckland during his Government, as also of the successive deputy governors of Bengal, and of the Governor General, Lord Canning, as well as his successors” (1881: 533). Between 1839 and 1842, the Pankhabari Road to Darjeeling through the forest of Terai was constructed. The construction of the Hill Cart Road began in 1861 and was completed in 1866. The opening of the railway in 1881 was another important addition to the communication system in the area. There was a surge in construction of the buildings on the ridges of Darjeeling hill which included an Anglican Church, Baptist and Roman Catholic Chapels, boarding and other schools for boys and girls, a public library, a Masonic lodge, a hospital, a treasury, a jail, hotels and various shops. Thus Darjeeling “become a small centre of colonisation...It is one of those places to which English children are sent for education, and there they get the rosy cheeks of old England” (Clarke 1881: 534). This process of development also gradually encouraged the growth of tourism in Darjeeling. Clarke noted again in this respect that: “The great attraction of Darjeeling to visitors and tourists, and which brings many, is the noble view of Deodhunga 29,002 feet high, of Kanchingga 28,176 feet high, and some of the highest peaks of the Himalayas, affording perhaps the grandest scenery in the world Thus in the future of Darjeeling its situation as one of the chief places of resort by the Indian traveller will have great influence” (1881:534).

British rulers used Darjeeling as a permanent recruiting centre for the British Indian Army:

The underlying compulsion of the British rulers in the post-Sepoy Revolt period was

to recruit 'loyal' Nepali soldiers who would not be affected by the incipient nationalist feelings which were distinctly found among the Indian sepoys during the Revolt of 1857 (Dasgupta 1999: 49).

The recruitment of the Gorkhas (all categories of Nepali-speaking recruits were known as 'Gorkhas' in the British Indian Army) started in the late 19th century. The number of Gorkha battalions increased from five in 1862 to twenty in 1914 and Darjeeling became an important recruiting centre for these battalions.

The industrial importance of Darjeeling as the tea and cinchona production centre was the next major factor. In 1841 Dr. Campbell started the experiment of growing tea plants in Darjeeling. Tea production started on commercial scale in the area from 1856 onwards and the industry flourished rapidly and attracted the British planters in significant numbers. The number of gardens increased from 39 in 1866 to 186 in 1895 and the net production (in lbs) from 4,33,000 in 1866 to 1,17,14,551 in 1895 (O'Mally 1907). The prospect of cinchona plantations in the forest of Darjeeling which constituted more than 90 percent of the hill areas in the mid 19th century also attracted many British merchants to utilise these products commercially.

Along with other factors, the British interest to occupy the hill was associated with the geo-political importance of Darjeeling:

The great value of Darjeeling and Sikkim territory rises from its lying between Nepaul, Thibet and Bhootan, on one of the natural routes to Central Asia, commanding the trade on the eastern frontier. The produce and exports from these districts include gold dust, iron, copper, lime, woods, tea...and many other articles...As a political position, it commands the countries referred to, and prevents

the Nepaulese from seizing Bhootan... (Clarke 1881:534).

Sikkim was of special interest to the English rulers because of its strategic position and Darjeeling, being a part of Sikkim then, induced a commercial compulsion for the British. Throughout the 19th century the British interest in overland trade with Tibet and Central Asia and the related exigency for safeguarding the northern border of India against China and Tibet came out to be the guiding parameters in the British policy towards the Kingdom of Sikkim. After the annexation of Darjeeling from Sikkim and Bhutan and the containment of Nepal the British traders started to increase trade with Sikkim, Nepal and Tibet through Darjeeling and the volume of trade through Darjeeling kept on increasing through-out the 19th century.

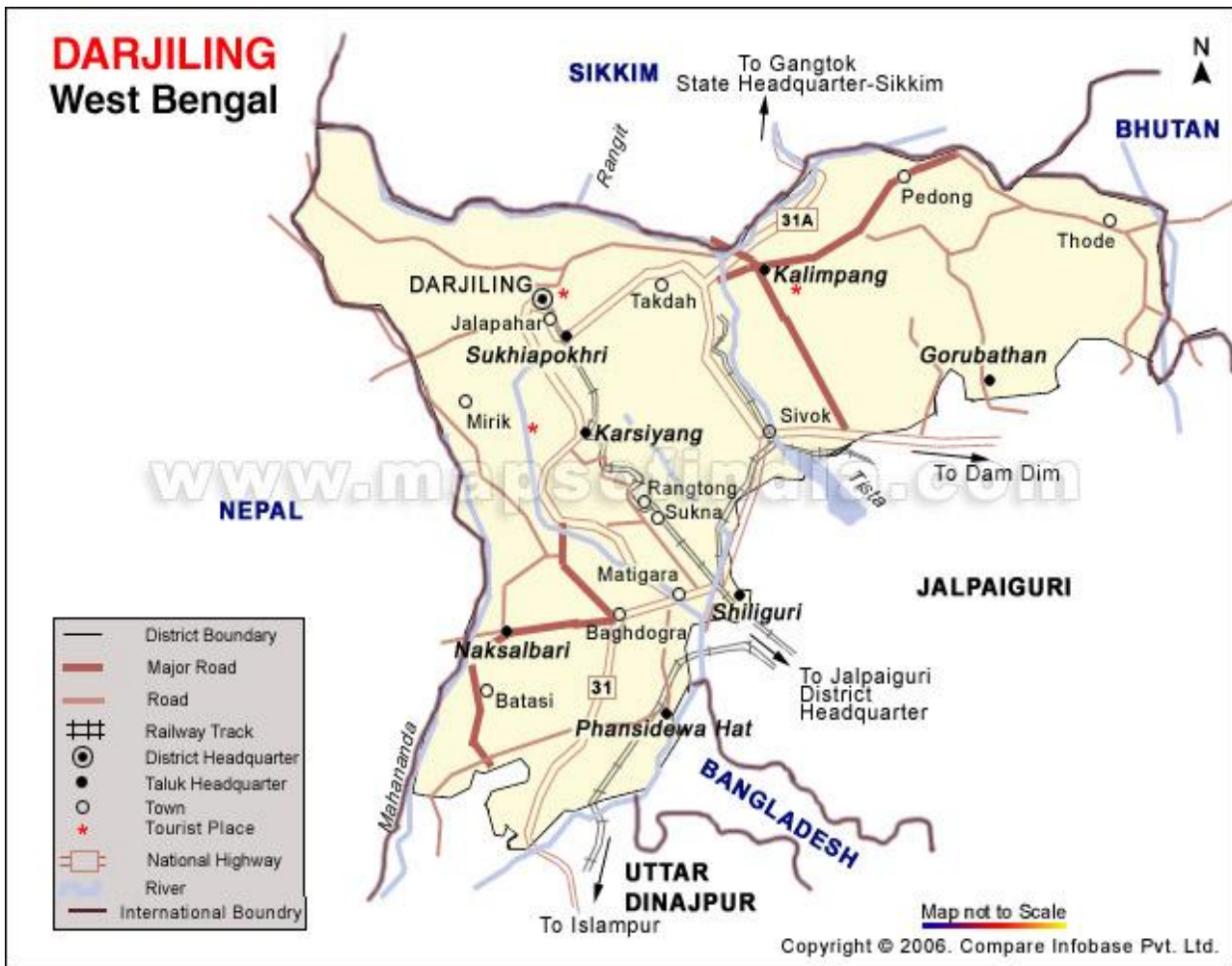


Figure 1.1: Darjeeling District Today; Source: mapsofindia.com

Darjeeling today is the northernmost district of the State of West Bengal, India. Total area of the district is 3,149 Sq km. The name of the district is derived from its headquarters. Darjeeling is located between 27.16°05" and 26.27°10" North Latitudes and 88.53°00" and 87.59°30" East Longitudes. It is bounded by Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan and the Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. The district consists of four sub-divisions – Darjeeling Sadar, Kalimpong, Kurseong and Siliguri. Darjeeling is a multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic area. 54 percent of the whole geographical area of the region is covered by forests; another 14 percent is used for agriculture. Tea and cinchona plantations account for 6.62 and 10.75 percent of land respectively. Since the establishment of Darjeeling people of diverse ethnic and linguistic origin came from the surrounding territories and settled here. There is a mixed

population of Nepalese, Lepcha, Bhutia, Tibetan, Bengali and other Indians (1,605,900 in 2001) in the region. The hill area is predominantly known for its scenic beauty and tea gardens and is a popular tourist destination in India. Tea, timber and tourism – the three Ts form the backbone of the hill economy (Chaklader 2004).

A Brief History of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR)

The history of the DHR (Darjeeling Himalayan Railway) is deeply embedded with the history of Darjeeling itself as discussed above. The increasing need for communication to and from Darjeeling brought the idea of a hill railway into reality. The importance of Darjeeling as an economic and strategic centre accelerated the implementation of the DHR as the main mode of transport into the Darjeeling hills. At the time of its inception the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway was primarily a commercial railway carrying freight and running regular mail trains serving the new needs of the region as it developed as a military base and tea production centre. Afterwards, due to its climate, Darjeeling became known as one of the summer leisure and tourism hill stations in colonial India for the British elite. As we shall see, over time the historical dimension of Darjeeling has changed notably. Darjeeling has predominantly become a tourist destination and the role of the DHR has also evolved from the nineteenth century mode of transport to the present day ‘joy ride’: one of the major tourism attractions in the region rather than just a mode of communication.

In 1878 Franklin Prestage, an agent of Eastern Bengal Railway (EBR) proposed a hill tramway of 2ft gauge following the alignment of the Hill Cart Road. The construction started in 1879 under the name of the Darjeeling Himalayan Tramway Co and the work was carried out in a simultaneous process on unconnected sections. In March 1880 the then Viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, visited the line. The same year in August the line opened for public use

between Siliguri and Kurseong. The line was opened to the Darjeeling main station in July 1881 by Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the title of the company was changed to the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Co in September 1881. In the following years the DHR developed remarkably with the introduction of loops and reverses to ease the gradients by 1882 and with the B class locomotives brought on to the line in 1888. By 1914 the DHR was carrying an annual average of 250 thousand passengers and 60,000 tonnes of freight. The intense traffic of World War I led to an all time peak of 300,000 passengers. The works at Tindharia was opened in 1914 as the main engineering centre of the line. It has been working ever since integrating carriage works, machining facilities, a boiler shop and a foundry and it still retains traditional engineering methods. In 1915 two new branch lines were opened – one to Kishenganj, south west of Siliguri, connected with the Oudh Trihut Railway. The other was from Siliguri to Kalimpong Road, Gielle Khola – northward along the Teesta Valley, east of the original line which was introduced to reach Kalimpong. During the 1920s the DHR and Teesta Valley lines were used to transport men and equipment for attempts to reach the summit of Mount Everest (Baid 2007). However, Kalimpong was eventually connected via a ropeway and the Teesta Valley branch line never reached its potential (TERI 2001: 159). The famous ‘Batasia Loop’ was constructed in 1919, eliminating problems by creating an easier gradient on the ascent from Darjeeling. During World War II, Darjeeling became a ‘rest and recuperation’ centre for the British armed forces and thus, the traffic on the DHR line increased significantly. The DHR played a crucial role in transporting military personnel and supplies to the numerous camps around Ghoom and Darjeeling. The line had 39 working locomotives and Tindharia works, employing almost 400 workers constructed extra rolling stock including a five vehicle ambulance train. Peak capacity was reached in 1947 when the DHR had 45 locomotives, 139 passenger coaches, and 606 wagons (NF Railway undated, cited in Final Report TERI 2001: 159).

However, the independence of India in 1947 and the resulting partition of Bengal seriously affected the DHR line. The main rail link from Calcutta to Siliguri was now through the newly established country of East Pakistan. On the 20th October 1948 the DHR Company was taken over by the Indian government namely, The Indian Railways, and lost its status as an independent company. In 1949 the Kishanganj branch line was converted to metre gauge as part of the Assam Rail Link project. An 'all India' rail route was re-established between Calcutta and Darjeeling with a return to a change of trains and a ferry crossing of the Ganges. In 1950 Teesta Valley branch line closed due to a major wash-out and the DHR came under the management of Assam Railways organisation. Assam Railways including the DHR was regrouped into the North Eastern Railway zone (NER) in 1952 and in 1958 the DHR and the former Assam train lines were transferred to the North East Frontier Railway zone (NFR). Since then the DHR has been being operated as a branch under the NFR. In the following years the DHR faced several changes: a line opened from Siliguri Town to New Jalpaiguri (NJP) for freight services and roadside running in Siliguri was abandoned in 1962; passenger services re-commenced on the new DHR line between Siliguri and NJP to connect with the new broad gauge route from Malda and Barsoi. The line, however, was closed in 1968-69 due to major floods, but in 1971 a direct broad gauge route was opened from Calcutta to NJP without change of train or ferry crossing.

The DHR first began facing competition from road transport in the 1930s which then gained momentum in the post-independence period. During these years the DHR suffered systematic neglect being a small branch line under NF Railway. From the 1970s onwards competition from road transport increasingly cut into the DHR's traffic and the systematic neglect replaced the previously high maintenance standards. The operational cutback of the railway's

network together with the effects of the climate, local geological and physical condition as well as socio-political circumstances led to the DHR having a precarious existence. The extension to Darjeeling Bazaar was closed during the 1980s and the carriage of mail traffic on the DHR also ceased in 1984. The DHR line remained closed for 18 months in 1988-89 due to political unrest from the Gorkhaland Movement and the decline continued in the following decade. Loop No 1 was removed and replaced by a plain line in 1991 and freight traffic on the DHR line largely ceased in 1992. This situation reached its extreme in 1992 when the Indian Railways considered auctioning the DHR to the private sector (TERI Report 2001, Wallace 2009).

The debates over the closing down the DHR line caused repercussions world wide, however. Several organizations and people were instrumental in moving against the decision to close the DHR and to retain it as a functional railway. The efforts in India were led by the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Heritage Foundation in Darjeeling in accumulating opinions towards the preservation of the DHR. A number of international organizations such as Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Society in the UK also lobbied for World Heritage Status for the DHR. Official support was also provided by the National Railway Museum of the Indian Railways. In December 1999 The DHR secured World Heritage Status at the 23rd Session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee held in Morocco. In the brief description of the DHR, the World Heritage Committee report stated: “The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is the first, and still the most outstanding example of a hill passenger railway. Opened in 1881, it applied bold and ingenious engineering solutions to the problems of establishing an effective rail link across a mountainous terrain of great beauty. It is still fully operational and retains most of its original features intact” (www.unesco.org/whc/sites/944.html).

The genesis of the DHR was significant both economically and in terms of engineering. With the introduction of the railway in to the hills price differentials reduced significantly (at its opening the price of rice in Darjeeling reduced from Rs 238 per ton to Rs 98 per ton in 1881). The building of the railway line led to a reduction in the Government's maintenance costs of the Hill Cart Road (about Rs 500,000 per annum in the 1880s) and most importantly, the journey time from Calcutta to Darjeeling was reduced from 5 to 6 days to under 24 hours. In terms of its engineering excellence, the DHR has the following features:

- Zigzagging across the Hill Cart Road entailed over 177 crossings en-route.
- Running a loop where the train describes a full circle to finish at a similar spot some 6 metres higher. There are three such loops.
- Reversing on a Z-shaped layout where the train runs forward, reverses backwards up the slope, then proceeds forward again parallel to the approach line but at greater altitude. There are six such Z reverses (TERI Report 2000:160).

In this way the DHR climbs the mountain and links two geographical worlds – the plains and the hills, and it does this in a seminal fashion. The DHR is neither the first narrow gauge railway in the world, nor the first railway with a zig-zag, however, as Lee (1999:11) noted: “it was the first to combine these elements, and it achieved a feat of rapid climbing which was and remains unequalled by any adhesion (as opposed to rack operated) railway.” He further stated that:

DHR...has been a very influential railway. It was the prototype for the later hill railways elsewhere in India and beyond. Lines such as those to Ootacamund...Simla and Matheran in India, Darlat in Vietnam, Maymyo in Burma, Bukit Tinggi in Sumatra and Bandung (among other places) in Java, all owe much to the Darjeeling precedent. The DHR showed what could be done with a narrow gauge in very challenging terrain...the DHR has never been excelled in terms of achieving its aims

so economically and with such modest engineering works. The very modesty is one of its most remarkable features, and one that has never been equalled in such terrain elsewhere” (Lee 1999:12).

In this respect, UNESCO also judged the DHR as a World Heritage Site on the bases of the following criteria:

- Criterion (ii) The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is an outstanding example of the influence of an innovative transportation system on the social and economic development of a multi-cultural region, which was to serve as a model for similar developments in many parts of the world.
- Criterion (iv) The development of railway in the 19th century had a profound influence on social and economic developments in many parts of the world. This process is illustrated in an exceptional and seminal fashion by the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway. (<http://www.unesco.org/whc/sites/944.htm>).

The DHR has had immense social and economic influence. It played a major role in the development of the tea industry in Darjeeling; also the DHR enabled the expansion of population which was mixed in terms of culture and ethnicity. Finally the significance of the DHR moved beyond the economic and socio-demographic changes: “It also has a place in human imagination, and always has had” (Lee 1999:13). Undoubtedly, the DHR has a complex history which is not just because it has been running for over 125 years and has retained most of its original features but also, as Wallace (2009: 5) put it:

...the atmosphere of romance which has always surrounded Darjeeling and the DHR...Its little engines, magical location, natural, political and socio-economic influences and the consequent expansion and later retrenchment of the railway’s network have all played their part in maintaining the aura of interest and mystery surrounding the line.

I now move on to discuss the actual structure of the thesis.

Structure of the Thesis

In the second chapter of the thesis I discuss the postcolonial context in terms of four main aspects. Firstly, colonialism is defined and postcolonialism is discussed in detail as a historical marker. It is shown, in that context, that the term ‘postcolonial’ brings out immense possibilities and also confusions in intellectual practices. In some cases emphasis has been given on the ‘post’ of ‘postcolonial’ as a temporal demarcation, however, in a more critical way, the prefix ‘post’ is read as signifying both changes in power structures after the official end of colonialism and the continuing discursive effects of colonialism. In this case postcolonial theory is an umbrella term that covers different critical approaches which deconstruct European thought in areas as wide-ranging as philosophy, history, literary studies, anthropology, sociology and political science. It is considered that the term postcolonial is a dialectical concept which marks the broad historical facts of decolonization and the achievement of sovereignty, but at the same time I discuss the realities of nations and people emerging into a new imperialistic context of economic and sometimes political domination. The second section focused on the critical enquiry of colonial discourse and postcolonial theory with a discussion of the postcolonial critics – Said, Bhabha and Spivak. In this section it is found that ‘colonial discourse’ is not just a mere outcome of colonialism; it directs towards a new approach of thinking in which cultural, intellectual, economic and political processes are tend to work together in the formation, perpetuation and dismantling of colonialism. The third section demonstrates the deconstructive approach of the Indian historiography movement by Subaltern Studies group. Subaltern Studies adds new inventiveness to postcolonial theory by drawing upon some of the previous arguments. This critique challenges the knowledge and social identities endorsed by colonialism and Western

domination. Subaltern Studies as a postcolonial intellectual endeavour offers enormous possibilities to read out, and to work with, the discrepant histories of colonialism, capitalism and subalternity. The final section of this chapter is based upon the recent engagement between the postcolonialism and tourism studies which seeks to uncover the meanings of different postcolonial ‘consequences’ of tourism. This offers new insights on a number of thematic issues, such as the construction of cultural identities, the representation of difference, the legacies of colonialism in tourism destinations and the contested production of heritage. Tourism both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial relationships. Thus postcolonialism in the context of tourism studies is recognized in four main areas: namely hegemony; language, text and representation, place and displacement and the development of theory (Hall and Tucker 2004). This contextual discussion of postcolonialism including discussion of the relation of tourism studies to postcolonial studies, opens up possibilities to direct my research into aspects of the postcolonial nature of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway which will be discussed in detail in the analytical chapters, hence, in the next chapter I discuss the mobilities theoretical context.

The third chapter of the thesis is thus based upon a discussion of the emerging mobilities paradigm. Firstly I examine the different metaphors of mobility and I show how mobility as such has no specified meaning rather as a concept it circulates metaphorically. Secondly, the production of mobility is discussed in terms of how mere displacement in location when imbued with meaning and power becomes a form of mobility. It is then shown how the historical shift from the feudal period to the present day modernity facilitates and induces different kind of mobility. Thirdly, mobility is conceptualized as a social phenomenon; and in this context sociology is also reconstituted by having mobilities at the heart of it (Urry 2006). Attention is focused on mobilities in terms of the hybrid nature of human and non-human

character of 'society' and 'nature' as well as to time and to the senses. Fourthly, automobility is discussed. In conjunction with autonomy and mobility, automobility has a flexible and coercive nature that plays a crucial role in the mobilities theoretical context. Finally mobilities in the context of travel and tourism is discussed because placing mobilities at heart of tourism is one of the fundamental aspects of the new mobilities paradigm. The spatialities of social life are constructed through the actual and the imagined movement of people from place to place, person to person, event to event. Travel, in this regard, hitherto, has been seen as a fairly neutral set of technologies and processes mainly permitting forms of economic, social and political life (Sheller and Urry 2006) but in reality tourism and mobilities are inextricable both in terms of material and discursive practices. In this context, different forms of travel performance in transport mobilities conducive to distinct travel experiences and even mundane mobilities are discussed. My research approach relies on one such aspect of such subterranean and innovative approaches to mobility. It shows the complex social processes that have evolved around a particular mode of transport and the successfully orchestrated use of such transport.

In fourth chapter I have discuss the methodological aspects of my research. In this context firstly I conceptualize ethnography as methodology. What is shown is that being considered as a method, a theoretical orientation and even a philosophical paradigm – ethnography has a distinguished career in social science. Since its historical point of departure, ethnography has moved on a long way and has been extended to cultural studies, literary studies and in a number of applied studies including nursing, education, planning and tourism studies. Next the various definitions of ethnography are noted and it was also pointed out that by definition ethnography refers to both the process and the product, and that there are certain amounts of convergence as well as divergence around the core elements of ethnography. However, the

very characteristics of ethnography are also recognized which involve the need for an empirical approach, the need to remain open to elements that cannot be codified at the time of study and also a concern for grounding the phenomena observed in the field. In this context, different methods of ethnographic data collection are discussed which include participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, focus groups, personal documents and mobile methods: a combination of methodological stances which stem from the new mobilities paradigm where methods are essentially ‘on the move’ in order to grasp the social meanings of different kinds of movements of people, images, information and objects. Further discussion in this chapter also involves the analysis, interpretation and representation of ethnographic data. Analysis, in this regard, is defined as a process of bringing order to data, organizing into patterns, categories and descriptive units and looking for relationships between them. Interpretation is another simultaneous process of ethnography where ethnographers attach meanings to the data. It is discussed how the shift from an objectifying methodology to an inter-subjective methodology elicits a representational transformation. The moral implications of ethnography in terms of the process of generating ethnographic information and publishing ethnographic accounts encourages contemporary ethnographers to bring the personal, the political and the philosophical into their accounts. Rather than writing a standard monograph concentrating on the ‘Other’ or writing an ethnographic memoir centred on the self or life history; textual practices in contemporary ethnography allow both the self and the ‘Other’ to appear together within a single narrative that bears a multiplicity of dialoguing voices. Hence, in this chapter I discuss and reflect on my own experiences of data collection, the ways in which I got in touch with people of various capacities, both official and unofficial. Finally I detail my account of my mobile ethnography – the ways in which I tried to find out the sensuous, social and poetic dimensions of my research topic. As a researcher the moral implications of my research and the construction of my own subject-

positionality are also discussed in this context. Overall this discussion brings out the ‘felt insights’ that I gained from my field experiences, as well as both the aesthetic and self reflexivity that I have found in connection with my fieldwork experiences. In the next two chapters I present the results of my analysis of the DHR, beginning firstly with a consideration of how the DHR is represented.

The fifth chapter is the first analytical discussion of my research based upon the representational aspects of the DHR which are proliferated in the form of discourses concerning travel narratives, tourism brochures, memoirs and other forms of mediated accounts. Some materials from my own ethnographic interviews are also taken into account for analysis in this chapter. Here I show how the discursive representation of the DHR defines the experience and performance of the DHR and redefines the social relations embedded in the DHR. In this chapter I analyse the textual representations of the DHR that have been produced since its introduction as a vehicle of colonial development. I show how the imperialist discourses of climate and race were incorporated into the travel narratives of the DHR in its early stages. Even after decolonization, I show how the modern day western traveller remains wedded to the ‘imaginative geographies’ of the imperialist discursive practices. It is further shown how the popular western notion of Shangri-La has proliferated in the western travellers minds and structured a representation of the DHR in the context of ‘imperialist nostalgia’. This nostalgia, in an extensive sense, recreates the representation in the realm private as a collective mythology. I also show how the postcolonial fails to represent a critical relation to the colonial as is evident in current official discourses of the DHR. I argue that the recurrent theme of romance and nostalgia has scripted the representation of the DHR has tended to create a kind of ‘aesthetic imperialism’. However, alongside this dominant representation there is another form of consciousness derived from

the locals of the region. In this context I show how the ‘ontological reality’ of the local has been, and continues to be, constructed with the regular confrontation of the DHR in the everyday lives of local residents. With reference to the notion of subaltern politics I also argue that this reality can be sensed and demonstrated as embodied practice, something that can only be grasped by recourse to non-representational theory which I go on to discuss in the subsequent chapter.

The second analytical chapter of my thesis is detailed in the sixth chapter where I analyse the DHR through the ways in which it incorporates different aspects of mobilities. It has been widely acknowledged that advanced transportation transforms ways of seeing the world in accordance with the speed and movement of those transports and introduces new seductions of the road and of experiences that caused by sheer speed and acceleration. However, in contrast the DHR develops a notion of existentially authentic, non-trivial experiences as a past mode of transport. By placing the DHR at heart of mobilities both through its material and discursive practices what is significant is its de-acceleration, a very non-conformist way of journeying that brings out different sensuous aspects of rail travel which stem from different travel practices in and around the DHR. The discussion takes a non-representational theoretical approach which addresses practices, spaces, subjects, knowledge and embodiment in relation to the DHR. It shows how the various socio-material relations are constructed through different embodied practices in and around the DHR. In this context I discuss the performing and embodying of the DHR where the focus is on the popular performance of getting on and off the train – how it incorporates a different geographical concern with socio-spatiality. These particular aspects of the movement of the DHR also bring out very different notions of the relations between mobilities and the visual interpretation and engagement with the landscape. As is known, place is a pervasive component in leisure and tourism, thus, it is

shown how the movement of the DHR constructs a sense of place through visual practices and how the traveller's eyes register the landscape while travelling on the DHR. This sense of place comes out more intimately in the third part of this analysis where I analyse the relations between the train and the community. The historical construction of the community alongside the DHR track has evolved but the DHR has always had a crucial role in it. The focus here, in particular, is on the inter-relationship of the locale and the DHR and how they (re)inscribe on to each other. Quite consciously I have tried to bring more voices and observations of people into this text without closure to give it a more polyphonic form cohering the sensuous, the social and the poetic dimensions of DHR travel.

The two theoretical contexts of postcolonialism and the new mobilities detailed in the second and the third chapters of this thesis are linked with the empirical chapters of the representations of the DHR and the experiencing the DHR respectively. The significance of the Postcolonial context in relation to the empirical study of the DHR is that it opens up possibilities to see the DHR through discursive practices, where, as we shall see, discourse 'constructs' the DHR and produces certain 'reality' about the DHR travel. The imperialist discourses of climate and race were incorporated into the travel narratives of the DHR in its early stages and even after decolonization, the modern day western traveller remains wedded to the 'imaginative geographies' of the imperialist discursive practices. It shows how the basic pattern and tropes within the discourse embodied the West's knowledge of the DHR journey as well as perpetuates an 'imaginative geographies' and also, how the cultural representation of the DHR within the Western discursive domain which has been established since its colonial past resulting in the form of cultural hegemony in the present day representation of the DHR. In parallel to this dominant version of the DHR there is a relatively silent way of representing the DHR which is evident amongst the lives of the

locals. An attempt has been taken to see the empirical evidences of local representations of the DHR with a deconstructive approach of the Subaltern Studies. This is another form of consciousness derived from the locals of the region. In this context I tried to show how the ‘ontological reality’ of the local has been, and continues to be, constructed with the regular confrontation of the DHR in their everyday lives. With reference to the notion of subaltern politics I also argued that this representation stands out of the realm of imperial discursive practices in and around the DHR. This is constructed more materially and thus, subtly eludes the constraints of both the dominant power and its normative ‘archive’ of cultural representation of the DHR.

Similarly Urry (2006) argues the mobilities paradigm transforms the pattern of social inquiry through its landscape of theories and methods. In current research, I have tried to apply one of such subterranean and innovative approaches to mobility in the context of the DHR. In the empirical chapter on the experiencing the DHR this paradigm is used in greater detail in relation to the embodied nature and experience of the DHR travel. There it will show the complex social processes that have evolved around a particular mode of transport and the successfully orchestrated use of such transport. The mobilities paradigm is used significantly in connection with a ‘local’ concern about everyday transportation, that is, as we shall see, the use of the DHR, the material culture that this mode of transport has created over time and spatial relation of such mobility in connection with the locales that this train passes through. Thus, in the empirical chapter based on this new mobilities paradigm, I will take an attempt to find out convergences around studies of place, space and movement of the DHR and that of the community and significantly its implication into the ‘travel experiences’ of the DHR. The connection between the new mobilities paradigm and that of the empirical chapter on the experiencing the DHR gives an innovative way of understanding the DHR travel as the very

‘mobile’ entity of the DHR has been taken into account there and has been analysed in its own term instead of framing and confining it into certain ideological frame of representation.

We shall now discuss all these theoretical and empirical chapters successively and will try to find out their significance as well as possible linkage –as mentioned in aims and objectives – at the end of the thesis. In next chapter I am going to discuss the Postcolonial theoretical context in detail.

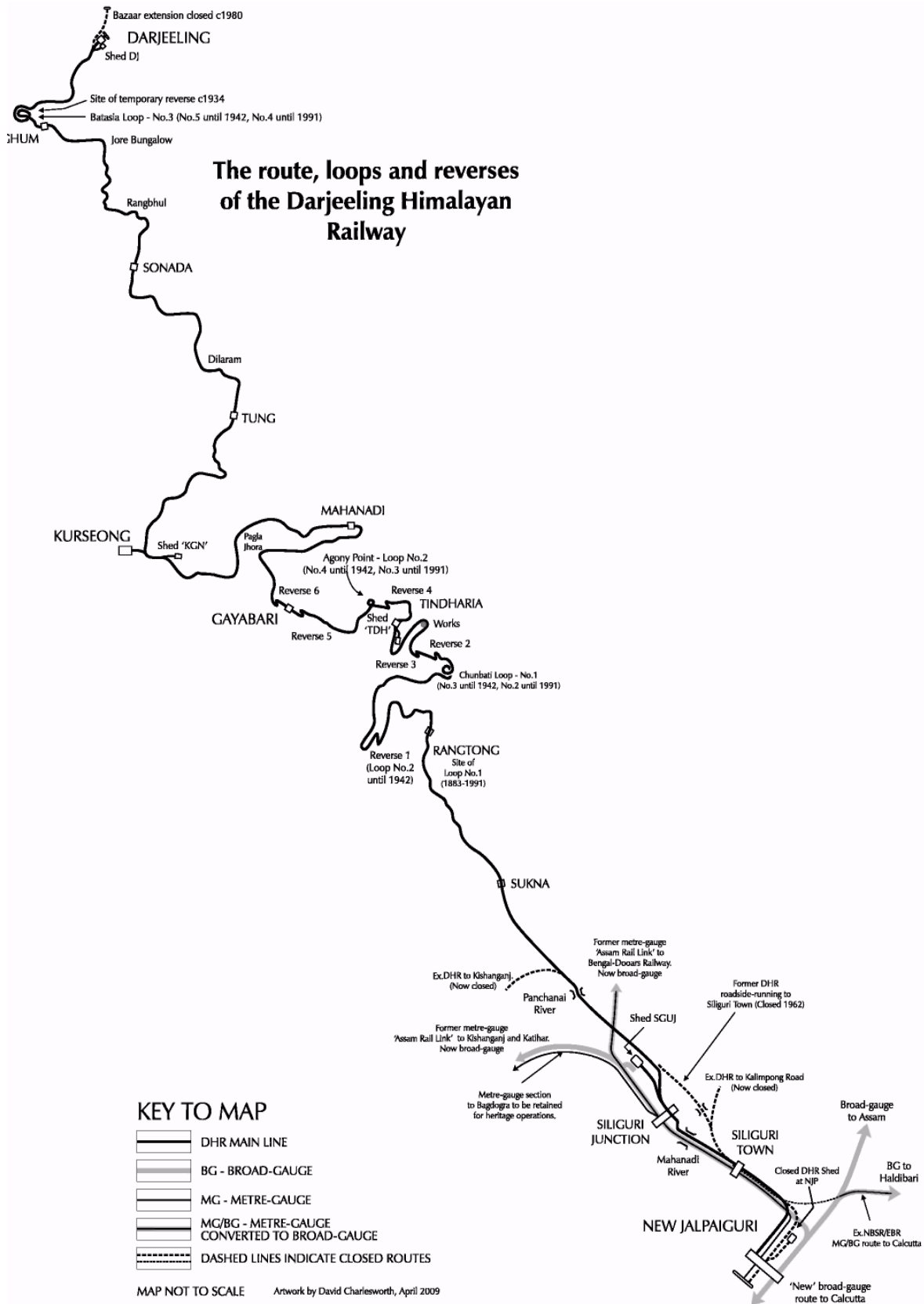


Figure 1.2: DHR Track. Courtesy: David Charlesworth

CHAPTER 2: THE POSTCOLONIAL CONTEXT

I Introduction

The term 'postcolonial' has accumulated both immense possibilities and immense confusion in intellectual circles. Sometimes used with an uncritical emphasis on the 'post', the term has emerged from discussions of the complex forms of political, economic and discursive inequities in the global system. At the same time, other critics have read the 'post' in postcolonial as signifying both the changes in the power structures after the official end of colonialism and also the continuing discursive effects of colonialism after this ending. In this case postcolonial theory is an umbrella term that covers different critical approaches which deconstruct European thought in areas as wide-ranging as philosophy, history, literary studies, anthropology, sociology and political science:

In this perspective, the term postcolonial refers not to a simple periodization but rather to a methodological revisionism which enables a wholesale critique of Western structures of knowledge and power, particularly those of the post-Enlightenment period. (Mongia 1996:2).

Hence, the term postcolonial itself operates in at least two different registers at once: it is a historical marker referring to the period after official decolonization as well as a term signifying changes in intellectual approaches with substantial influences from post-structuralism and deconstruction. Postcolonial, as a term has also replaced what earlier went under the names of 'Third World' or 'Commonwealth' literature. It is deployed to describe postcolonial discourse analysis, to detail the situations of migrant, diasporic groups within First World states and to specify oppositional reading practices. In this chapter, I will

examine the concept of the postcolonial in relation a variety of other related concepts, in order to provide a contextual review.

II Colonialism, Imperialism and Postcolonialism

The postcolonial critique along with its historical basis and theoretical formulations is the product of resistance to colonialism and imperialism, hence it is important to understand processes of colonialism and imperialism at the outset. Young (2001) explains that while imperialism is subject to analysis as a concept, colonialism needs to be analysed primarily as a practice. In historical terms colonialism took two major forms. French colonial theorists have typically distinguished between colonization and domination, while the British have distinguished between dominions and dependencies. Loomba (1998:1-2) points out that the usual dictionary definition of colonialism “...evacuates the word ‘colonialism’ of any implication of an encounter between peoples, or of conquest and domination.” Colonialism involves forms of subjugation of one people by another and the world has a long history of such kind of domination. However, colonialism was not an identical process in different parts of the world but nevertheless “everywhere it locked the original inhabitants and the newcomers into the most complex and traumatic relationships in human history.” It is evident that colonialism involved a vast range of different forms and practices performed in radically different cultures, in many different countries. The diversity, both historically and geographically, even within the function of a single colonial power, or with respect to different historical epochs makes it difficult to establish any general theory of colonialism.

Nevertheless, within the overall power structure of domination, all colonial powers, in practice, resulted in two different colonial forms, namely the settled and the exploited. As Young (2001: 20) points out:

Colonization, as Europeans originally used the term, signified not the rule over indigenous peoples, or the extraction of their wealth, but primarily the transfer of communities who sought to maintain their allegiance to their own original culture, while seeking a better life in economic, religious or political terms...Colonization in this sense comprised people whose primary aim was to settle elsewhere rather than to rule others.

The requisition of land and space meant that colonialism was, as Said (1993) put it, fundamentally an act of geographical violence employed against indigenous peoples and their land rights. Also where plantations needed labour, people largely from West Africa, India and China were brought in as slaves or as indentured labour having little or no rights, devoid of their social and political organizations and, were thus easy to control and alienate. Indeed, Marx (1973:324) recognized that it was colonialism that revealed the truth of capitalism:

The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked.

Marx discussed colonial expansion in relation to its role in the historical development of capitalism. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels highlighted a significant role for colonialism and imperialism in its broadest sense as part of the development of a capitalist global economy. Colonial expansion takes an important role in the description of the development of the new commercial system of the bourgeoisie:

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a

rapid development...Modern industry has established the world-market...The market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. (Marx and Engels 1952: 42-3).

Marx regarded colonialization and global trade as playing an important role as part of the process of the transformation of the world economy from a feudal to a capitalist mode of production (Marx 1976-81, I: 915; III: 450). In a letter to Engels of 1858, he argues that:

The specific task of bourgeois society is the establishment of a world market, at least in outline, and of production based upon this world market. As the world is round, this seems to have been completed by the colonization of California and Australia and the opening up of China and Japan. The difficult question for us this: on the Continent the revolution is imminent and will immediately assume a socialist character. It is not bound to be crushed in this little corner, considering that in a far greater territory the movement of bourgeois society is still in the ascendant? (Marx 1977: 341).

Here, colonization is seen as an integral part of the development of capitalism. Marx suggested that the transfer of capitalist economies outside Europe will have the effect of resisting the socialist revolution in Europe. Marx was not entirely antagonistic to colonialism, however. He saw the object of colonialism as the collapse of non-capitalist modes of production, its transformation into a capitalist one, or, in the case of Ireland, the prevention of such processes of transformation in order to preserve the supply of industrial labour for British factories – an early instance of underdevelopment. To Marx, colonialism is, at the same time, destructive and regenerating, for example, the British rule in India, he argued: “has to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating – the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia” (Marx 1973:320). Thus, providing a dynamic framework for the analysis of colonialism as both destructive and transformative, Marx denied any such assumption that

colonialism was necessarily a negative phenomenon. In this regard, Young argues that

Marx's simultaneous condemnation and justification of colonialism left a difficult legacy for Indian Marxism, which for a long time tried to hold to Marx's position and in the process itself initiated the tradition of ambivalence that has become so central to postcolonial theory. (Young 2001: 108-9).

Young (2001) also shows that Marx was not interested in detecting signs of resistance for its own sake without viable political conditions of which it could make use. This signifies a difference from some postcolonial writing, where anti-colonial resistance seeks its validation for its own sake, without addressing any specific political ends or effects. At one point, this may work historically as a means of asserting the widespread presence of anti-colonialism but if taken from the perspectives of political objectives, it becomes necessary to distinguish between different kinds of resistance, and different degrees of effectiveness. However, in spite of the heterogeneity of history, geography and administrative models, from the point of view of the colonized, colonization brought about similar disruptive consequences. Hence, Young (2001:24) states that:

...The effect of colonization is often described by historians in terms of the transformation of the indigenous economy – or in Deleuze and Guattari (1977), decoding and recoding – particularly through the introduction of the economic and ideological effects of capitalism into non-capitalist societies by breaking down and transforming non-capitalist modes of production, a procedure that usually required territorial occupation.

The term imperialism, like colonialism, meanwhile, should not be defined by a single semantic meaning but by relating its arbitrary meanings to historical processes. Imperialism, as Baumgart (1982:1) put it, is a 'hybrid term', covering a range of relationships of

domination and dependence that can be characterized according to historical and theoretical or organizational differences. The word is used in English in two predominant meanings: it originally constituted a description of a political system of actual conquest and occupation, but increasingly from the beginning of twentieth century it came to be used in its Marxist sense of a general system of economic domination, with direct political domination being a possible but not necessary adjunct (Williams 1988). When the term imperialism is used to describe a political system of territorial domination in the first sense, it does not essentially render its critical connotations; its later use always implies a critical perspective to denote the broader meaning of economic domination. Young (2001:27) states that:

Imperialism is characterized by the exercise of power either through direct conquest or through political and economic influence that effectively amounts to a similar form of domination: both involve the practice of power through facilitating institutions and ideologies. Typically, it is the deliberate product of a political machine that rules from the centre, and extends its control to the furthest reaches of the peripheries...

Loomba (1998:6-7), meanwhile, points out the ambiguity between the economic and political connotation of the concept of imperialism and tries to discover the distinguishing factor between colonialism and imperialism:

One useful way of distinguishing between them might be to not separate them in temporal but in spatial terms and to think of imperialism ...as the phenomenon that originates in the metropolis, the process which leads to dominate and control. Its result or what happens in the colonies as a consequence of imperial domination is colonialism...thus the imperial country is the 'metropole' from which power flows, and the colony...is the place which it penetrates and controls. Imperialism can function without formal colonies...but colonialism cannot.

The definitions of colonialism, imperialism and the differences between them are thus dependent on their historical mutations, so these fluctuations also complicate the meaning of the term 'postcolonial' –a term that is the subject of ongoing debate. The implication of the prefix 'post'- of 'postcolonial' is twofold. It implies an 'aftermath' in two senses –as in temporal, that is 'coming after' and ideological, as in supplanting (Loomba 1998). This second implication, postcolonial critics find somehow contestable: if the inequities of colonial rule have not been erased, it is perhaps premature to proclaim the demise of colonialism. A country may thus be both postcolonial (in the sense of being formally independent) and neo-colonial (in the sense of remaining economically and/or culturally dependent) at the same time. The new global order does not depend upon direct rule. However, it does allow the economic, cultural and (to varying degrees) political penetration of some countries by others (see McClintock 1992). Shohat (1993) argues that the term postcolonial is not only inadequate to the task of defining contemporary realities in the once-colonised countries, and vague in terms of indicating a specific period of history, but may also cloud the internal, social and racial differences of many societies. The term hybridity, meanwhile, as explained by many critics, includes a complex internal hierarchy of various mixed peoples in a postcolonial situation. One's experience of colonial exploitation depended on one's position within this hierarchy. Various marks of internal fractures and divisions are important in thinking about postcolonialism beyond its technical term as a mere procedure of the transformation of governance.

It is therefore suggested that it is more helpful to think of postcolonialism in a more flexible manner as the contestation of colonial domination and of colonial legacies. It allows one to incorporate the history of anti-colonial resistance with contemporary resistances to imperialism and to dominant Western culture(s). Thus a multiplicity of often conflicting and

frequently parallel narratives is essential rather than the idea of a single linear progression of history. On the other hand, many critics of postcolonial theory claim that the insistence on multiple histories and fragmentation within these perspectives is detrimental to thinking about global capitalism today. In this respect postcolonial theory has been criticised for its dependence on post-structuralism and literary and cultural criticism, shifting the focus of analysis from locations and institutions to individuals and their subjectivities. Postcoloniality, in this respect, thus becomes a vague condition of people anywhere and everywhere, and the specificities of locale do not matter (Loomba 1998).

Another issue of postcolonialism which concerns of the latter part of the word (colonial) is equally important. Colonialism could not erase the cultural signs of the already existing populations. Within the critique of colonialism the idea of recovering a pre-colonial culture is inherent and thus “a nostalgia for lost origins can be detrimental to the exploration of social realities within the critique of imperialism” (Spivak 1988:211). According to Spivak, the pre-colonial has always been reworked by the history of colonialism. While such de-romanticising is necessary in terms of evoking a pre-colonial context, it also tends to another kind of oversimplification, that is, for example, the concept of the ‘Third World’ is seen as a world defined entirely by its relation to colonialism, and thus its histories are then flattened and even erased.

Thus, from the above discussion, postcolonialism appears as a word that can be useful if is used ‘with caution and qualification’. The word ‘postcolonial’ is useful as a generalisation to extent that,

it refers to a *process* of disagreement from the whole colonial syndrome, which takes many forms and is probably inescapable for all those whose worlds have been marked

by that set of phenomena: 'postcolonial' is (or should be) a descriptive not an evaluative term. (Hulme 1995:120).

In his view, Hulme argues that there is a productive tension between the temporal and the critical dimensions of the word postcolonial. So, the word 'postcolonial' is useful in referring to a general process with some shared characters. But if it is uprooted from specific locations, 'postcoloniality' cannot be meaningfully investigated, and instead, the term begins to obscure the very relations of domination that it seeks to uncover (Loomba 1998).

As we have already noted, however, the term 'postcolonialism' continues to be very hard to define. Young (2001:57) states that:

...the Postcolonial is a dialectical concept that marks the broad historical facts of decolonization and the determined achievement of sovereignty – but also the realities of nations and peoples emerging into a new imperialistic context of economic and sometimes political domination.

Ashcroft et al., (1989:2) meanwhile, tried to theorize this sense of historical period and the literary creations that have emerged within this context in *The Empire Writes Back*. They,

use the term 'post-colonial', however, to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by the European imperial aggression.

The difficulties created by this statement, as noted by Childs and Williams (1997:3) are that:

...whether it is actually possible to identify a 'continuity of preoccupations' over such an expanse of time, and, secondly and more importantly, whether, even if that were possible, it would justify the loss of specificity which results from the inevitable eliding of periods, processes and practices which this entails.

Mukherjee (1990:6) makes a point that this assumption then:

[l]eaves us only one...discursive position. We are forever forced to interrogate European discourses, of only one particular kind, the ones that degrade and deny our humanity. I would like to respond that our cultural productions are created in response to our own needs...

Moreover, in relation to the processes of cultural production which are one of the particular concerns of postcolonial theory, Stephen Slemon (1991:3) argues that:

Definition of the 'post-colonial' of course vary widely but for me the concept proves most useful not when it is used synonymously with a post-independence historical period in once-colonised nations, but rather when it locates a specifically anti-or post-colonial discursive purchase in culture, one which begins in the moment that colonial power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its Others and which continues as an often occulted tradition into the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations.

This definition, explicitly blurs the question of historical period with the definition offered in the introduction to *Past the Last Post* where it is suggested that like post-modernism, postcolonialism could be seen as having two 'archives':

The first archive here constructs it as writing (more usually than architecture or painting)...from countries or regions which were formerly colonies of Europe. The second archive of post-colonialism is intimately related to the first, though not co-extensive with it. Here, the post-colonial is conceived of as a set of discursive practices, prominent among which is resistance to colonialism, colonialist ideologies and their contemporary forms and subjectificatory legacies (Ahmad and Tiffin 1991; p.xii).

Spivak (1991:224), however, refuses to accept postcolonialism as a term: "Neo-colonialism is

not simply the continuation of colonialism; it is a different thing. That is what I call ‘postcoloniality.’” In postcoloniality, as she states, “every metropolitan definition is dislodged. The general mode for the postcolonial is citation, reinscription, re-routing the historical” (Spivak 1993:217). Ella Shohat is similarly unconvinced about the condition of postcoloniality:

The globalizing gesture of ‘the post-colonial condition’, or ‘postcoloniality’, downplays multiplicities of location and temporality as well as the possible discursive and political linkage between ‘post-colonial’ theories and anti-colonial, or anti-neocolonial struggles and discourses (1992:104).

Hence, sometimes, postcoloniality is typified by a form of intellectual practice, rather than as a condition as such:

Postcoloniality is the condition of what we might ungenerously call a comprador intelligentsia: a relatively small, Western-style, Western-trained group of writers and thinkers who mediate the trade in cultural commodities of world capitalism at the periphery (Appiah 1991:348).

However, Mishra and Hodge argue against any kind of homogenization in relation to postcolonialism: “...It must be possible to acknowledge difference and insist on a strongly theorized oppositional postcolonialism as crucial to the debate, without claiming that this form is or has been everywhere the same wherever the coloniser’s feet have trod” (1991:289) and they thus, stress the point that “[p]ostcolonialism...is not a homogeneous category, either across all postcolonial societies or even within a single one. Rather, it refers to a typical configuration which is always in the process of change, never consistent with itself” (Mishra & Hodge 1991:289). Having discussed the concept of postcolonialism in relation to colonialism and imperialism, I now move on to discuss colonial discourse and postcolonial theory explicitly.

III Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory

As we have seen, postcolonialism is not a unified field, rather it involves multiple activities with a range of different priorities and positions. Hence Young (2001:64) mentioned that there would be a particular irony in assuming that postcolonialism possesses a uniform theoretical framework given that it is in part characterized by a refusal of totalizing forms. However, the term ‘colonial discourse’ and subsequent postcolonial theory have been initiated as forms of critique from different perspectives through the work of Edward Said, Spivak and Bhabha respectively. In what follows, I discuss the work of each of these theorists.

Edward Said’s *Orientalism*, published in 1978, opened up an new area of critical enquiry: colonial discourse analysis which drew upon the work of the philosopher Foucault. Foucault argued that discursive constraints – the rules governing what can and cannot be said within the boundaries of a particular discourse – should be understood as productive as well as limiting. *Orientalism* by setting out the various discursive boundaries for colonial discourse analysis, then, judging from the work which has followed, appears to have functioned much more as an incitement than as an impediment (Chrisman and Williams 1994). Chrisman and Williams (1994:5) also note that: “*Orientalism* focused on what could be called colonial discourse – the variety of textual forms in which the West produced and codified knowledge about non-metropolitan areas and cultures, especially those under colonial control.” Similarly, other critics found that:

...Two of the undoubted benefits of ‘colonial discourse’ as a phrase are that, firstly, it directs attention towards the interrelatedness of a whole variety of texts and practices more conventionally seen as belonging to their ‘own’ disciplinary realms, and then,

secondly, it politicises that network by implementing it with the power relations of colonial hegemony (Barker, Hulme and Iversen 1994:2).

Barker et al (1994:5) therefore define postcolonial theory as "...the recognition that the complex processes of colonialism and its aftermath needed for their proper analysis – especially at the discursive and psychological levels – a conceptual vocabulary made possible by post-structuralist theory..."

Said's importance is considered to derive primarily from his mediation of the critical methods associated with certain kinds of French 'high theory' into the Anglo-American academic world of the 1970s (Moore-Gilbert 1997). From this perspective, knowledge is not innocent but profoundly connected with the operation of power and it is this Foucauldian insight that informs Said's work. Orientalism points out the extent to which 'knowledge' about 'the orient' as it was produced and circulated in Europe was an ideological incorporation of colonial 'power'. Thus it is concerned with what Foucault calls the "relation between discursive formation and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, economic practices and processes)" (Foucault 1977:162). Hence Orientalism adapts elements of this theory to the study of the connections between Western culture and imperialism to argue that all Western systems of cultural interpretation are deeply contaminated with what Said (1978:5) describes as "the politics, the considerations, the positions and the strategies of power". One of the major aspects in this regard is Said's continuous insistence on the importance of attention to the political and material effects of Western scholarship and academic institutions, and their affiliations to the world outside them. In doing Said rejects the traditional liberal understanding of the humanities, its persuasion on 'pure' or 'disinterested' knowledge. Instead, Said sees "such practices as deeply implicated in the operation and technologies of power, by virtue of the fact that all scholars (and artists) are

subject to particular historical, cultural and institutional affiliations which are governed in the last instance by the dominant ideology and political imperatives of the society in question” (Moore-Gilbert 1997: 36). Said thus (1978:5) argues that: “ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be studied without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied.”

Said arranges his arguments on the bases of two principal methodological sources (Foucault and Gramsci). In place of what Foucault (1976:10) describes as the ‘repressive hypothesis’ Foucault sees power as an ‘impersonal’ force operating through a multiplicity of sites and channels, constructing what he calls a ‘pastoral’ regime, through which it seeks to control its subject by ‘re-forming’ them, and in doing so making them conform to their place in their social system as subjects of power. It is in this conception of what power is and how it operates that Said follows Foucault (Moore-Gilbert 1997). Secondly, Said adapts from Foucault the argument that ‘discourse’ – the medium which comprises power and through which it is practiced – ‘constructs’ the objects of its knowledge. As Foucault puts it discourse “produces reality, it produces domains of objects and ritual of truth” (1979:194). Moore-Gilbert observes, in Said’s work, thus, “the regime of disciplinary power inscribed in Orientalism transforms the ‘real’ East into a discursive ‘Orient’, or rather substitute the one for the other” (1997: 37). However, Said in places drifted from Foucauldian conceptualisations. For Said, Western domination of the non-Western is not some arbitrary phenomenon but a conscious and purposive process induced by the will and intention of individuals as well as by institutional necessities. Hence Said also holds on to a conception that the individual has the capacity to elude the constraints of both the dominant power and its normative ‘archive’ of cultural representation: “Yet unlike Michel Foucault...I do believe in the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective

body of texts constituting a discursive formation like Orientalism” (1978:23).

Orientalism thus also owes much debt to Gramsci’s conceptualizations of the dynamics of domination. Said (1978:7) argues that: “It is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and the strength I have been speaking about so far.” It focuses on the ‘civil domain’ of cultural relations as the medium through which power operates most effectively and it is in this way that Said attempted to synthesize both Foucault’s and Gramsci’s insights. Thus, considering Said’s overall arguments, Bart Moore-Gilbert (1997:40) points out three ostensibly discreet aspects of the Western cultural formation:

Firstly Orientalism refers to the East and Eastern peoples...the basic pattern and tropes of which have embodied the West’s ‘knowledge’ of the ‘Orient’. Secondly, the term refers to the ‘style’ in which such tropes are conceived and presented ...something deeper than surface rhetoric or convention –invoking more, perhaps, questions of political personality and moral attitude. Thirdly, it describes the systems of scholarships and the set of cultural institutions refining, commenting upon and circulating those primary representations.

Thus, Said’s stress on the relationships between knowledge and power uncovers the fact that each aspect of Orientalism reinforces the other. Military conquest opens up the way to study new people and their culture. Such study in turn enables hegemony to be confirmed by providing knowledge of the subjected people to facilitate administrative policy and action and in this way, primary representations of the ‘colonized’ circulate in the metropolis, encouraging support for intervention in, or further Westernization of, the conquered territories (Moore-Gilbert 1997).

In his later work *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said offers an extension and a modification of the arguments elaborated in *Orientalism*. As many critics argued, in *Orientalism* Said neglects evidence of native agency in general, and indigenous resistance in particular, in a manner which parallels Western attitudes (Childs and Williams 1997). In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said pays much more attention to non-Western forms of cultural production and in doing so, he realizes that the histories, cultures and the economies of the formerly dominant and subordinate nations as interdependent and overlapping (Moore-Gilbert 1997). Considering the fact of resistance, he, however, stands clear of any totalizing notions of colonialism and imperialism. Rather, he tries to carefully distinguish the different types and strategies of colonial resistance, as well as the different histories involved. Said identifies two broad phases:

... ‘primary resistance’, literally fighting against outside intrusion, [and] secondary, that is, ideological resistance, when efforts are made to reconstitute a ‘shattered community, to save or restore the sense and fact of community against all the pressures of the colonial systems (1993:252-53).

It is one decisive shift in Said’s vision between *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*. The radical suggestion that Said offers in his later text, is that the contemporary world now has something approaching a ‘common culture’, which is rooted in a shared experience of colonialism and imperialism and to demonstrate this, Said argues that an innovative paradigm for ‘humanistic’ research is needed and identifies that:

...three great topics emerge in decolonizing cultural resistance, separated for analytical purposes, but related. One of course is the insistence on the right to see the community’s history whole, coherently, integrally...Second is the idea that resistance, far from being merely a reaction to imperialism, is an alternative way of convincing human history...Third is a noticeable pull away from separatist nationalism towards a

more integrative view of human community and human liberation (1993:259-61).

From this discussion of Said's work it is clear that 'colonial discourse' is not just a mere outcome of colonialism; it directs towards a new approach of thinking in which cultural, intellectual, economic and political processes are tend to work together in the formation, perpetuation and dismantling of colonialism; as Loomba (1998:54) puts it:

It seeks to widen the scopes of studies of colonialism by examining the intersection of ideas and institutions, knowledge and power. Consequently, colonial violence is understood as including an 'epistemic' aspect...Colonial discourse studies seek to offer in-depth analysis of colonial epistemologies...

Together with Edward Said, Gayatri C. Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha make up what Young (1995) describes as 'the Holy Trinity' of postcolonial critics who have achieved the greatest eminence in their field. One of the most obvious link that Moore-Gilbert (2000) observes is that, each substantially develops the project, initiated by Said, of bringing 'radical' western theory to bear on postcolonial issues and – equally importantly – of bringing the latter to bear on the former.

Spivak's essays have an involvement with multiple theoretical models at once and she has engaged with historiography, film, philosophy, socio-economic and cultural studies. Her essays do not explicitly seek to problematize the authority of colonial discourse, to point out its ambivalence and hybridity, but to detail the ways in which imperialism has constructed narratives of history, geography, gender and identity (Childs and Williams 1997). In her postcolonial theory much discussion has focused, on the one hand, on the forces needed to dismantle humanism and essentialism within post-structuralism and, on the other hand, the pragmatic need for motivating concepts within nationalist and ethnocentrist discourses. A

kind of essentializing, for example, could be found in Simon During's definition of postcolonialism: "the need, in nations or groups which have been victims of imperialism, to achieve an identity uncontaminated by universalist or Eurocentric concepts and images". In her early work Spivak came to be associated with an approach called 'strategic essentialism': the political use of categories rooted in the natural and the universal. Williams and Childs point out:

Essentialism is a globalizing, ahistorical approach which Spivak, as a post-structuralist theorist concerned with the specific and the discursive, would always seek to question. But, when interrogating the border between the theoretical and the practical in certain situation –where theory meets its limit up against material circumstances – Spivak argues that there is a choice to be made... (1997:159).

Hence, Spivak writes that: "You pick up the universal that will give you the power to fight against the other side, and what you are throwing away by doing that is your theoretical purity" (1990: 12).

In *Orientalism*, Said's text focuses almost exclusively on the discourse and agency of the colonizer. In contrast, Spivak gives consistent attention to colonized peoples and people under neo-colonial era. In this regard another important area for Spivak is that of representation in two ways: to stand in for (as in political representation) and to portray (as in depiction). So, for post-colonial critics varied performances of representation are possible – to portray or to stand in for, while also performing self-representation. Hence, when confronting a monolithic category, Spivak's concern is who is representing whom, and how. She focuses on an issue which she characteristically explores in terms of whether subalterns can speak for themselves, or whether they are condemned only to be known, represented and spoken for in a distorted fashion by others. She argues that there is 'no space' (1988:103)

from which subaltern can speak and thus make their interests and experiences known to others on their own terms (Moore-Gilbert 2000). The work of the Subaltern Studies Group of Indian historiographers who aimed to uncover an alternative history to that of the colonizers is appreciated by Spivak for its significance in the context of post-colonial theory, as she says: “to ignore the subaltern today is...to continue the imperialist project” (1988:94). She takes the Group’s approach as an example of an interventionist practice that could lead to a shift in the teaching of imperialism and resistance. The problems encountered by the Subaltern Studies Group is one of the major problems for post-colonial theory, too; that is, when almost all available documents are written either by colonizers or indigenous elite, how does the historiographer give a voice to those silenced by imperial practices and, how it is possible, then to subvert the dominant versions of history? However, in ascribing a voice to the subaltern, according to Spivak, such intellectuals are in fact themselves representing (in the sense of speaking on behalf of or standing in for) the subalterns (Moore-Gilbert 2000). I take up this discussion further in the section below.

Many of Spivak’s essays are therefore critical of the West’s often well-intentioned representations of the Third World. As a post-structuralist theorist, she argues that knowledge is only achievable to her through attention to difference – that is, the ‘Third World’ can be known only in relation to the ‘First World’, and vice versa. In her discussion on the ‘Third World Woman’ she elaborates such difference. In her essay ‘French Feminism in an International Frame’ Spivak writes that both liberal and highly theorized scholarships need to question their own position in this respect: “I see no way to avoid insisting that there has to be a simultaneous other focus: not merely who am I? But who is the other woman? How am I naming her? How does she name me...?” (1988:150).

In general, Spivak's essays chart a course between opposed positions that either homogenize the Third World within radical readings which place all texts in the context of nationalism and ethnicity (universalism), or automatically apply the Western orthodox approach to literature. Critics have also pointed out that she recommends through assorted readings (traditional, liberal-feminist, Marxist-feminist, French feminist) of one of Mahaswata Devi's short stories, that 'Third World texts' should be utilized to gauge and revise the boundaries of First World methodology and theory (Childs and Williams 1997). She continues her vigilance with respect to theoretical methodology, translation, representation and marginality and makes aware that critics need to identify their position and remain cautious of the parameters of their self-knowledge and their institutions.

In his complex analyses of colonial relations, Bhabha, meanwhile, attempts to utilise both psychoanalysis and deconstruction in his analysis of postcolonialism. He argues that: "the objective of colonial discourse is to construct the colonized as a population to degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction" (1993:70). Colonial rule is necessarily trapped both within a system of representation and as an apparatus of power, thus in Bhabha's opinion identity for the colonizer is not simplistic. He describes how: "the image of post-Enlightenment man tethered to, not confronted by, his dark reflection, the shadow of colonized man, that...breaches his boundaries, repeats his actions at a distance, disturb and divides the very time of his being" (1993:44).

Hence, Bhabha's work concerns with post-colonial identity, with its boundaries, temporalities, and movement. According to him the typical place of departure here is hybridity, a concept that increases steadily in its importance to his theoretical stance. His core

concepts such as ambivalence, mimicry and hybridity have become some of the major issues for debates over colonial discourse, anti-colonial resistance and post-colonial identity.

Ambivalence is one of the most common words in Bhabha's critical vocabulary which he initially takes from Freud – it occurs when “opposing pairs of instinct are developed to an approximately equal extent” (1986:338). Taking up this duality, Bhabha argues that the object of colonial discourse is marked by ambivalence because it is both derided and also desired. Ambivalence thus involves a process of identification and of disavowal. In his essay on Fanon, Bhabha writes about identity in relation to the ambivalence of psychic identification:

...the question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never self-fulfilling prophecy –it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image... (1993:45).

Colonial identity, therefore lies inbetween the colonized and colonizer. Bhabha is thus less interested in defining monolithic categories than in exploring a series of different problems. Young observes that Bhabha's shifting models are perhaps best seen as “illuminating specific moments in the ambivalent and cumulative apparatus of colonial discourse” (1990:146). Other critics see that his conceptualisation of hybridity works as a form of resistance as much in the postcolonial arena as it worked in the colonial; but Bhabha argues that it is more than a simple effect of cultural encounters. Bhabha argues that interventions at the level of the sign can be strategies that will translate and reinscribe (not only) the past by attending to the disjunctive present but also reveal the margins of the West (Williams and Childs 1997).

IV Subaltern Studies: Indian Historiography

Subaltern Studies adds new inventiveness to postcolonial theory by drawing upon some of

the previous arguments. The criticism of the work of the subaltern studies critics seeks to challenge the knowledge and social identities endorsed by colonialism and Western domination. Subaltern Studies compels a radical rethinking to the point that neither nationalism nor Marxism is free from Eurocentric discourses; Eurocentricity, here, refers to the historicism that projected the West as history. Prakash (1994:1475) explains that:

As nationalism reversed Orientalist thought, and attributed agency and history to the subjected nation, it staked the claim to the order of reason and progress instituted by colonialism. When Marxist turned the spotlight on colonial exploitation, their criticism was framed by a historicist scheme that universalized Europe's historical experience.

This post-colonial critique seeks to undo the Eurocentricism which has been constituted, perpetuated and normalized through the intersection of power/knowledge. Postcolonial criticism acknowledges that it lives in the structures of Western domination that it critiques. So, deliberately postcolonial criticism finds what Bhabha (1994) calls an in-between, hybrid position of practice and negotiation. Subaltern Studies, as a project, which intervenes in the South Asian historiography and develops into an influential post-colonial critique must be placed in such a complex – in Spivak's term catachresis: “reversing, displacing and seizing the apparatus of value-coding” (1990:228) – the reworking of knowledge.

In the field of historical scholarship, nationalism and colonialism emerged as the two major areas of debate. The ‘Cambridge School’ tended to represent India's nationalism as the work of a group of elite brought up in the educational institutions the British set up in India and makes the point that the elite group, both competed and collaborated with the British in their search for power and privilege (Seal 1968). Reducing the role of idea and idealism in history they took a relatively narrow view of what constituted ‘interest’. According to this argument,

the involvement of Indians in colonial institutions was primarily induced by an opportunistic motivation to gain limited scope of self-rule, provided by the British. The history of Indian nationalism, Seal states: “..was the rivalry between Indian and Indian, its relationship with imperialism that of the mutual clinging of two unsteady men of straw” (1968:2). The other extreme of this debate, formed by the Indian historians Bipan Chandra and others, considered nationalism as a regenerative force, as the antithesis of colonialism. Chandra (1979) claims that the conflict of interest and ideology between the colonizers and ‘the Indian people’ was the most important conflict of British India and considers the conflicts of class or caste as secondary to this principal contradiction. The work of the Subaltern Studies group, however, drifted radically from these two points.

The formation of Subaltern Studies as an intervention in South Asian historiography came into being during a growing crisis within the Indian state in the 1970s. It became evident that the key components of the modern Indian nation-state – political parties, the electoral process, parliamentary bodies, the bureaucracy, law, and the ideology of development – survived, “but their claim to represent the culture and politics of the masses suffered crippling blows” (Prakash 1994:1476). In this situation, the new formations of the mobilization of the poor (peasants, tribals, workers) by elite nationalist leaders suggested a strongly reactionary side to the principal nationalist party, the Indian National Congress (Chakrabarty 2005). The inauguration of Subaltern Studies was thus created by a sense of freedom to make a project possible with the words: “The historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time been dominated by elitism – colonialist elitism and bourgeois-nationalist elitism” (Guha 1982:1).

Guha (1997) explains that their critique of elitism was rooted in an understanding of the constitution of power. He argues that the domain of politics was never unified and

homogeneous as the elite interpretations tried to make it out to be, rather it was structurally split. In his words:

What is clearly left out of this un-historical [elitist] historiography is the *politics of the people*. For parallel to the domain of elite politics there existed throughout the colonial period another domain of Indian politics in which the principal actors were not the dominant groups of the indigenous society or the colonial authorities but the subaltern classes and groups constituting the mass of the labouring population and intermediate strata in town and country –that is, the people. This was an *autonomous* domain, for it neither originated from elite politics nor did its existence depend on the latter (1982: 4).

He continues that:

The co-existence of these two domains or streams, which can be sensed by intuition and proved by demonstration as well, was the index of an important historical truth that is the failure of the Indian bourgeoisie to speak for the nation. There were vast areas in the life and consciousness of the people which were never integrated into their hegemony (1982:5-6).

It will be clear from the above statements that Subaltern Studies is an attempt to line up historical reasoning with larger movements for democracy in India. It looks for an anti-elitist approach to history writing thus; it has much in common with ‘history from below’ approaches pioneered in English historiography by Christopher Hill, E.P. Thompson, E. J. Hobsbawm and others. Both the Subaltern Studies group and the ‘history from below’ school are broadly Marxist in inspiration but also owe a certain debt to Gramsci in trying to move away from the deterministic writings of Marx. The term ‘Subaltern’ itself and the concept of ‘hegemony’ – so fundamental in theoretical aspects of the project – are, indeed, drawn from Gramsci’s writing. In spite of the similarities, however, Guha’s theorization of the project

refers to certain key differences that distinguish the project of Subaltern Studies from that of English Marxist historiography. As Chakrabarty (2005:472) puts it:

With hindsight, it could be said that there were broadly three areas in which *Subaltern Studies* differed from the “history from below” approach...”subaltern historiography” necessarily entailed (a) a relative separation of the history of power from any universalist histories of capital, (b) a critique of nation-form, and (c) an interrogation of the relationship between power and knowledge (hence of archive itself and of history as a form of knowledge).

“In these differences”, he argues, “lay the beginnings of a new way of theorizing the intellectual agenda for postcolonial histories”.

The establishment of Subaltern Studies aimed to promote the study and discussion of subaltern themes in South Asian studies to “rectify the elitist bias characteristics of much research and academic work” (Guha 1982). The act of such rectification started from the conviction that the elite has exercised dominance, not hegemony, in Gramsci’s sense. Guha mentions it elsewhere:

...no authority can claim voluntary collaboration...from its subordinates without allowing the latter a choice not to collaborate, and such a choice was...incompatible with the autocracy that was the very essence of that rulership...the Raj was a dominance without hegemony, that is, a dominance in which the movement of persuasion outweighed that of coercion without, however, eliminating it altogether (1997: xi).

Based on research into some of the most influential agitations of the colonial period, such as the Noncooperation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India Movement, the Subaltern Studies project demonstrates how the initiative of such campaigns passed from elite leadership to the

subaltern participants and how they made these struggles their own by “framing them in codes specific to tradition of popular resistance and phrasing them in idioms derived from the communitarian experience of working and living together”. Thus Guha argues (1997:xi) that:

It is only a naïve and somewhat deceitful historiography that has made such anti-imperialist mobilization into the ground for bourgeois claims to hegemony, whereas the evidence speaks of it as precisely the ground where such claims were contested by mobilizing themselves.

Despite its every effort, however, the subaltern search for a human subject-agent often ended up with the discovery of the failure of subaltern agency; the moment of rebellion always holds within it the moment of failure. The desire to recover subaltern’s autonomy turns out to be an impossible endeavour because subalternity, by definition, signifies the impossibility of autonomy:

Subalternity thus emerges in the paradoxes of the functioning of power, in the functioning of the dominant discourse as it represents and domesticates peasant agency as a spontaneous and ‘pre-political’ response to colonial violence. No longer does it appear outside the elite discourse as a separate domain, embodied in a figure endowed with a will that the dominant suppress and overpower but do not constitute. Instead it refers to that impossible thought, figure or action without which the dominant discourse cannot exist and which is acknowledged in its subterfuges and stereotypes (Prakash 1994:1483).

The relocation of subalternity in relation to the dominant discourse directs the project of Subaltern Studies to the critique of the modern West because the marginalisation of ‘other’ sources of knowledge and agency takes place in the functioning of colonialism and its derivative, nationalism. Thus, their critique turns against Europe and the modes of knowledge it produced. A certain convergence between Subaltern Studies and other postcolonial

critiques are possible to mark out from this point. It is important to note that 'Europe' or 'the West' in Subaltern Studies refers to an imaginary yet powerful source created by a historical process that confirms it as the home of Reason, Progress and Modernity. The following statement makes it explicit:

...the third-world historian is condemned to knowing 'Europe' as the original home of the 'modern', whereas the 'European' historian does not share a comparable predicament with regard to the pasts of the majority of humankind (Chakrabarty 1992:19).

Such a comment serves as the condition for a deconstructive rethinking of history. It seeks to find in the working of history, as a discipline, the source for other disciplines. This move is a familiar one for much postcolonial criticism. The approach does not merely insist on the social construction of knowledge and identities. It delves into the history of colonialism not only to file its record of domination but also to identify its failure, silences, and impasses – to track those subaltern positions that could not be properly recognized and named. This critical work seeks its root not without, but within the fracture of dominant structures, and thus, Subaltern Studies belongs somewhere in the ambivalent position that postcolonial criticism indicates. The position – as Spivak puts it –consists in saving an “impossible ‘no’ to a structure, which one critiques, yet inhabits intimately” (1990:28). Spivak (1985) argues elsewhere that the silencing of subaltern women marks the limit of historical knowledge. It is impossible to retrieve the woman’s voice unless she has a subject-position from which to speak. This argument makes a counter to the historiographical convention of reclamation to restore the histories of the traditionally ignored – women, workers, peasant and minorities. Spivak’s argument indicates that the project of recovery depends on the historical elimination of the subaltern ‘voice’: “[t]he possibility of retrieval, therefore, is also a sign of its impossibility. Recognition of the...condition of the subaltern’s silence is necessary in order

to subject the intervention of the historian-critic to persistent recognition...” (Prakash 1994:1488). Hence, the concept of a subaltern history is derived from the simultaneous possibility and impossibility found in discourses of domination and demonstrates the ambivalence of postcolonial criticism. It reinscribes and displaces the records of history by reading its archives differently from their actual constitution.

It is important to note that the project of Subaltern Studies was largely derived from Marxism or from the failure of the realization of the Marxist concept of collective consciousness. The failure of the subaltern to act as a class-conscious worker provides the basis to represent the subaltern as resistant to the appropriation by colonial and nationalist elites. Without denying all its impossibility, the project seeks a strategy not to unmask dominant discourses but to explore their fault lines, to identify the cracks in the colonial archaeology of knowledge. It is, what Guha (1997:ix) says: “...a strategy that is not without its risks...” In this regard, Prakash (1994:1490) reminds us that Subaltern Studies is itself an act of translation:

Representing a negotiation between South Asian historiography and the discipline of history centred in the West, its insight can be neither limited to South Asia nor globalized. Trafficking between the two, and originating as an ambivalent colonial aftermath, Subaltern Studies demands that its own translation also occur between the lines.

Despite a touch of impossibility, Subaltern Studies as a postcolonial intellectual endeavour offers enormous possibilities to read through, and to work with, the discrepant histories of colonialism, capitalism and subalternity. I now move on to discuss the take up of the concept of postcolonialism in the analysis of tourism.

V Postcolonialism in Tourism Studies

The concept of postcolonialism is a relatively new engagement within tourism studies that seeks to uncover the meanings of different ‘consequences’ of tourism in a postcolonial context. The theoretical currency of postcolonialism offers new insights on a number of thematic issues, such as construction of cultural identities, the representation of difference, the legacies of colonialism in tourism destinations and the contested production of heritage. Hence, tourism both reinforces and is embedded in a number of postcolonial relationships, as Craik (1994) recognized:

Tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism in that ex-colonies have increased in popularity as favoured destinations (sites) for tourists...while the detritus of post-colonialism have been transformed into tourist sights (including exotic peoples and customs; artefacts; arts and crafts; indigenous and colonial lifestyles, heritage and histories).

However, such references to the intellectual space of tourism studies are not developing in an uncritical fashion; Hall and Tucker (2004:1) explain that:

...postcolonial analysis in tourism reflects the essential contested nature of postcolonial studies...Indeed the oft-noted difficulty of finding an acceptable definition and academic ground with which to describe tourism studies is no different from the experience of those engaged in postcolonial studies.

Thus, Hall and Tucker (2004) explicitly try to situate postcolonialism into the context of tourism studies. Following Ashcroft *et al* (1989), they identify four main areas to discuss, namely hegemony; language, text and representation; place and displacement; and the development of theory.

Even after the formerly colonised societies achieved political independence, the issue of colonialism still remains relevant in terms of tourism. The debate here has been substantially

focused on the ongoing political, economic and cultural influences of the former colonial powers in postcolonial societies. Much of this debate has been focused on the core-periphery relationships that continue to exist in economic and political terms between developed and the less-developed countries, as well as some debates on internal peripheries. This has influenced the tourism literature, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. Mathews, for example, described tourism as potentially being a new colonial plantation economy in which, “...Metropolitan capitalist countries try to dominate the foreign tourism market, especially in those areas where their own citizens travel most frequently” (1978:79). The elements of a plantation tourism economy are that:

1. tourism is structurally a part of an overseas economy
2. it is held together by law and order directed by the local elites
3. there is little or no way to calculate the flow of values

(Best 1968, cited in Hall & Tucker 2004)

Within the plantation economy conceptualisation, overseas interests are critical for creating both the demand and supply of the tourist product, for example, Britton argues that:

Without the involvement of foreign and commercial interests, Tonga has not evolved the essential ties with metropolitan markets and their tourism companies. It would seem that Tonga’s tourist industry has paradoxically suffered because the country was not exploited as a fully fledged colony (1987:131).

The situation of economic and political dependency coming out of the postcolonial core-periphery relationship is considered to be another form of imperialism by some commentators. ‘Tourism as a form of imperialism’ – as explained by Dennison Nash, tries to show that productivity is the key to tourism, and thus any kind of tourism development refers to those productive centres that generate tourist needs and tourists. He argued that:

Such metropolitan centres have varying degrees of control over the nature of tourism and its development, but they exercise it –at least at the beginning of their relationship with tourist areas –in alien regions. It is this power over touristic and related developments abroad that makes a metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism. (1989:39),

Both tourists and their supporting infrastructures become engaged with a native, local population. Such engagements, along with various transactions are marked by a discrepancy of power which may involve individuals of a particular touristic experience and also depend on the relative significance of different social structures for understanding it. The touristic process invokes touristic impulses in productive metropolitan centres, creates tourist sites and develops the transactions between metropolitan centres and tourist areas.

Hall (1998) argues that the extent to which power is able to be exercised, and development is controlled, by an external agency in any destination is even more problematic as globalisation has replaced imperialism. There is a certain lack in the critiques of cultural imperialism to grasp fully the ambiguous gift of capitalist modernity inherent in contemporary globalisation, that is, there is a need to probe the contradictions of capitalist culture and its implications for tourism (Britton 1991). It is evident that in the relationships between the former colonisers and the colonised, there is an existing legacy with respect to political economy that could be considered as hegemonic when played out in its role in terms of tourism development.

The second important feature of imperial and colonial domination is marked by the use of language and text. As we have seen above, the idea of orientalism was proliferated by the various imperial and colonial texts. Orientalism is a style of thought based upon ontological and epistemological distinctions made between ‘the Orient’ and ‘the Occident’. As Said

(1978:5) says, the basic distinction between East and West act as the “starting point for elaborate accounts concerning the Orient, its people, customs, ‘mind’, destiny and so on...despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a ‘real’ Orient”. Such exotic otherness is one of the most important criteria for tourism research: “Encounters with the ‘other’ have always provided fuel for myths and mythical language. Contemporary tourism has developed its own promotional lexicon and repertoire of myths...” (Selwyn 1993:136).

Otherness essentially makes a destination worthy of consumption: the perceptible ‘differentness’, the alluring images of culture and landscape portrayed in the promotional literature (Hitchcock *et al* 1993) is a major process in producing any tourist destination. In this context, Hall and Tucker argue that:

Any understanding of the creation of a destination ...involves placing the development of the representation of that destination within the context of that historical consumption and production of places and the means by which places have become incorporated within the global capital system...such an analysis leads to the recognition that the postcolonial experience is also related to the subjugation and utilisation of nature of the colonial powers (2004:8).

Emphases on image and representation have become major concerns in tourism studies particularly with respect to the development of indigenous and so-called ‘ethnic’ tourism as well as heritage (Ashcroft *et al* 1996, du Cros 2004). Wels (2004) demonstrates how the term ‘paradise’ has often been utilised in the promotion of postcolonial island states in a manner that reinforces the Western ideas of a romantic Other, in the same way that Eden has been applied to Africa. Hence, Douglas and Douglas (1996) show in the case of Hawai’i, how mercantile shipping connections between Hawai’i and the United States mainland served the purposes of both the invasion of the United States into the islands and the development of a

tourism industry and commercialization of the term 'Paradise' by the 1850s. They argue that:

The myth of Paradise by now a thoroughly shop-worn cliché, which invests every kind of promotion ... Virtually every travel brochure on the region contains similar images, no longer the exclusive preserve of Tahiti, which inspired them, or Hawai'i which mass produced them. By the 1970s, aided by jet travel, packaged vacations and the relentlessness of brochure and television advertising, the myth had been exported more widely than any other regional product and was being applied indiscriminately and often incongruously to every part of the Pacific (1996:32-3)

This postcolonial reading then brings to the fore concepts such as gender, class, ethnicity which have substantial resonance in the study of tourism. Such issues form the ground for 'internal colonisation' in which identities are constrained and oppressed and selectively represented. It has been demonstrated by postcolonial critics how women have been marginalized, relegated to the position of 'Other', and in a metaphorical sense become 'colonized' (Spivak 1987). Sexual exploitation of women and their representation in tourism advertising and promotion have thus gained substantial importance in tourism research (Enloe 1989; Kinnaird and Hall 1994; Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Aitchson *et al* 2002). Hall (1992) notes that in the south-east Asian context of sex tourism in the 1980s and 1990s many of the sex workers were from the internal periphery of those countries and often from ethnic minorities. In such a situation the institutionalized exploitation of women within patriarchal societies of south-east Asia has been expanded and normalized by the unequal power relationships that exist not only between genders and members of ethnic groups but also between hosts and advanced capitalist societies (Ong 1985). The Western representation of a sensual, sexually available female orient Other is still active in the production of certain postcolonial destinations such as the Caribbean or the Pacific through the repetitive use of the sexual imagery in the marketing of these destinations (Opperman and McKinley 1997). In

postcolonial theorising of tourism studies, it is important to remember that gender, class, and race are interlinked, “they come into existence in and through relation to each other – if in contradictory and conflicting ways” (McClintock 1995:5) and need much analysis.

The third major feature of postcolonialism is the concern with place and displacement and the postcolonial crisis of identity. Colonial settlement and migration, the transport of convicts, slaves and indentured labour and the deliberate or even oppression of indigenous cultures by colonial societies instigated major displacements in postcolonial societies. In locations of displacement, concerns over identity and authenticity occur as the identities of places and individuals come to be contested and renegotiated. Tourism comes to play a major role in the construction of these places and identities. In this context, Cohen (1977) observed that the role tourism can play in transforming collective and individual values through processes of commodification. It implies that in cases where personal ‘cultural displays’ of living traditions or a ‘cultural text’ of lived authenticity become ‘cultural products’ to meet the needs of commercial tourism (Hall and Tucker 2004). But there is a blurring state in differentiating the creation of tradition for tourism and its creation to meet other political or cultural ends of either the colonisers or the colonised (Hanson 1989; Keesing 1989; Trask 1991; Otto and Verlop 1996). However, tourism works as an active agent in the processes of acculturation and value change. The imaging and marketing of destinations in tourism necessarily commodify visitor and community notions of place and identity. As Papsion commented:

Tourism depends on preconceived definitions of place and people. These definitions are created by the marketing arm of government and of private enterprise in order to induce the tourist to visit a specific area...government and private enterprise not only define social reality but also recreate it to fit those definitions. This process is both

interactive and dialectical. To the extent that this process takes place, the category of everyday life is annihilated (1981:225).

In the postcolonial setting, indigenous people may thus find themselves trapped:

...in a sort of tourized confinement in the suffocating straitjacket of enslaving external conceptions. They are caught in the objectifying slant of 'Whites', 'Westerners' and 'Wanderers-from-afar' in an anonymous but continuing process of subjugation (Hollinshead 1992:19).

Nevertheless, postcolonial representations of identity are not always passively accepted by the colonised rather cultural identity is, as stated by Clifford (1988:9), "an ongoing process, politically contested and historically unfinished." Tourism, in this respect, is certainly a dynamic context which enters "the process contention over definitions of what is traditional and authentic becomes charged with a variety of additional meanings, as the range of interested parties increases" (Wood 1993:63-4).

The interrelationship between tourism and migration is another significant arena for contemporary tourism studies that draws upon postcolonial theory. According to Coles *et al* (2004) a transnational framework of analysis within tourism studies could allow for the recognition of interconnected social networks and the resulting movement between and among multiple localities. Such social networks and linkages may account for a significant amount of global tourism, especially when viewed in the context of migrant mobilities (Duval and Hall 2004). To some extent the concept of hybridity discussed above calls attention to globalised persons and cultures and the condition of formerly colonised people which has been often celebrated as a non-hegemonic, open, creative process that subverts the normative ideals of racial and cultural purity. Such conceptualisation refers to cultural mixing through various colonial encounters including tourism.

The fourth important factor is the further development of postcolonial theory. One of the aims of postcolonial analysis is not to assert a newly defined cultural power but to make visible the relative and partial nature of all 'truths'; and to expose the ideological biases underwriting any ethical and epistemological system which would otherwise regard itself as definitive (Nettlebeck 1992; Bahri1995). Finnstorm (1997) observes that colonial hegemony and colonisation are not the only sources of power and construction. The makers of culture are not limited to active colonisers; local populations are rarely reduced to passive objects of cultural formation. This dichotomisation of active Westerners versus passive non-Westerners is a long lasting misconception of Western thought. Hobert (1993:2) also finds that in much postcolonial analysis "the relationships of developers and to-be-developed is constituted by the developers' knowledge and categories". It is felt by critics that the key binary categories in postcolonial theorisation, such as hegemony and resistance must be complimented with aspects of localised strategies of adaptation, accommodation and collaboration (De Boeck 1996). Thus, Hall and Tucker (2004:17) think that postcolonial theory is useful in reminding tourism scholars that the aspects of tourism discourses which promote the preservation of the traditional for tourist experiences is itself based on a "colonial desire to fix the identity of the other in order that it remains (or perhaps in actuality becomes) distinct from tourist identity." Hence, the global processes of tourism and modernisation do not essentially erase notions of cultural authenticity (Featherstone 1990).

VI Conclusions

In this chapter I have discussed the postcolonial context in terms of four main aspects. Firstly, colonialism has been defined and postcolonialism has been discussed in detail as a historical marker. It was shown in that context that the term 'postcolonial' brings out immense

possibilities and also confusions in intellectual practices. In some cases emphasis has been given on the 'post' of 'postcolonial' as a temporal demarcation, however, in a more critical way, the prefix 'post' was read as signifying both changes in power structures after the official end of colonialism and the continuing discursive effects of colonialism. In this case postcolonial theory is an umbrella term that covers different critical approaches which deconstruct European thought in areas as wide-ranging as philosophy, history, literary studies, anthropology, sociology and political science. It has been considered that the term postcolonial is a dialectical concept which marks the broad historical facts of decolonization and the achievement of sovereignty, but at the same time discusses the realities of nations and people emerging into a new imperialistic context of economic and sometimes political domination. The second section focused on the critical enquiry of colonial discourse and postcolonial theory with the discussion of the postcolonial critics – Said, Bhabha and Spivak. In this section it was found that 'colonial discourse' is not just a mere outcome of colonialism; it directs towards a new approach of thinking in which cultural, intellectual, economic and political processes are tend to work together in the formation, perpetuation and dismantling of colonialism The third section demonstrated the deconstructive approach of the Indian historiography movement by Subaltern Studies group. Subaltern Studies adds new inventiveness to postcolonial theory by drawing upon some of the previous arguments. This critique challenges the knowledge and social identities endorsed by colonialism and Western domination. Subaltern Studies as a postcolonial intellectual endeavour offers enormous possibilities to read out, and to work with, the discrepant histories of colonialism, capitalism and subalternity.

The final section of this chapter is based upon the recent engagement between the postcolonialism and tourism studies which seeks to uncover the meanings of different

postcolonial ‘consequences’ of tourism. This offers new insights on a number of thematic issues, such as the construction of cultural identities, the representation of difference, the legacies of colonialism in tourism destinations and the contested production of heritage. Tourism both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial relationships. Thus postcolonialism in the context of tourism studies is recognized in four main areas: namely hegemony; language, text and representation, place and displacement and the development of theory (Hall and Tucker 2004).

This contextual discussion of postcolonialism including discussion of the relation of tourism studies to postcolonial studies, provide the theoretical basis of one of the empirical chapters of this research namely, ‘Representing the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway’. The significance of the Postcolonial context in relation to the empirical study of the DHR is that it opens up possibilities to see the DHR through discursive practices, where, as we shall see, discourse ‘constructs’ the DHR and produces certain ‘reality’ about the DHR travel. It shows how the basic pattern and tropes within the discourse embodied the West’s knowledge of the DHR journey as well as perpetuates an ‘imaginative geographies’ and also, how the cultural representation of the DHR within the Western discursive domain which has been established since its colonial past resulting in the form of cultural hegemony in the present day representation of the DHR. In parallel to this dominant version of the DHR there is a relatively silent way of representing the DHR which is evident amongst the lives of the locals. An attempt has been taken to see the empirical evidences of local representations of the DHR with a deconstructive approach of the Subaltern Studies. Finally, as we see, the postcolonial engagement to tourism studies often addresses several thematic issues like construction of cultural identities, legacies of colonialism in tourism destinations, the representation of difference or even the production of heritage. These issues are enacted in one way or the other in the context of the DHR as a mode of travel with its own colonial past

and postcolonial present. That we shall see empirically in chapter 5 of this thesis. In the next chapter I discuss the mobilities theoretical context.

CHAPTER 3: THE MOBILITIES CONTEXT

I Introduction

In this chapter I am going to discuss the mobilities theoretical context. This context focuses on what is called the new mobilities paradigm which has sought to develop a new post-disciplinary paradigm to grasp various mobilities of all kinds. The new mobilities paradigm seeks to develop a wide-ranging analysis of the role that the movement of people, objects and information plays in contemporary social life; and shows how these different ways of movement help to constitute different kinds of 'society'. Thus, this paradigm sheds light on how social life predetermines many issues of movement and non-movement, as well as of forced movement and of chosen fixity. It is also argued that many theories of social science are unable to grasp the shifting entities of all kinds. Hence, the mobilities paradigm, in this regard, is not only substantively different but also transformative of social science by authorizing an alternative theoretical and methodological landscape:

It enables the 'social world' to be theorized as a wide array of economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail or curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas, or information, or objects. (Urry 2007:18)

Mobilities research is a broad field encompassing studies of corporeal movement, transportation and communication infrastructures, capitalist spatial restructuring, migration and immigration, citizenship and transnationalism, and tourism and travel (Hannam et al 2006). It receives much criticism as to what is the viability of so broad a field. However, mobilities research gains currency because of its concerns with the subjects and objects of social inquiry, the way it frames questions and methods of social research to grasp the

shifting mobile entities of all kinds. Sheller and Urry claim this is a ‘mobility turn’ in social sciences: “It seems that a new paradigm is being formed within the social sciences, the ‘new mobilities’ paradigm” (2006:208).

The ‘new mobilities’ paradigm thus challenges the ‘a-mobility’ of social research. Both actual and imagined movement of people and objects have been taken as neutral factors in much social science research. They argue that place, stability and meaning have been taken as normal in sedentary theories of sociology, anthropology and geography. The aim of the mobilities paradigm is to go beyond the constraint of the imagery of ‘terrains’ and take distance, change and placelessness into account for social processes.

Some work on mobilities addresses the general condition of ‘liquid modernity’ (Bauman 2000) at an abstract theoretical level (see Cresswell 2006) while others – influenced by the material turn in European cultural geography and cultural sociology – focus on the specifically located material practices as sites in which specific kinds of mobility and mobile communication have shaped and/or are reshaping space, place and presence on the material (Sheller and Urry 2004:3). These material practices often understood in terms of their fluid interdependence; human mobility at the global level, for example is perceived in connection with more ‘local’ concerns about everyday transportation, material cultures and spatial relations of mobility and immobility. The new technologies of mobile information and communication and emerging infrastructures of security and surveillance, including a kind of self-surveillance are also significant in this context. Moreover, the complex patterning of people’s various social activities which combine ‘network sociality’ (Wittel 2001) as well as physical movement related to both upward and downward social mobility both play crucial roles in new mobilities paradigm: “There is the proliferation of places, technologies and

‘gates’ that enhance the mobilities of some while reinforcing the immobilities of others...”
(Sheller and Urry 2006:213).

Place itself is seen as dynamic in new mobilities paradigm which consists of materials, people and images. There is also stress upon the embodied nature and experience of different modes of travel where these modes are considered to be forms of material and sociable places of and for various activities (Hannam et al 2006). At the same time, the new paradigm focuses on the immobility of some highly embedded material infrastructures (transmitters, aerials, roads, stations, airports docks, garages) and shows how mobilities occur through these immobile material worlds (Sheller 2004). Thus, the new mobilities paradigm outlines different theoretical resources within a post-disciplinary field that converges around studies of space, place, boundaries and movement and thus, moves beyond sedentarist and nomadic conceptualisations of place and movement (Sheller and Urry 2006).

In short: this paradigm connects mobilities and materialities (following Simmel’s theoretical antecedent), tries to grasp the ways material ‘stuff’ comprises places, and such stuff is always in motion, being assembled and reassembled in changing configurations (Sheller and Urry 2006). It involves analysis of complex adaptive systems, focuses upon various topologies of social networks and particularly the patterns of weak ties that may generate ‘small worlds’ amongst those apparently unconnected (Buchanan 2002; Granovetter 1983; Urry 2000a; Watts 1999,2003), re-describes contemporary sociality as materially heterogeneous, as a complex implication of talks, bodies, texts, machines, architectures (Law 1994). These socio-technical systems are taken as hybrids and are crucial in theorizing mobilities: mobilities thus involve complex ‘hybrid geographies’ (Whatmore 2002) of humans and nonhumans that contingently enable people and materials to move and to hold their shape as they move across

various region (Normark 2006). Another significant theoretical influence is about the sensuous construction of mobilities. Corporeal bodies are affective mediums to sense place and movement and to construct emotional geographies: “Such sensuous geographies are not only located individual bodies, but extend to familial spaces, neighbourhoods, regions, national cultures, and leisure spaces with particular kinaesthetic dispositions” (Sheller and Urry 2006:216). In what follows, I thus discuss the mobilities paradigm, firstly in terms of metaphors of mobility, before going on to examine....

II Metaphors of Mobility

In the contemporary world, mobility is circulated through many different meanings – mobility as progress, as freedom, as opportunity. It has always been expressed in contrast with any kind of fixity: “It is a kind of blank space that stands as an alternative to place, boundedness, foundation and stability” (Cresswell 2006:2). Mobility as a concept thus circulates metaphorically. These various metaphors of mobility put the apparent fixities of older forms of understanding into question. Metaphors of mobility include the nomad, the vagabond, the tourist, the ship, the hotel, the motel fill the discourses of mobility (Morris 1988, Gilroy 1993, Bauman 1993, Clifford 1997). Mobility seems to have a transgressive character to it and some metaphors of mobility influenced contemporary social thought such that a sedentarist metaphysics has been replaced by a nomadic metaphysics. Indeed, Deleuze and Guattari mobilise the figure of the nomad as a motif of smooth and mobile space, of de-territorialized societies which have proliferated: “The nomad has no point, paths or land...If the nomad can be called the Deterritorialized *par excellence*, it is precisely because there is no reterritorialization *afterwards* as with the migrant” (1986:52).

In our postmodern time, the world is itself on the move. With people, things, information

reaching further distances with greater frequency, thus, postmodern thought is more mobile as well. Cultural theorists like James Clifford (1997), for example, emphasise a new mobile world of nomads and travellers, travelling hopefully, making connections and experiencing speed as Urry explains:

Nomadism is associated with the notion that academic and political writing can itself be conceived of as a journey. In order to theorise one leaves home and travels. There is no 'home' or fixed point from which the theorist departs and then returns. The theorist is seen as travelling hopefully, neither being at home or away (2001:240).

The contemporary world experiences the speed of communication and transport on a scale hitherto unknown – a phenomenon termed by David Harvey (1989) as 'time-space-compression'. This increased mobility opens up the characteristic landscapes of mobility – emerging sites of bus station, motorways, airports, etc. The metaphor of the motel which "memorializes only movement, speed and perpetual circulation" could be considered in this context (Morris 1988:3 cited in Urry 2000, 2001). Clifford (1997) also argues for the metaphor of hotel lobby: unlike the metaphor of home and stasis, the hotel lobby constructs a stage of time and space, always ever opened to movement and unexpected encounters.

The metaphorical social construction of mobility has received much criticism as well, however. Janet Wolff has noted how discourses of mobility tend to ignore the gendering of motion. Actual practices of mobility tend to exclude women and this exclusion is carried over into theoretical travel:

...the problem with terms like 'nomad', 'maps', and 'travel' is that they are not usually located and hence (and purposely) they suggest ungrounded and unbounded movement – since the whole point is to resist selves/viewers/subjects. But the consequent suggestion of free and equal mobility is itself a deception, since we don't

all have the same access to the road” (1993:253).

Also, mobility as a trope especially in postmodern theory has a tendency to over-generalize the fragmented, nomadic subjectivities, which – as argued by Ien Ang -“decontextualize and flatten our difference, as if ‘we’ were all in fundamentally similar ways always-already travellers in the same post-modern universe....” (1994:4). I now move on from the metaphors of mobility to discuss the actual production of mobilities.

III The Production of Mobility

To put it simply, mobility involves some kind of displacement – the act of moving between locations. It encompasses different activities like walking, moving home, going on holiday, emigrating, travelling, and exploring. But the movements (of people and of other things) are always meaningful – both products and producers of power. Hence, fundamentally, mobility is a geographical aspect of existence and “...provides a rich terrain from which narratives - and, indeed, ideologies – can be, and have been constructed” (Cresswell 2006:1). Mobility is this an agent in the production of time and space because displacement of an object between locations consumes time and a traverses space. So, movement is made up of time and space; more clearly it is the ‘spatialization of time and temporalization of space’. Time and space both provide the context for movement and are an outcome of movement. For instance, the success of nineteenth century railroad technology introduced a new mode of mobility which enabled to bring things, for all pragmatic reasons, a lot closer. It is evident here that the notion of mobility is thoroughly a social aspect of life filled with meaning and power and, is contained with social time and social space. The movement of a train occurs in absolute space and time but it plays a central role in the production of social space and social time and thus constitutes social mobility. Movement appears as neutral and without meaning but mobility, on the other hand, is considered as a dynamic equivalent of place. Place is not as neutral as

that of location. Place, is always imbued with various meanings and power – is always experienced. In the same way: “Mobility is just as spatial –as geographical –and just as central to the human experience of the world, as place” (Cresswell 2006:3).

It is also possible to conceptualize mobility in terms of different relational moments. Mobility can be taken as a measurable, observable fact, for example when it is of human mobility. It is an empirical reality which is evident in transport planning or in migration theory. Here mobility signifies the pure motion and is at its most abstract state. On the other hand, mobility at times could be predominantly ideological. In that case mobility belongs to the various ideas that are conveyed through various modes of representation – film, photography, literature, philosophy and law, etc. However, mobility is practiced, is experienced, and is embodied. Human mobility is, for example, deeply embodied experience and the direct experience of human mobility is connected to the representational meanings of mobility. Similarly representations of mobility are based on the ways mobility is embodied and practiced. It has thus been argued that to read the moments of mobility is an integral process: “To understand mobility without recourse to representation on the one hand or the material corporeality on the other is...to miss the point” (Cresswell 2006:4).

Historically, the rise of mercantile capitalism in early modern Europe facilitated a range of mobilities related to trade and, that, eventually, loosened the grounded notion of feudal society. The new types of mobility in this period also required new forms of social surveillance and control. The establishment of European nation-states brought larger markets for goods and wage labour and labour became mobile on a national scale. With the transformation of mobility at a more mundane level, people begin to inhabit the landscapes of Europe. Alongside that, the increasing popularity of the *Grand Tour* indicates the advent of

another modern mobile figure – *the tourist* (MacCannell 1976). Mobility belongs at the heart of the Western modernity.- a contested term full of ambiguities and tension within it: “The tension between a spatialized ordering principle seen by many to be central to modernity, and a sense of fluidity and mobility emphasized by others” (Cresswell 2006:16). Nevertheless, compared to the stationary, sedentary life, mobility seems a chaotic thing – and often jumps scale. Undoubtedly, mobility is self-evidently central to modernity. It is both centre and margin. Modern citizens are mobile citizens as well. At the same time, mobility is also an object of suspicion and fear –“a human practice that threatens to undo many of the achievements of modern rationality and ordering” (Cresswell 2006:20).

As discussed above, time and space provide major theoretical concerns in terms of mobilities. The urban landscape is reconstructed and turned into ‘a spectacle’ for postmodern consumption and the visual consumption of space and time are both accelerated and abstracted from the logic of industrial production (Zukin 1992). Post-modernity leads to a more open and fluid social identity in contrast with the fixed, unchanging identities of the modern period and, also, social practices and contemporary technologies are based upon time-frames that supersede conscious human experience. It is argued that clock-time is partially replaced by ‘instantaneous time’ which indicates a break down in the distinctions of night and day, home and work, leisure and work; ‘temporariness’ of products, jobs, careers, values and personal relationships; proliferation of new products, flexible forms of technology; growth of short-term labour contracts and for that a new form of insecurity; increasing volatile political preferences; an increasing senses of contradiction with the ‘pace of life’ and the other aspects of human experience (Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Urry 2000). As a result time and space are being represented in new ways. ‘Time-space compression’ is central to both human and physical experiences and processes in this context. This time-space

compression is especially evident in corporeal mobility. This compression involves various transformations such as the mobility of objects, of symbols and the mobility of space itself. Travelling objects are in a more complex way associated with the movement of people. The travel of objects is interconnected with the human dwelling and travelling practices, as Lury argues: "...objects move in relations of travelling-in-dwelling and relations of dwelling-in-travelling in the practices of global cosmopolitanism" (1997:83). Various technological advancements bring out the mobility of symbols. Through global satellite television network or internet visual images, sounds, information travel beyond national borders. There are also convergences of various media including the telephone, the internet and the television that facilitate further human activities by the rapid exchange of symbols. A distinct form of spatial reality also forms through the symbolic travel on the internet. Space itself is being mobilised due to such travel. Computers dematerialize means of communication and interconnect people globally, and thus, creates a 'virtual spatiality'. In this computer mediated communication system geographical proximity and boundaries do not play crucial roles as Jones puts it: "Cyberspace hasn't a 'where'... Rather, the space of cyberspace is predicated on knowledge and information, on the common beliefs and practices of a society abstracted from physical space" (1998:15). Thus, in this cyberspace the very notion of 'space' itself is reconfigured in relation with human interests and mobility is at the heart of this reconfiguration.

Overall, the temporal and spatial barriers appear to be less important and thus, greater attention is paid to the sensitivity of mobile capital, migrants, asylum seekers and tourists to the variation of place. Mobility as a phenomenon of the contemporary world signifies the global flux of objects, symbols, and space itself; evokes complex patterns of human interaction. Both temporal and spatial mobilities add two, complexly incorporated dimensions

of this phenomenon.

IV The Sociology of Mobility

In his book *Sociology Beyond Society* John Urry (2000) calls for a revised sociology that examines the transnational and subnational mobilities of peoples, objects, images, information and the complex interdependencies between, and social outcome of these diverse mobilities. He discusses how: "...such mobilities transform the historic subject-matter of sociology within the 'west' which focused upon individual societies and upon the generic characteristics of such societies" (2000:1) Hence, contemporary mobilities, with their diverse technologies and objects on an enormous scale problematise the power relations in various societies. Thus 'social governmentality' comes into question by mobilities organised through complexly arranged times and spaces. These mobilities criss-cross societal borders in new temporal-spatial patterns and open-up the possibility of a major new agenda of sociology where mobility is an obvious 'social phenomenon'.

The development of various global 'networks and flows', in this context, challenges the social structures which have usually been considered within sociological discourse to have the power to reproduce themselves. Urry (2000) interrogates the concept of the social in society and shows how its altering values could eventually reformulate sociology in its 'post societal' phase. Material transformations are particularly important here in remaking the 'social': "... especially those diverse mobilities that, through multiple senses, imaginative travel, movements of images and information, virtuality and physical movement, are materially reconstructing the 'social as society' into 'social as mobility'" (2000:2).

Urry further indicates new rules of sociological mobile method in order to capture the

sensuous formation of mobile hybrids of people and objects. In this regard, he refers to common figures such as the walker, the car driver, the photographer, etc as mobile hybrids. Pertaining to this, the new mobilities paradigm outlines different methods for mobilities research. It is concerned with the patterning, timing, and causation of face-to-face copresence (Sheller and Urry 2006) as well as investigates multiple 'transfer points' (Kesselring 2006). These transfer points create a significant immobile network to facilitate the mobilities of others and also construct new forms of 'interspace' (Hulme 2006) or connected presence in which various kind of meeting-ness are held in play while on-the-move. 'Mobile ethnography' – siteless in spirit (Schein 2002) – is an evocative form of mobilities research methods. Mobilised ethnography could involve 'walking with' people as a form of deep engagement in their worldview (Morris 2004), or through 'co-present immersion' the researcher can be co-present within modes of movement and then use a range of observation, interviewing and recording techniques (Laurier 2002). How people affect a face-to-face relationship with places, with events and with people are significant which involve methods of direct observation or in digitally enhanced forms mobile bodies go through various performances of travel, work and play. There is a crucial role of maintaining 'time-space diaries' – digital, pictorial or textual – in mobile research methods: "In a reflexive move one might also call for a more transparent accounting and accountability of the researcher's trajectories of travel and affordances for mobile research production" (Sheller and Urry 2006:218). There are different forms of 'cyber-research' methods or cyberethnography (Molz 2006) to explore imaginative and virtual mobilities of people via their websites, using computer simulation, multiuser discussion groups or listserves. Multimedia methods (Halgren 2004) are used to understand imaginative travel and also there is an active employment of photographs, letters, images, souvenirs and objects as a kind of mobilities research method. This method provides a direct stimulation as much as travel and

communication involve the active development and performances of ‘memory’.

Furthermore, two new metaphors of time are introduced by Urry for the understanding of mobility and time in social life: ‘instantaneous time’ of a globalised, mediatised world and its counterpoint ‘glacial time’ –which is “slow moving, beyond assessment or monitoring within the present generation” (2000:158) These two metaphors replace the common distinction in the social sciences between ‘natural time’ and “the mechanistic, linear, and symmetrical notion of clock-time” (2000:123). Furthermore, in his analysis of mobility, Urry draws upon notions from science especially from chaos and complexity theories and from actor-network theory. He examines the temporal and geographical shaping of nationhood, class, community, ethnicity, gender, dwelling and citizenship, the changing role of states from ‘gardeners’ as regulators towards the ‘gamekeeper’ states of flow and indicates the chaotic, non-linear and unpredictable global consequences of local events. Thus Urry argues to place mobilities rather than societies at heart of reconstituted sociology (2000:210). According to Urry, sociology is a discipline distinctively positioned to explore both the global-scale and micro-geographies of mobility in all its forms. One aspect that he emphasises to illustrate this is through contemporary use of automobilities, to which I now turn.

V The Significance of Automobilities

As discussed above, Urry (2000) argues that the new global order involves a return to ‘gamekeeping state’. The rising significance of ‘automobility’, in this respect, has forced some significant changes in the character of civil society. He argues that the analysis of such mobility is inevitable for analysing contemporary social life. Social life has always consisted of different mobilities but as Urry argues:

...the car has transforms these in a distinct combination of both flexibility and

coercion. Civil society is thus in part a ‘civil society of automobility’, a civil society of quasi-objects or ‘car-drivers’ and much less of separate human subjects who can be conceived of as autonomous from their machines (2000:190).

The term automobility refers to the combination of autonomy and mobility as Featherstone (2004:1) puts it: ‘modes of autonomous, self-directed movement.’ The auto in the term automobile refers to a self-propelled vehicle and introduces, not just autonomy through the motor, but also a capacity to have independent, motorized, self-steered movement far removed from the spatial and temporal confinements of the rail track. The car is also the contested and fascinating symbol of modernism, as Inglis (2004:197-219) notes:

For theorists such as Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and Jean Baudrillard, the motor-car was ‘the epitome of objects’ which was ‘colonizing more and more areas of everyday life’. It entailed the ‘triumph of geometric space’ over the lived space of communal association, heralding a ‘French high-road to Americanization’.

Thus the car has become an integral part of the cultural environment of human life and there are extended and much diversified ways in which car cultures and motorscapes are manifested. There are places where driving behaviour is enforced through strict highway codes and other regulations related to driving; at the same time in some places driving is comprised without any uniformity, based on a fluid street choreographic nature. Driving performances provide different sorts of experiences, distractions and senses. It is considered that the western urban motorscape consists largely of minimized ‘aesthetic interruption’ compared to the slow driving on any Indian street. Edensor (2004) investigates the characteristics of motorscapes. He argues that motorized landscape feeds into one’s sense of place, of ‘being in the world’ within a familiar context, In England church steeples and towers inscribe a familiar ‘faithscape’ – “Moreover, roadside architectural forms – pubs and housing, styles of fencing and garden ornamentation – generally fall within a recognizable

vernacular range” (2004:108). In contrast, the Indian motorscape has more of a ‘blurred’ boundary between the road and the surrounding land (2004:110). He also argues that:

These national signifiers are accompanied by recognizable and widespread flora and fauna, unspectacular animals and plants which are rarely commented upon...The comfort of spatial identity is fostered by the thick intertextuality of these vernacular, generic motorscapes for they stitch the local and the national together through their serial reproduction across space (2004:108).

Dant (2004: 61-62), meanwhile, points out that driving is an embodied skill and the driver-car complex is an assembled social being that takes on properties of both and cannot exist without both. He insists on seeing driver-car as inseparable ‘hybrid’. This embodied skill and communication also induces the embodied emotional responses – the ‘Automotive Emotions’ (Sheller 2004): “Driving towards virtually anywhere makes me excited, expectant: full of hope” (Pearce 2000 cited in Sheller 2004:224). These various emotional experiences are central to the advertising consumer culture images of car travel. Cars also encourage identification and particular ‘affordances’ are presented as characteristics of different brands. Hence, there is as much ‘car talk as much as car driving’:

Around each specialist or classic type of car a whole cultural world develops with its own form of specialist knowledge and publications, practices and argot, which seek to explore and define the details of car anatomy, ‘look’, styling, image and ride. A world which offers the pleasures of common knowledge and distinctive classifications, which work with shared embodied habitus and membership... (Featherstone 2004:14).

It is the mechanical complex of the car which is able to sense its environment as well as makes driving a more mediated process. In that process boundaries between humans and technological systems become blurred and inseparable and thus, this makes automobiles

hybrid entities of human and the machines. Hence, in the course of social mobility, automobility gives a promise for self-steering autonomy which affords not only speed and mobility but also an enclosed private space, symbolising an attractive marketing image as well as powerful cultural dream. Having discussed the significance of automobiles, I now turn to discuss the significance of mobilities in terms of tourism itself.

VI Mobilities in Travel and Tourism

Placing mobilities at the heart of tourism is one of the fundamental aspects of the new mobilities paradigm. The statistics of the growth of tourism as an industry is ubiquitous in the tourism literature. At the same time tourism is a productive form of both policy and popular discourses. It is seen not only as an essential component of trade, production and consumption but also as an increasingly important constituent of cultural capital (Shaw and Williams 2002, 2004). However, how the spatialities of social life are constructed through the actual and the imagined movement of people from place to place, person to person, event to event have not been considered explicitly. Travel, hitherto, has been seen as a neutral set of technologies and processes mainly permitting forms of economic, social and political life (Sheller and Urry 2006) but in reality tourism and mobilities are inextricable both in terms of material and discursive practices. The theoretical purchase of mobilities makes sense to tourism and many empirical realities related to tourism shed light on mobilities as a phenomenon.

Tourism thus shapes and is shaped by various mobilities. Mobilities comprise many different movements which are interrelated. Thus the mobility of tourists across space is always accompanied by the mobility of goods, information, financial transactions and so on. Primarily tourism is heightened by corporeal mobility as Urry (2002) explains in terms of the

other obligations which necessitates mobility and results in various forms of tourism (business, leisure, sports and cultural). Tourism, therefore, remains significant to the production of forms of mobility (see above). The concept of scapes and flows is particularly important here, which is understood as “networks of machines, technologies, organizations, texts and actors that constitute various interconnected nodes along which the flows can be relayed. Such scapes reconfigure the dimensions of time and space” (Urry 2000:35) and such flows persuade new forms of opportunities, desires and risks even in the milieu of tourism. The spaces of tourism are deeply structured by scapes:

“for these scapes also consist of material investments in hotel restaurants and other services that facilitate travel. They are also invested with the tourist imagination: the tourist gaze (1990) is signposted along the scapes, informed by diverse media imaging of not only the destinations, but also the routes themselves” (Williams and Shaw 2004:3).

The mobilities paradigm attempts to account for not only the “quickenings of liquidity within some realms but also the concomitant patterns of concentration that create zones of connectivity, centrality and empowerment in some cases, and of disconnection, social exclusion and inaudibility in other cases” (Graham and Marvin 2001). This theoretical attempt casts light on the re-thinking of tourist scapes which create inequalities in tourist and related flows as they bypass some areas while connecting others with channels enriched with transport and tourism. Scapes are characterized by inertia, resulting from technology, fixed capital investment and knowledge embedded within them but such scapes are constantly revisited, reconstructed and contested and are always opened up to generate new flows which, in time, lead to the repositioning of scapes.

The study of tourism mobilities, thus, is an attempt to see the dynamics of places and

reproduction of various performances in and of those places contingently. Such performances are not just unmediated relationship between the subject and the object, rather a collage constructed through voices, memories, gestures and narratives which create ‘hauntingness of place’ (Degan and Hetherington 2001). This ‘contingent mobility’ is being revealed through detailed geographical analyses, cultural and spatial turn in social sciences and, with more recent analyses of the body, performances and objects.

For instance, recent research on performing ecotourism natures (Waite and Cook 2007) investigates nature-society relationships through the socio-spatial practices of ecotourism. Drawing on ideas of ‘hybrid geographies’ (Whatmore 2002), the research examines the experiences of kayakers participating in ecotours in Krabi Province, Thailand. The research gives attention to the corporeal mobilities and embodied experiences to explore performing ecotourism natures of the kayaker and provides methods for engaging through sensuous world. In so doing the research traverses between the hybrid geographies (Whatmore 2002) and tourism geographies (Coleman and Crang 2002; Franklin and Crang 2001). Exemplifying the natures performed in and through the places of tourism it gives primary attention to the corporeal mobilities and sensuous world of smell, sound, touch and taste as well as accepts the role of discourse – how nature is performed in the ecotour spaces opened up by kayaking. The concern here thus not on the dualist thinking about tourist and tourism, more clearly, not with ecotourists as disembodied caster of gazes (Urry 1990), nor with the question of authenticity (MacCannell 1988):

Instead we argue that ecotour spaces are derived relationally through people’s own preconceived ideas, motivations, their companions, and, above all, the experiences derived from the bodily imperatives of touring the human and non-human worlds. We investigate the ways in which the human body is exercised as an instrument of travel

as part of an ongoing process of making social eco-spaces (Waite and Cook 2007: 536).

‘Touristification’, arguably changes configurations of local places and connects them with the ‘global order’ (Urry 2002). ‘World heritagization’ of Machu Picchu, for example, converts the ancient Inca civilization into an object of “sporadic dreams, fantasies, and desires of travelling to the Inca ‘destination’” (Arellano 2004:67). This is the case which is focusing on the role of corporeal tourist performances in renewing the semiotic resources of global Machu Picchu. The role of tourism, here, moves beyond the development of a hosting infrastructure: “The industry participates in a real mobilization of the imagination and meaning where tourists, as active interpreters *and* performers, significantly imagine and reimagine the contours of the Inca sanctuary” (Arellano 2004:67 emphasis original). Being a global heritage site, Machu Picchu has been rebranded; transcends the boundaries of the archaeological remains and revives the Inca icon into innovative contemporary significances. Thus it becomes part of a complex web of images derived from the media-processed world. Placing the performances and interpretations in the contours of the Inca sanctuary global audience constructs an ‘imagined world’ of its own. Bodies, spirits and Incas reflect different forms of ‘sacralization’, as Arellano (2004:67) puts it: “...in other words analysing how tourist performances contribute to transforming the configurations of the Inca ruins enlightens the contemporary fears, fantasies, and quests of everyday life.” The philosophy behind this performance is to improve the self both bodily and spiritually through meaningful experiences and, importantly, to perform Machu Picchu in an environmentally responsible way. This notion casts the so called ‘mass tourism’ aside as well as proves itself to be more authentic and in-depth which is in reality, inevitably ‘staged’. Thus, world heritagization of Machu Picchu mobilizes the place in the way that it intends:

“...to veil the ambiguity of conserving *and* commodifying heritage sites, as travellers

‘buy’ more ‘authentic’, ‘responsible’ and ‘alternative’ performances that are in fact still unalterably staged. ...bodies, spirits and Incas are now haunting the reassembly of the ‘secret place’ of the Incas into a playful global place for contemporary urban quest” (Arellano 2004:77).

Edensor’s (2007), meanwhile, focuses on the mundane mobilities, performances and spaces of tourism. There is a dominant approach in understanding about tourism that it is a phenomenon which consists of exception or special time in which normal everyday constraints are suspended. In this context, tourists become more transgressive, act upon excess and do exert plenty of self-directed time in a more carnivalesque spirit. Edensor (2007) questions this notion suggesting that mass tourism, instead, is typically more associated with habitual routines, cultural conventions and normative performances which demarcate what should be gazed upon and visited, and also modes of touristic component and recording. Discussing issues like the ubiquity of tourist practice, habitual tourist performances, he tries to show that these conventions are managed by the directors of the tourist product. Drawing upon the notion of ‘taskscape’ (Ingold and Kurttila 2000) as an everyday, familiar space that is constantly reproduced by the unreflexive habits performed within it, the style and modes through which it is inhabited – he confirms the notion of ‘touristscapes’ within which tourist products and performances constantly being proliferated. Thus a ‘touristscape’ is the ‘unnoticed framework of practices and concern’ (Ingold and Kurttila 2000): production of distinct, serial forms of tourist space in which cultural differences are domesticated for easy consumption. However, he argues that despite the fact that so managed can the tourist experience become, there are frequent attempts to escape the tourist enclaves and schedules and become more closely acquainted with difference: “Tourism then, because it is not separate from the quotidian, is an exemplary site for an

exploration of the ways in which the everyday is replete with unreflexive practice and habit but simultaneously provokes desires for unconfined alterity” (Edensor 2007:199).

As the discussion of automobilities above suggests, transport mobilities have always been considered as a different segment of study in its own term and with little interchange with broader social aspects. However, Larsen (2001) tries to do a cultural analysis of experiences of such tourism-transport mobilities. He shows how the tourist body senses landscape as it is moved through them. He notes how in the early years of mechanical transport, the train and the car were perceived as shocking speed machines that radically changed people’s experiences of distance, movement, time and landscape. These perceptions became discursively associated with various bodily pleasures and pains among different ‘movement’ of tourists. Larsen’s analysis focuses upon touristic vision and landscape and the visual experience of mobility. Addressing the implication of such mobility perspective Larsen argues that: “...one effect of such mobility technologies is to change the nature of vision: they should be seen as simultaneous vision machines which facilitate and impose a specific viewing position, and ...way of seeing” (2001:80). Where Urry’s notion of the ‘tourist gaze’ (1990) has become typical in explaining tourist vision, Larsen’s critique of experiences of being on the move asserts that mobile travel glance provides a visual ‘cinematic’ experience of moving landscape images to the traveller who is corporeally immobile ‘armchair’ spectator.

Furthermore, the new mobilities paradigm also stresses the importance of activities that occur while on the move, that being on the move includes a series of occasioned activities (Sheller and Urry 2006). Significantly for my own research, Johnson’s critique is one such example which considers in the context of studies of backpacking the need to address backpacker

transportation as an integral part of the consumer experience and thus develops an understanding of the transportational aspects of backpacking in Europe. Based on a mobile ethnography on the trains in central Europe he develops an understanding of the role of the body in backpacker rail journeys; “including the embodied response to the speed, conditions and movements in and around the rail carriage.” (Johnson 2010:102). He explores the tactics backpackers use to create and maintain privacy in the presence of other travellers and within the compound of public/private space of the rail carriage. He argues that seemingly mundane, banal and inconsequential aspects of journeying give rise to a series of questions about the movement of the body in backpackers’ train travel: “Corporeal movements in and around the train carriage are like utterances, in that they are embedded and inscribed with meaning, forming a basis for interaction between backpackers as they travel” (2010:109). Drawing upon Goffman’s (1973) notion of body idiom, he shows that that the body is rarely sedentary in train travel, instead are caught up in a series of interplays of interaction as space is shared and negotiated between actors. Backpackers’ rail travel, hence, in this respect, could be considered as an attraction in its own right as it entails backpackers’ small movements both reflective and non-reflective and for they do form communicative praxis that go beyond discursive limit.

Connected to this, Symes’ (2007) ethnography on train travel, meanwhile, focuses upon the transport logistic that involves of delivering children from their home to their schools. His critique is developed on the analysis of the travel performances of Sydney high school students and is focused on the distinctiveness about the nature of this particular commuting. He analyses the ‘choreographies’ of students as they commute to and from their school and argues that students do form closed micro-communities for the passage of their journeys and within that span they enact a range of cultural and educational activities and performances;

they often negotiate themselves into spaces on the train where they can have liberty to be themselves and thus, the journey provides students with an ‘intoxicating sense of freedom’: “where they are mobilized into doing the ‘forbidden’”

Similarly, (and pertinent to my own research) Watts (2008) develops a critique to deconstruct the accepted notion of travel time as wasted and dead time. Through a travelogue of one train journey across England he explores the art and craft of train travel and the making of a particular time and space. The analysis brings together approaches to socio-material relations and geographical concerns with socio-spatiality. In doing so, he shows how passengers are spatially distributed persons and property. Based on a detailed observation and ethnographic evidences collected on board, his critique demonstrates how heterogenous passengers craft their travel time which is basically an effect of their travel time use: the way interactions between travellers and different objects form socio-material interactions. His analysis also suggests that the passenger time is not a simple flow but a complex percolation which comes together in the train carriage to form uniquely temporal communities.

VII Conclusions

In this chapter the emerging mobilities paradigm has been discussed in different ways. Firstly I have examined the different metaphors of mobility and I have shown how mobility as such has no specified meaning rather as a concept it circulates metaphorically. Secondly, the production of mobility has been discussed in terms of how mere displacement in location when imbued with meaning and power becomes a form of mobility. It has then been shown how the historical shift from feudal to present day modernity facilitates and induces different kind of mobility. Thirdly, mobility has been conceptualized as a social phenomenon; and in this context sociology is also reconstituted by having mobilities at the heart of it. Attention

has then focused on mobilities in terms of the hybrid nature of human and non-human character of 'society' and 'nature' as well as to time and to senses. Fourthly, automobility has been discussed. In conjunction with autonomy and mobility, automobility has a flexible and wholly coercive nature that plays a crucial role in mobilities context. The car becomes an integral part of the cultural environment of human life and that, "civil society is thus in part a 'civil society of automobility', a civil society of quasi-objects or 'car-drivers' and much less of separate human subjects who can be conceived of as autonomous from their machines." (Urry 2000:190).

Finally mobilities in the context of travel and tourism have been discussed because placing mobilities at heart of tourism is one of the fundamental aspects of the new mobilities paradigm. The spatialities of social life are constructed through the actual and the imagined movement of people from place to place, person to person, event to event. Travel, in this regard, hitherto, has been seen as a neutral set of technologies and processes mainly permitting forms of economic, social and political life (Sheller and Urry 2006) but in reality tourism and mobilities are inextricable both in terms of material and discursive practices. The theoretical purchase of mobilities makes sense to tourism and many empirical realities related to tourism shed light on mobilities as a phenomenon. In this context, different forms of travel performance in transport mobilities conducive to distinct travel experiences and even mundane mobilities have all been discussed.

Urry argues that the mobilities paradigm transforms the pattern of social inquiry through its landscape of theories and methods. He further argues that these methods and theories have been mostly subterranean, out of sight (Urry 2007). In my research, I have tried to apply one of such subterranean and innovative approaches to mobility in the context of the DHR. In the

empirical chapter on the experiencing the DHR this paradigm is used in greater detail in relation to the embodied nature and experience of the DHR travel. There it will show the complex social processes that have evolved around a particular mode of transport and the successfully orchestrated use of such transport. Mobilities paradigm is used significantly in connection with a 'local' concern about everyday transportation, that is, as we shall see, the use of the DHR, the material culture that this mode of transport has created over time and spatial relation of such mobility in connection with the locales that this train passes through. Thus, in the empirical chapter based on this new mobilities paradigm, I will take an attempt to find out convergences around studies of place, space and movement of the DHR and that of the community and significantly its implication into the 'travel experiences' of the DHR.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

I Introduction

Qualitative research is an interdisciplinary but distinct field of methodological inquiry. Numerous epistemological positions as well as theoretical frameworks belong to the landscape of qualitative research. Similarly it encompasses a broad range of methods in the forms of both macro and micro analyses illustrating historical, observational, comparative and interactional ways of knowing: “It is the array of epistemological, theoretical and methodological choices made by qualitative researchers that sets qualitative research apart as a particular and fruitful way of understanding social phenomena” (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004:1). With qualitative approaches the research process begins with conscious or unconscious questions and assumptions that lay the very foundation of a researcher’s epistemological position. A qualitative researcher, hence, seeks a research process that fits with an epistemological stance. Epistemology impacts on every phase of the research process, including the selection of research subjects and the overall goals of the research. Theory thus holds an important part in any qualitative endeavour. This is a dynamic process where a researcher applies theory to a varying degree during the research process. Theory helps the researcher to explain the empirical data collected through his or her specific study with respect to wider social phenomena. Thus theory and methods are linked with each other in any qualitative research practice. In what follows I discuss ethnographic theory with various methods of data collections. Following that I will detail my own ethnographic data collection experiences and ‘mobile ethnography’.

II Ethnographic Theory

Historically, ethnography begins properly with the twentieth century although there was a long tradition of the collection of ethnographic data by travellers, explorers, missionaries and government officials in colonial territories. The emergence of ethnography, historically, indicates two traditions: the development of ethnography in social and cultural anthropology and the work of the Chicago School of Sociology (Bryman 2001, Brewer 2000). The first was the emergence of the classical tradition of social anthropology in Britain with people like Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Pritchard and with Franz Boas in relation to American anthropology. Malinowski's accomplishment was to establish fieldwork as the central element of ethnography as a new genre. Malinowski's approach to ethnography contained many stances of modern ethnography: direct observation of social life, writing detailed and numerous field notes and learning the native language(s). He aimed to 'grasp the native's point of view' – a standpoint that is very much an emblem of contemporary ethnography and indeed of qualitative research in general (Bryman 1988, 2001). The Boasian tradition, however, considered the gathering of data from informants as the most reliable approach to data collection (Urry 1984). Margaret Mead had departed from Boas pre-disposition and adopted a strategy she called 'participant observation' (Mead 1969 [1930]:xix). In short, by the beginning of twentieth century the anthropological tradition granted the legitimacy of field observations integrated into a 'cultural whole'. In parallel, within the field of sociology, the role of ethnography was emphasized in terms of the importance of the observational techniques to explore the concrete sequences of activities. Important sociological studies on numerous sub-groups like prostitutes, drug-dealers, and on various other unusual occupations were seen with this development (Brewer 2000; Baszanger and Dorier 2004). There are notable differences in ethnography between the two traditions, however, both tend to accomplish the same task, namely, 'cultural description' (Wolcott

1973). Being considered as a method, a theoretical orientation and even a philosophical paradigm – ethnography has a distinguished career in social science. Since its historical point of departure, ethnography has moved a long way and has been extended to cultural studies, literary studies and in a number of applied studies including nursing, education, planning and, as we shall see, tourism studies.

In terms of definitions, ethnography is an ambiguous term which refers to both the process and the product (Agar 1995, Brewer 2000). Thus it is not easy to explain what ethnography is and is not within the frame of a single definition. There are thus a number of definitions of ethnography. These definitions suggest a certain amount of convergence as well as divergence around the core element of ethnography. As Marcus and Fischer (1986:18) put it:

Ethnography is a research process in which the anthropologist closely observes records and engages in the daily life of another culture –an experience labelled as the fieldwork method –and then writes accounts of this culture, emphasizing descriptive detail. These accounts are the primary form in which the fieldwork procedures, the other culture, and the ethnographer’s personal and theoretical reflections are accessible to professionals and other readerships.

Brewer finds two ways of defining ethnography referred to as ‘big’ and ‘little’ ethnography. His definition of ‘little’ or ‘ethnography-as-fieldwork’ is:

...the study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally. (Brewer, 2000:10)

On the other hand, he refers to ‘big’ ethnography as a synonym for qualitative research which

“virtually describes any approach as ethnographic that avoids surveys as the means of data collection” (2000:18). Here ‘ethnography-understood-as-the-qualitative-methods’ and is a perspective on research rather than a way of doing it (Wolcott 1973).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:1), meanwhile, describe that ethnography typically:

... involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions –in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.

Furthermore, Willis and Trondman (2002:394) argue that:

...it is a family of methods involving direct and sustained social contact with agents and of richly writing up the encounter, respecting, recording, representing at least partly in its own terms the irreducibility of human experience. Ethnography is the disciplined and deliberate witness-cum-recording of human events... “This-ness” and “lived-out-ness” are essential to the ethnographic account: a unique sense of the embodied existence and consciousness captured...

According to Tedlock (2000:455):

Ethnography involves an ongoing attempt to place specific encounters, events and understandings into a fuller, more meaningful context. It is not simply the production of new information or research data, but rather the way in which such information or data are transformed into a written or visual form...it combines research design, fieldwork and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations and representations of human lives...

Empirical observation is one of the most important aspects of ethnographic research.

Ethnographic research puts importance on empirical observation in terms of gathering data, in a way which distinguishes it from philosophy and introspection. Ethnography, in methodological terms, can be described as *in situ*, which allows the subjects to remain largely unaffected by the study arrangements and lets them behave in an endogenous manner. In order to do that a researcher needs to remain open beyond any methodological planning. However, this openness may lead to a number of conflicts with the need to maintain at least a minimum of method in the conduct of the study. Baszanger and Dodier (2004: 12) state this duality is an implicit part of the general situation of the fieldworker and the tension is ‘primarily epistemological’:

The principle of non-alignment of the people observed does not sit easily with the principle of planning that has governed the experimental sciences...Social scientists...who wish to continue openly to observe the endogenous development of human activities approach this problem in a number of different ways. Some seek to conform as closely as possible to the requirement of experimental reproducibility...Others insist on an approach that is opposed to any type of planning, leaving the study completely open to the uncertainties of the field. Still others recognize the need for some sort of compromise between method and openness to situations, and see ethnographic tensions as a more extreme...

Beyond the epistemological dimension, ethnographic work has a moral implication as well. Unlike channelizing subject matter into the laboratory, an ethnographer leaves the laboratory and tries to be attuned with the study population’s other commitments at the time of gathering data. By definition, the fieldworker is, thus, present in two agencies: as data gatherer and as a person involved in activities directed towards other objectives – “as a result, it is located between the interiority of autobiography and exteriority of cultural analysis” (Tedlock 2000:455). This is why the themes of manipulation, treachery and duplicity are ubiquitous at

the heart of any ethnographic work. An inherent part of the ethnographer's condition is that he or she has to resolve these tensions as they appear.

Ethnographic research is not only empirical or open. It is, like history, embedded in a field that is limited in time and space. There are in situ studies which are formal in nature, which use empirical observation to demonstrate consistencies between facts and formulate general laws. In contrast, ethnographic study is resolutely grounded in a specific context and is linked to historical and cultural contingencies. This very nature of ethnographic fieldwork raises questions regarding the status of this 'specific' context in which the study takes place, the way it is described and how this framework is delineated. These questions are crucial in any analysis of the process of generalization in ethnography which is referred to as the process of 'totalization': "...an operation whereby the ethnographer integrates the different observation sequences into a global referential framework." (Baszanger and Dodier 2004:19)

From these definitions and characterizations of ethnography we see that it is a style of research that is based upon the procedural rules for how to study people in naturally occurring settings of 'fields' to capture their social meanings and ordinary activities. These procedural rules or methods do vary considerably as they are rooted in different methodological frameworks, however, the basic practice of ethnography remains unaltered. What differs between these methodological positions are the ethnographer's representations of the field and the legitimacy of the criteria to evaluate them. Brewer (2000:57) reminds us that ethnography cannot be broken into a series of hermetic stages but should be seen as a process:

The 'research process' is merely the series of actions...The actions that comprise this process are coordinated and planned, but they are blended together imaginatively,

flexibly, often in an ad hoc manner as they best achieve the end result...there is...unexpected twist and turns in ethnographic research, which happen as a result of dealing with people in their naturalistic environment, prevent ethnography being a neat series of sequential stages.

The central feature of any ethnographic research design, thus, is the formulation of the topic and the choice of methods to pursue it. Ethnography is always distinguished by its objectives, which involves close association with, and often participation in the 'field'. There are several methods of data collection in order to observe behaviour, work closely with informants and access social meanings, such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing, discourse analysis and the use of personal documents. Any ethnographic research always follows and/or combines some of these methods – termed as 'multiple methods' by Denzin (1970) – in order to extend the range of data. I will now discuss these methods in turn.

Participant Observation

Participant observation emerged as a mode of study of small and relatively homogeneous societies. Participant observation is the data collection technique most closely associated with ethnography. It involves data gathering in terms of participation in the daily life of informants in their natural settings: watching, observing and talking to them in order to discover their interpretations, social meanings and activities. An ethnographer lives in a society for an extended period of time, learns the local language, participates in daily lives and steadily observes. This close involvement and association is for generating data through watching and listening to what people naturally do and say, as well as add the dimension of personally experiencing and sharing the same everyday lives of those under study. The researcher's own attitudes often changes during this research process. His or her fears and anxieties and the social meanings produced when engaging in and living with the people in the field are

inherent in the construction of the research data: “[d]ata are thus not external stimuli unaffected by the intervention of participant observers, for their autobiographical experiences in the field are a central part of understanding it” (Brewer 2000:59).

The term participant observation implies simultaneous emotional involvement and objective detachment. This emphatic yet impassive methodology is widely believed to produce documentary data that somehow reflects the natives’ own points of view and critics argue that it is not possible to study the social world without being part of it. Thus arguably all social research is a form of participant observation (Tedlock 2000, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). In order to become a participant observer a researcher has to develop certain personal attributes. The primary one is to find the balance between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ status: to correlate with the people under study and get close to them as well as to maintain a professional distance which permits adequate observation and data collection. ‘Going native’, in this regard, is a constant danger, wherein the observer loses his or her critical faculties and becomes an ordinary member of the field. At the same time holding outsider’s status too firmly, cold and distant from people in the field, with professional identity preserved and no rapport can negate the method. A proper balance in the participant observer’s dual role in acting in two agencies gives the opportunity to be simultaneously member and non-member, and to participate while also reflecting critically on what is observed and gathered while doing so. Critics have identified other personal attributes to becoming a participant observer: to learn their language and meanings, to remember action and speech, and to interact with a range of individuals in different social situations (Burgess 1982).

Ethnographic research thus involves the researcher participating in a field with which they are unfamiliar but sometimes, in settings of which they are already a part. The problems and

requirements of using participant observation, thus, vary in different cases. It is important to distinguish between 'participant observation' and 'observant participation' here. The former one involves the acquisition of a new role while the latter one involves the utilization of an existing role to observe aspects of either a familiar or unfamiliar setting. Participant observation does not always come in a pure form for new roles can be adapted to study fields with which one is familiar but the understanding of which is extended by the acquisition of a different role (Brewer 1984, Holdaway 1982, Cohen and Taylor 1972 cited in Brewer 2000).

The overall success of participant observation depends on certain factors. Where the role is new and the field unfamiliar and where the role is overt, the observer needs to gain acceptance in the new role, to go through an extensive period of socialization into the practices and values of the group under study and give an immense time commitment to the field in order to experience a full range of events and activities in the field. Where the role is covert, the observer has to show dedication, tenacity and skill in maintaining the pretence. In either case the role must be permanent enough to allow intensive observation over a period of time encompassing access to a cross section of events, activities and people in the field. The observation must not impose impediment on the act of normal responsibilities and activities of the people under study. The participant observation method, thus, on the one hand might reduce the capacity of the researcher to get 'insider' status, especially where the role is overt; on the other hand, it can reduce the capacity of the researcher to maintain marginality: achieve distance from friendship, group-ties and years of association built around the role that is being utilized observation purposes.

The scope of participant observation is, however, constrained by the physical limits of the actual role and location. The observer records only a small selection from a broad field. The

rereading of field-notes can evoke memories of things not recorded (Seale 1999:150). The basis of selection is often influenced various conditions. The reflexive participant observer tries to indicate those conditions and the bases of recoding some events and of not recording others. The lone observer is bound to be selective because of the impossibility of taking everything in. Brewer (2000: 62) claims that:

Lone observers are particularly susceptible to focusing on the abnormal, aberrant and exceptional. There is also the problem of personal perspective. Participant observation can only be a partial portrait of a way of life compiled from selective records, and is thus highly autobiographical.

This very nature of participant observation is considered to be a positive aspect of ethnography by other critics, as Tedlock (2000:465) puts it:

The privileging of the tropes of participant observation as a scientific method encouraged ethnographers to demonstrate both their observational skills and their social participation by producing radically different forms of writing scholarly monographs and personal documents, such as life histories and memories. This dualistic approach split public from private and objective from subjective realms of experience.

Despite its partiality, participant observation is one of the most important methods and plays a crucial role in ethnographic research as there are occasions when there is no alternative to a period of participant observation. It should not, however, be a stand-alone method in ethnographic research. Nevertheless a proper research design and reflexivity can add to the effectiveness of participant observation as a method. Its success is, however, dependent upon factors beyond the capacity of the individual researcher because "...it is tied to outside social forces, including local, national and sometimes even international relationships that make the research possible as well as to a readership that accepts the endeavour as meaningful. The

issues are not so much objectivity, neutrality, and distance as they are risk, the possibility of failure, and the hope of success.” (Tedlock 2000:466). I now move on to discuss interviewing as a distinct method.

Interviews

The interview is a very important method of data collection in ethnography as it is one of the main ways that the ethnographer produces solicited accounts (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, Bryman 2000). There are various kinds of ethnographic interview, however it is predominantly informal, semi-structured or unstructured interviews that are employed in ethnographic endeavours. This comes in the form of ‘open questions’ where the respondent has the scope to respond freely. Interviews collect verbal reports of behaviour, meanings, attitudes, and feelings that are not directly observed in the face-to-face encounters of participant observation. Two assumptions can be made critical to this technique: the respondents’ verbal descriptions are a reliable indicator of their behaviour, meanings, attitudes and feelings, and that the questions are a reliable indicator of the subject of the research. Critics find that there could be some communication breakdowns between interviewers and interviewees. Questions may be designed to elicit certain kinds of evidence but due to alternative interpretations by interviewees, in a sense a different question is answered. Respondents can be inconsistent, and tend to give answers influenced by social approval. Ambiguous concepts and theoretical ideas can also be difficult to channel into questions simple enough to be answered by respondents. Thus concerns arise that the interview may impose meaning on subjects’ replies. Other forms of data collection which go beyond verbal reports to the actual behaviour and social meanings, such as unsolicited personal documents, conversation analysis and above all, participant observation – can thus

be used as proponents of whether these critical assumptions can be made or not (Bryman 2000, Brewer 2000).

The socio-demographic characteristics of the people involved in the interviewing process can also influence the course of the interaction and the responses given: “[t]he interviewer thus creates the reality of the interview encounter by drawing the participants together and therefore produces situated understandings that are tied to the specific interactional episode of the encounter” (Brewer 2000:65). Reflexivity by researchers, in this respect, is crucial to ensure that they are aware of the situated understandings that interview data represent and that they reflect this in the production of their ethnographic texts.

Ethnographic interviews tend to avoid structures so that the exploration of respondents’ meanings remain largely unaffected by formality. There may be an outline of the topics or some overall questions that need to be addressed or asked but open questions are always used and there is a relative absence of structure. Researchers allow themselves to ask whatever they want, in the form and order determined by them as well, and eventually prompt, probe and ask supplementary questions as the occasion or respondents permit. Characteristically, it is, thus, the form of a natural conversation skilfully and creatively fashioned by the researcher. The rationale behind this is that the absence of formal structure gives greater freedom for respondents and access to people’s meanings and thus produces rich deep data that comes in the form of extracts of natural language. It depends upon a good rapport between the interviewer and the respondent especially where the information is sensitive, emotional or controversial. Burgess (1984:102) calls this: ‘conversations with a purpose’ which highlights its central feature that it is to be engaged in as an informal encounter as

much as possible so that it appears almost like a natural conversation between people with an established relationship.

Contemporary postmodern ethnographers have also looked at interviewing and the role played by the interviewer. Since the interviewer is a human being acting in a face-to-face encounter that forms a piece of social interaction, she or he is thus 'creating' or 'producing' the data which is 'situated' and context bound to the interviewer as well as bound to the situation in which they were collected (Fontana and Frey 1998). 'Creative interviewing', in this regard, allows researchers to use unstructured interviews in a creative manner and be adaptive to the ever-changing situation they confront in the course of interviewing: "[c]reative interviewing, as we shall see throughout, involves the use of many strategies and tactics of interaction, largely based on an understanding of friendly feelings and intimacy, to optimize cooperative, mutual disclosure and a creative search for mutual understanding" (Douglas 1985:25). The trust of the postmodern in-depth interview is to try to allow subjects a greater voice and to minimize the influence of the interviewer. Krieger's (1983) 'polyphonic interviewing' and Denzin's 'interpretative interactionism' are considered as the alternative modes of unstructured interviewing in this respect. However, ethnographic interviewing is often used in combination with participant observation and other techniques that access social meanings. One of these is the use of focus groups, to which I now turn,

Focus Groups

The focus group is a method where an interview is conducted with several people on a specific matter or issue. This is a form of interview where several participants including a mediator or facilitator take part. In this method participants are known to have a certain experience which could be interviewed in a relatively unstructured way. "The focus group

offers the researcher the opportunity to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around it” (Bryman 2004:348). Focus group is a good method when time is limited. It is also helpful when working with communities to understand their histories, responses and thoughts in relation to particular issue. Focus group originated in sociology in 1920s but was mainly used by market researchers and eventually become popularized in social sciences in 1990s (Smithson 2008). Focus group fits into certain streams of ethnographic thought which situate the research encounter in a wider social context and social nature of experiences. In focus group the researcher is required to work with a gathering of individuals who sometimes know each other. The aim in focus group is to get the group as a whole to shape understandings and knowledge with individuals interjecting, agreeing, disagreeing, verifying and so on. In order to getting people together any researcher might find obstacle. In ethnographic research focus group is viewed as a way of emphasising the collective nature of experience and the social context of accounts.

Documentary Evidence

Documentary evidences carry certain advantages in ethnographic research and these written records can provide important data for aspiring researcher. The documents are usually compiled under natural conditions and are not contrived. Some documents may be compiled for a very long period of time and thus provide longitudinal data. Some documents hold a retrospective nature, that is, compiled as a document containing a record of a data recorded after an event. Other documents can contain recollections well after the event. Hence, there are several dimensions we can find in the nature of documents. They can be primary (data compiled by a writer like the letters, transcribed conversations) or secondary (data obtained at

second hand); contemporary or retrospective and even personal or official. Archives play crucial role and an integral part of the apparatus of modern government. Archives typically reflect the characteristics of modernity that stressed upon values of ordered systematic knowledge and the scientific search for truth and classification. However, archives are by nature selective in terms of keeping documentary evidence as Hannam (2002:114) noted: “Indeed, they tend to focus on generally male, generally statistical and generally elite sources of knowledge”. Formal sources which are for public consumption have important roles especially in the making of the field experience. These formal sources are ranging from census report, revenue records to documents published in press and broadcasting records. Along with formal sources, the informal documentary evidences are crucial in making sense of ethnographic research. Informal sources are consist of memoires, chronicles, biographies and autobiographies. Letter and diaries are also valuable sources in terms of understanding social relationships. Thus informal documentary sources are useful for ethnographer to develop understanding and identifying major concerns through the eyes of insiders.

Mobile Methods

Mobile methods are a relatively new kind of research methods stemming from new mobilities paradigm previously discussed in chapter 3 above. One of the fundamental aspects of these methods is that methods are used ‘on the move’ in order to grasp the social meanings of different kinds of movements of people, images, information and objects. There are mobile methods which involve the virtual and imaginative mobilities of people through analysing virtual sites, emails, etc. On the other hand mobile methods incorporate research inquiry which involves the corporeal movement of people. This could be done by observing the crucial nature of how people effect face-to-face relationships with places, events and with other people on the move. Hence, mobile methods involve participation in patterns of

movement while conducting ethnographic research, rather than in place as with orthodox ethnography. This could be conceptualised as the ‘co-present immersion’ of a researcher with modes of movement. Places and objects also could be researched applying mobile methods. Places at times can be comprised of numerous virtual representations and the movement of imaginative travel can construct attraction or repulsion related to such places. There are places of in-between-ness: various transfer points through which people pass. These points come under research inquiry while people are under monitoring processes or temporarily immobilized due to regulation. Moreover, memories are constructed involving the active development and performances of people, places and meetings. Mobile methods could be implemented in recovering such cases of hybrid movement. Thus under the purview of the new mobilities paradigm, these methods establish new ways of social inquiry capable of capturing mobile entities of all kinds.

After collecting data using the above techniques, a variety of qualitative methods can be used to actually analyse the data collected. I turn to these now.

Ethnographic Analysis and Interpretation

Ethnographic data comes mostly in the form of extracts of natural language – quotations from in-depth interviews and entries from personal documents such as diaries, field-notes and transcriptions of conversations. Such data can be sometimes criticized as not rigorous and unsystematic. In a sense ethnographic data are personal to the researcher because of the deep involvement of the researcher with the setting and people under study and the understandings that the ethnographer develops are based in part on introspection – auto observation which reflects the ethnographer’s own experiences, attitudinal changes and feelings in relation to the field. All these become data and the socio-biographical characteristics of the ethnographer

and that of the people under study leave an inevitable mark on this data. Thus ethnographic data are highly autobiographical in nature and also selective as well: the observations of an individual selectively recording from one person's vantage point. Although short in scope, they compensate in the sheer scale and complexity of the data. In this context, Brewer (2000:105) argues that: "[t]he scope of the data can be extended by careful research design in order to furnish theoretical inferences and empirical generalization..." Thus, all these attributes reinforce the proper analysis, interpretation and presentation of ethnographic data. Analysis, in this regard, can be defined as a process of bringing order to the data, organizing it into patterns, categories and descriptive units and looking for relationships between them. Analysis is recognized as central to ethnographic process and is addressed in several texts (Bryman and Burgess 1994; Miles and Huberman 1994; Coffey and Atkinson 1996; Huberman and Miles 1998).

Postmodern ethnography denies the existence of any objective reality that can be captured by either detaching the analysis from social meanings or immersing the analysis into them. There are competing versions of reality and multiple perspectives that the analysis must take on board. In addition, data are seen as created in and through the interactions that happen between the researcher and the subjects in the field. Therefore, the analysis must demonstrate the situated and context-specific nature of the meanings and the polyphonic voices disclosed in the research:

Reflexivity is thus a critical part of the analysis...in which ethnographer constructs the sense-assembly procedures, through which the data were created, locating them and therefore the analysis, in the processes that brought about them. Analysis...looks inward: inward to the sort of relationships developed in the field...inward to the time, setting and circumstances in which the research was carried out, to the methodology

and fieldwork practice used, the sensitivities and dangers surrounding the topic and location, and even the broad socio-economic and political situation of the research. (Brewer 2000:108).

‘Thick description’, in this respect, needs to take into context of the phenomena described, the intentions and meanings that organize it and its subsequent evolution. This description is often meant to explain and to reproduce “the structure, order and patterns found among a set of participants” (Lofland 1971:7). For all ethnographers, analysis involves searching for the patterns within the data and explaining the relationships between segments of data. However, postmodern ethnographers question the significance and the legitimacy of these data as they see the patterns are situated by the researcher and the subject. The steps of analysis are a sequential mode of searching for patterns of thought and action repeated in multiple situations and with various players, comparing, contrasting and sorting categories and minutiae until a discernible pattern of thought or behaviour becomes identifiable. Connections between the data emerge as one looks for regularities and variations in the data and between the categories used to code them. Correlations between the categories can, therefore be identified, extending the data analysis (Fetterman 1998:92).

Interpretation is another simultaneous process of ethnography where ethnographers attach meanings to the data. Denzin (1998:313) claims that ‘...there is only interpretation’ in social sciences. In contrast with the versions of realist ethnography where understanding and explanation of the phenomenon are disclosed by the singular and authoritative voice; postmodern ethnography interprets ethnography as a way where multiple voices and meanings are surrounding the phenomenon. In this later perspective, it is a creative enterprise that depends on the insight and imagination of the ethnographer. Here, the ethnographer has to engage in interpretation in order to construct a reading of readings of the field: “...the

interpretation is but one of several possible tales or readings, including the members' own narratives; interpretations are stories, there is no single interpretative truth" (Brewer 2000:122).

Hence, there are multiple interpretations in the field that need to be included in the ethnographic representation of a fieldwork situation. But this commitment to represent the polyphony of voices still requires an assessment of that what can be assessed in terms of the reliability of what a voice says when it conflicts with other voices. From within this approach of 'subtle realism' Hammersley (1990:73) points out that ethnography is not a celebration of the knowledge of members made just on the legitimacy of their being insiders, or remain content merely to capture the competing accounts of the members in a polyphony of different readings. There must be an obligation to make reasonable judgements about the likely validity of any members' claim, as manifested in their plausibility and credibility. The accounts of the people under study should be tested against reliable evidence and verify that against other people's statements as well as against the researcher's own experiences and observations in the field. This is essential to the methodological standpoint of ethnography which is termed as 'subtle realism' (Hammersley 1990:61-63). It requires a critical attitude towards data, namely 'reflexivity' and recognition of those factors influencing the research such as location, scope and sensitivity of the topic, nature of social interactions and power relations – all of which influence how data are interpreted and conveyed in the final ethnographic text. Reflexivity, thus, acts as a bridge between interpretation and textual production and, also, affects both the representation of the text and its legitimacy.

Postmodernism reinforces the reflexive turn in ethnography through deconstruction of the practice of ethnography and ethnographic texts, and consideration of the so called crisis of

representation (Marcus 1980; Clifford 1981, 1983; Marcus and Cushman 1982; Stoking 1983; Clifford and Marcus 1986; van Maanen 1988; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). The implication of reflexivity for the practice of social research denies eliminating the effects of the researcher and instead sets about understanding them: "...ethnographers cannot be completely neutral. We are all products of our culture. We have personal beliefs, biases and individual tastes. Socialization runs deep. The ethnographer can guard against the more obvious biases by making them explicit" (Fetterman 1998:22).

In the whole process of qualitative research, in data collection and the writing up the text – reflexivity shows the partial nature of the representation of reality and the multiplicity of competing versions of reality. It is viewed as a way to improve the legitimization of the data (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Reflexivity, when distinguished in ‘descriptive’ way, involves reflection on the impact that various contingencies have had on the outcomes of the research – the social setting of the research, the predisposition of the researcher, the power relations in the field and so on. All of these issues have a bearing on the data collection and interpretation which needs to be addressed:

Reflexive ethnographers [should] illustrate that each and every setting, without exception, is socially stratified. The stratified hierarchies vary from one setting to another, and stratification has different consequences in one setting compared with others, but all setting are stratified in some manner, and commonly on the basis of gender, age, race and/or ethnicity or social class/education/occupation. The personal qualities of a given ethnographer will ‘fit’ or ‘not fit’ somewhere in this schema. The quality and validity of the information thus obtained will be related to how a given observer met and resolve these issues for the particular setting studied: claims of full

membership or 'becoming the phenomenon' do not adequately resolve this dilemma.

(Altheide and Johnson 1998; cited in Brewer 2000:131).

'Analytical reflexivity' thus deals with the epistemological matters and knowledge claims which are elicited by a form of intellectual autobiography in which researchers explicate the processes by which understanding and interpretation were achieved and how any changed understandings came about from prior preconceptions (Stanley 1996).

One of the most significant developments in ethnographic research came about with the questioning of its textual production in the late twentieth century. The impact of postmodernist thinking led to a concern with the writing strategies employed in producing ethnography. Contemporary ethnography is thus extremely self-conscious about its own text-making practices: "...ethnography is, from beginning to end, enmeshed in writing" (Clifford 1988:25). In this context ethnography the resultant 'crisis of representation' (Marcus and Fischer 1986:7) induced deep epistemological, methodological and ethical self-questioning. Most ethnographers have agreed with Rosaldo's (1989:37) assessment of the field: "[t]he once dominant ideal of a detached observer using neutral language to explain 'raw' data has been displaced by an alternative project that attempts to understand human conducts as it unfolds through time and its relation to its meanings of the actors."

Overall, ethnography has been rethought fundamentally in rhetorical terms; it is viewed as an attempt to persuade an audience of its credibility and importance: "[t]he capacity to persuade readers...that what they are reading is an authentic account by someone personally acquainted with how life proceeds in some place, at some time, among some group, is the basis upon which anything else ethnography seeks to do...The textual construction of Being Here and Being There...the imaginative construction of a common ground between the Written At and

Written About...is the *fons et origo* of whatever power and anthropology has to convince anyone of anything..." (Geertz 1988:143-44). This rhetorical self-reflexivity has induced politicized ethnography. In this case, ethnographic authority is now the empowering alignment between rhetorical strategy and political ideology:

The gap between engaging others where they are and representing them where they aren't, always immense...but suddenly become extremely visible. What once seemed only technically difficult, getting 'their' lives into 'our' works, has turned morally, politically and even epistemologically, delicate (Geertz 1988:130).

The shift from an objectifying methodology to an inter-subjective methodology has thus elicited a representational transformation. The exploration and moral implication of ethnography engrossed in the process of generating ethnographic information and publishing ethnographic accounts has encouraged ethnographers to bring the personal, the political and the philosophical stances into single accounts. Rather than writing a standard monograph concentrating on the Other or writing an ethnographic memoir centred on the self or life history; textual practices in contemporary ethnography allow both the self and the Other to appear together within a single narrative that bears a multiplicity of dialoguing voices.

The 'experience' in ethnography is as much embodied as it is inter-subjective. One of the main requisites of all ethnography is 'doing fieldwork' which requires getting one's body immersed in the field for a period of time in order to make one able to participate within the culture. Goffman ([1974] 2002:149) explains this corporeal nature of ethnography with reference to participant observation:

It's one of getting data...by subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically or ecologically penetrate their circle of

response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethnic situation...So that you are close to them while they are responding to what life does to them...the standard technique is to try to subject yourself...to their life circumstances...and...to accept all the desirable and undesirable things that are a feature of their life.

He continues:

That ‘tunes your body up’ and with your ‘tuned up’ body and with the ecological right to be close to them...you are in a position to note their gestural, visual, bodily response to what’s going on around them and you’re emphatic enough...to sense what it is that they are responding to.”

Thus ethnography is an ‘embodied practice’ – an intensely sensuous way of knowing. However, many contemporary ethnographic fieldwork accounts, although theoretically privileging the body, still tends to repress bodily experiences in favour of abstracted theory and analysis (Clifford 1988). In his project of ‘radical empiricism’ Jackson (1989) tries to re-establish the intimate connections between bodily experiences and conceptual life. He argues that: “[i]f we are to find common ground with them [the people we study], we have to open ourselves to the modes of sensory and bodily life which, while meaningful to us in our personal lives, tend to get suppressed in our academic discourse” (Jackson 1989:11). This project of radical empiricism changes ethnography’s approach from monologue to dialogue, from information to communication. Other critics, such as Trinh T. Minh-ha also remind us that interpersonal communication is grounded in sensual experience: “peeking and listening refer to realities that do not involve just the imagination. The speech is seen, heard, smelled, tasted and touched” (1989:121). This rethinking of ethnography in the communicative praxis of listening and speaking challenges the positivism of detached observation. It demands co-presence. It decentres the categories of knower and known. The recognition of ethnography as an embodied practice as well as a sensuous way of knowing brings out a shift from vision

to voice, from text to performance and more importantly from authority to vulnerability and helps to have ‘felt insight into the life of other people’ (Trinh 1989). I take up these points below in my discussion of my actual ethnographic data collection experiences.

III Ethnographic Data Collection Experiences

The second and third years of my research involved extensive and intensive ethnographic fieldwork in the Upper West Bengal region of India. At the beginning of 2007 in the second year of my studies, I left England for India in order to carry out the first phase of my fieldwork. During that time the notion of my field was broad and very much vague. I had in my mind to undertake an ethnography of the DHR, however, before concentrating on that, I carried out a task of doing an overall SWOT analysis of the region; for which I divided the region into four aspects of study, namely:

1. Tea production and its touristic aspects
2. The mobilities between the international and interstate borders of West Bengal
3. The national parks and protected areas of Upper West Bengal
4. The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway

In order to carry out this overall analysis I met and interviewed the following people based at different administrative levels of the West Bengal State who acted as key gatekeepers for my research. It was necessary to contact them in order to gain access to my study sample. How I consulted with these individuals and how they facilitated my fieldwork has been described below:

Mr Rajesh Pandey Indian Administrative Service, District Magistrate Darjeeling:

I met him at his office in Darjeeling town and collected an introductory letter from him to facilitate my research. I had a brief conversation with him about my research and he also

referred me on to some people relevant to my research.

Mr Ranjit Subarna I.P.S Superintendent of Police, Darjeeling:

I met him in order to get permission for accessing the records of the Foreigners' Registration Office in Darjeeling which gives data on tourists visiting the region. With his permission I was able to go through the five years registers as I wanted to see the broad trends of the tourist influx in Darjeeling for 2002-2007.

Ms. Sumita Ghatak, Divisional Forest Officer, Wildlife Division I, Darjeeling District:

My conversation with her was mainly on the issues related to the national parks and sanctuaries (Singalila, Mahananda and Senchal) of Darjeeling district and I thus gained an insight into the roles and interrelationships of the Forest Department, the West Bengal State Government and the DGHC (Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council – a local administrative body formed in 1988). I planned to visit Singalila National Park of the region on the Indo-Nepal border, but this plan had to be abandoned due to the heavy snowfall in the region at this time.

Mr. Amar Singh, Assistant Director of Tourism, DGHC, Darjeeling and Mr. Gopal Lama, Joint Director of Tourism, West Bengal Government Department of Tourism:

The discussion with both of these officers covered the four issues noted above and I tried to understand the roles of national, state and local government regarding the tourism development plans in the region through my extensive conversations with them.

Despite the reasonably busy schedules that they had, all officials were supportive and open within their opinions. Throughout these interviews, I remained conscious from the beginning about my subject position as a researcher and as an Indian woman. However, I did not have

to show any extra level of competencies or assertion as I was simultaneously deemed by these interviewees as a researcher from western academia. I maintained my usual moderate calm approach while interviewing these officers. I did not carry any tape-recorder, however, as I had to keep in mind the constraints that come from the bureaucratic levels in India. Therefore, instead I tried to take extensive notes down while I was interviewing these officers or in some cases I noted down all the discussions straight after the interviews were over.

Alongside the Governments officials that I interviewed in 2007, I also interviewed members of private agencies and various tourism stakeholders (hotels, guides, agencies) who are operating within the region. It was through these interviews that I came to know about the existence of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Society (DHRS) in the UK which is one of the key international agencies working on the promotion of the DHR as a World Heritage Site. I thus contacted the Indian support group of this society and I interviewed:

Mr Rajen Baid, President DHR India Support Group:

From this interview I came to know about the activities of the society and of the Indian Railways regarding the promotion of the DHR and I gained access to their archives and collected some documentary literature about the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway and the contact details of the DHR Society in the UK.

Besides these interviews, I travelled in and around the region. I visited some of the tea gardens, national parks and took journeys on the DHR. I then collected touristic representations of the DHR from different sources which included interviewing twenty tourists in Darjeeling district as well as consulting the National Library, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences and other archives in Kolkata.

After returning to the UK after this first period of fieldwork and in consultation with my supervisor, I eventually decided to concentrate only on the DHR for the following reasons:

1. The tea industry in West Bengal is currently a troubled time and the tourism development in the tea gardens seems to be in an ambivalent state.
2. The situation in international and inter-state border areas are quite volatile and difficult for me to access.
3. Tourism in the national parks in the region were being researched by other researchers,

On the other hand, I felt that researching the DHR would be beneficial because:

1. The DHR is the second highest mountain railway and a World Heritage Site.
2. It has both colonial and postcolonial histories relevant to my postcolonial theoretical position. .
3. It offers a unique tourist experience (as a journey) and thus opened up the possibility of researching tourism mobilities theoretically and empirically.
4. Comparatively little academic research has been done on the DHR, despite extensive media interest.

Thus I came back to the UK in May 2007 and started theorising my research focusing particularly on the DHR. In parallel to that I started communicating with the members of the DHR Society in the UK and in this way I developed a sustained communication with the Editor of the Society magazine Mr David Charlesworth. He became one of the main sources of providing me both literature on the DHR produced in the UK as well as various further contacts. By the end of the second year of my study the research topic had been finalized as the: ‘Cultural Politics of Mobilities and Post-Colonial Heritage: A Critical Analysis of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway’ and thus, I was theoretically more equipped before

undertaking the second phase of my fieldwork.

I started my second period of fieldwork in February 2008 in Darjeeling. Firstly I attended the conference organized by the DHR Society on the 3rd February 2008 in Siliguri, Darjeeling District. The conference invited delegates from the Indian Railway, tour operators as well as interested parties from the UK. I then utilised different methods in terms of gathering data including ethnographic interviews, focus groups and participant observation as well as using archival materials and personal documents. I interviewed the following people:

Mr Subroto Nath, Director DHR:

According to the UNESCO guidelines the DHR operational unit was set up in 2007. The DHR office was established in Kurseong – in its colonial headquarter. I met the newly appointed Director in his office in Kurseong. Our discussions covered issues such as the management of a heritage property like the DHR, the role of the Indian Railways and other stakeholders, factors undermining the effective management of the DHR, the tangible and intangible aspects of heritage and the definitional challenges that the DHR has to face. He also provided me with some references and gave me access to the archives in his office.

Mr Utpal Sharma, Additional Divisional Engineer Mechanical (ADEM) DHR Tindharia Workshop:

Working under the Director of the DHR, the ADEM is in charge of the railway workshops. I interviewed him in his office and he was helpful in terms of making it clear how the railway units (locomotives, tracks, etc) work and described to me his experiences of working on this narrow gauge line.

Mr Sherub Tendup La, Founder Member of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway Heritage Foundation:

When the Indian Railway decided to close DHR line Sherub Tendup La was one of those people who were pro-active to stop this action. He was involved actively with the movement that had started against the possible closure of the DHR line and with the process of the heritagization of the DHR. I interviewed him in his hotel Windermere which itself is a heritage hotel in Darjeeling and holds quite eminent part of the colonial past of Darjeeling

Mr Raj Basu, President Eastern Himalaya Travel and Tour Operators' Association:

He is related to the development of the overall DHR community. I met him in his office and our conversations covered mainly the process of heritagization of the DHR, the past, present and future of the DHR as well as the role of the DHR in the lives and minds of the people in Siliguri (the town where the DHR starts from). This allowed me to develop my ideas concerning how the DHR is perceived in the 'contact-zone' of the hills and the plains.

I also interviewed the following members of the DHR Society in the UK: Mr David Barry, President DHR Society UK; Mr David Mead Secretary DHR Society UK; Mr Peter Tiller Heritage Officer DHR Society UK; Mr David Charlesworth Editor DHR Society UK. In these interviews with Society members my questions were mainly about how the DHR makes sense to them and the role of the DHR Society in general. Gradually issues such as imperial nostalgia, heritagization, railway enthusiasm, the production of western discourses – came into these discussions.

At various locations along the DHR, I also interviewed railway men. In this connection a key informant was the late Mr. Bansheedhar Dixit who was the first hillsman to serve as Section

Engineer from 1948-1973. He had experienced most of the transitions of the DHR and this interview allowed me to understand their transitions in work culture and their attachments to this mode of transport.

In order to further understand the local communities that were involved in day to day use of the DHR I also arranged the following focus groups:

Focus Group at St Alphonsus School Kurseong:



Figure 4:1: *Focus Group at St Alphonsus School, Kurseong. 18.02.08*

This school in Kurseong is situated by the train track. Students in this school are mostly from the local areas from Tindharia to Darjeeling. They are day scholars and they travel by the train so I chose this school in order to know their experiences of the DHR and how the DHR makes sense to the younger generation of this region. 16 boys and girls (aged 14-18) took part in this

focus group which lasted approximately one hour. The ethics of doing social research with children played a crucial role in this particular focus group. Ethics -as mentioned by Morrow and Richards (1996) as ‘a set of moral principles and rules of conduct’ – had been taken into account while conducting focus group with the students of this school. As a first step in terms of ethical considerations I met with Assistant Headmaster of the school who acted as the adult gatekeeper for this focus group. In order to obtain ‘informed consent’ I explained the purpose and nature of my research clearly and unambiguously and explained in great detail exactly what my research involved and how the children’s views would add to my research. We had an extensive conversation during which I answered all the queries including the questions I would like to ask the children. Thus I took the time to speak to the Assistant

Headmaster ensuring I covered all minute details in relation to the ethical considerations i.e. that the children would feel safe, comfortable, respected and all information obtained would be kept anonymous and used only for the purposes of my research. Once the Assistant Headmaster was happy with what I had explained to him, he gave me permission to go ahead with my work. My intention was to interview children of different age group by forming several focus groups but this was time constrained. Hence they arranged a large gathering of around 1500 students in an assembly hall and I was asked to explain my research and to ask students to talk about their experiences. The process was not at all suitable because it was hard to identify students who really wanted to share their experiences. I explained my focus group method to the teachers who were present in the hall. One of the teachers explained this method further to the students and asked who would want to volunteer in order to facilitate my research. Sixteen students came forward and showed their interest in sharing their experiences. It was useful experience in a sense that I applied what Weithorn and Scherer (1994) suggest that involving children in decision-making about whether to take part in a research project can in itself be seen as a useful experience, giving children a sense of control over their individuality, autonomy and privacy. I was mindful of the fact that everyone spoke about their experiences and did not feel under any pressure. The setting was the same hall inside the school which was familiar to them and two of the teachers were present during the focus group. The process resulted in them feeling more comfortable as I explained my research to them and also answered their questions about my work with due honesty and friendliness. I sensed that as they began to relax they started to see me as one of their senior students as opposed to a teacher. They most definitely did not see me as a tourist, similar to the ones they encounter in their everyday lives. In terms of the methodology I had to think carefully about the standpoint from which I was conducting the focus group with these children and the ethical implications of that standpoint. As mentioned in the beginning that I

wanted to know how the DHR makes sense to the community's children and in order to know that, I had to show respect to their competencies and rely on their views. This is what Fine and Sandstrom (1988:75-6) note that respect needs to become a methodological technique in itself where the researchers need to set aside 'natural' adult tendencies of taking children for granted and assuming that they are inherently wrong when they disagree with adults. As a result, responses were spontaneous and much to my surprise, very systematic. I found that they tended to be quite analytical and in-depth in their thinking. They mentioned several times that it was for the first time they were being asked to say something about a matter which is so close and 'everyday' in their lives. Thus it was a novel experience for them and as well as for me. Their responses helped me to gain many insights about the role of the DHR in the local community. Throughout the process what I found that ethical considerations were ongoing and the differences between children according to ethnicity or gender or the power relationships between the researcher and the researched were all crucial factors that were reflected upon. Plummer (1983) has identified two positions in discussions of social research ethics in general: the ethical absolutist and the situational relativist. In accordance with my research topic, data collect methods and more importantly the nature of my 'field' where I carried out my research – my subject-position was more akin to the situational relativist where ethical considerations were taken into account and applied creatively. Similar suggestions have been made by Morrow and Richards (1996:7) as well that: [e]thical considerations need to be situational and context specific.

Focus Group at Kurseong College

I arranged this focus group for similar reasons that I did the one in the school above. Here the

participants were a group of people age 20-25. However, unlike my experiences with the school students in this case they were very reluctant to take part. The situation was very similar to what Bryman states that: “They are difficult to organize. Not only do you have to secure the agreement of people to participate in your study; you also need to persuade them to turn up at a particular time. It is common for people not to turn up” (Bryman 2004:360). One point all of them were stressed was that the heritage status of the DHR gave them a greater sense of pride. As they grow older other obligations and attractions take over their lives and thus the DHR tended to provoke less emotional views.

Focus Group with ex-employees of the DHR

A focus group was also arranged in Kurseong with the ex-employees of DHR. There were twelve people who served DHR at different times from 50s to 90s in different posts such as safety officer, driver, station manager, etc. This again helped we understand the workings of the DHR.

I also interviewed tourists – both domestic and international – at different railway stations as well as on board the train, and also local people from different professional backgrounds and ages. During my research all my interviews and focus groups were undertaken in a mixture of English Hindi and Bengali depending on the preference of the interviewee. Those undertaken in languages other than English were subsequently translated into English. All the interviews were recorded with the exception of those with the Indian Railway officials.

My own experiences of data collection had several limitations. Firstly, it became quite male-centric as most of my interviewees were male especially amongst local residents. Secondly, at times it was difficult to interview the tourists as they were keen on having their own good time and reluctant to answer my questions in an in-depth manner. Thirdly, I carried out research in a time when the region was facing political unrest. Thus, the service of the DHR

was disrupted and also I had to face disruption such as road block and strike whilst I was in my field. That affected other people with regard to assist me by giving me interviews as they themselves were under pressure due to the consequences of the political unrest.

In the table below I showed the summery of the participants of various social groups and status whom I interviewed in both years of my fieldwork.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of Participants:

Participants	Number	Gender		Location of interview	Year of interview	
		Male	Female		2007	2008
Railway officials	2	2		Siliguri and Tindharia, India		✓
Other Government officials	4	3	1	Darjeeling, India	✓	
Other stakeholders	7	7		Siliguri & Darjeeling, India	3 in 2007	4 in 2008
Ex-railway men	17	17		Kurseong, Tindharia India	6 in 2007	11 in 2008
Domestic tourists	22	12	9	Kurseong, Darjeeling, Kolkata, India	9 in 2007	13 in 2008
International tourists	23	19	4	Kurseong, Sukna, Darjeeling, India & in U.K	11 in 2007	12 in 2008
Local residents (adults)	29	21	8	Tindharia, Kurseong, Sonada & Darjeeling	14 in 2007	15 in 2008
Local residents (children FG)	16	13	3	Kurseong, India		✓

Mobile Ethnography

In addition to the interviews and focus groups discussed above I also completed a substantial period of mobile ethnography in 2008. My field was constructed as the 88km between Siliguri and Darjeeling where the tracks of the DHR rise 533 to 7407 feet above sea level.

The area falls within three subdivisions of Darjeeling District, namely, Siliguri, Kurseong and Darjeeling. Kalimpong subdivision of the district was outside of the field as the DHR no longer exists there. I divided the whole distance into two main points as bases – one at Siliguri and the other at Kurseong – to facilitate my ethnographic journeys. Siliguri was mainly for pragmatic reason as officials and other stakeholders lived in and around Siliguri and from Siliguri I could journey up to Tindharia. The second base was the hill station Kurseong (4864ft) where I spent most of my time. From Kurseong I used to come down to Tindharia (2822ft) as well as go up to Darjeeling (6812ft). Kurseong was the colonial headquarters of the DHR line and till to date is an exemplary site for studying the characteristics of the DHR line. According to the epistemological considerations of research on train travel; my methodology developed what has recently been called mobile ethnography. ‘Mobile ethnography’ is defined as an involved “participation in patterns of movement while conducting ethnographic research” (Sheller and Urry 2006). Thus I was travelling with people in a continual relocation of myself within that movement. However, my ethnographic mobility sometimes reflectively and sometimes unreflectively spurred a number of actions other than just travelling on the train. I became engrossed in the locality within which the DHR passes through and I had to make several trips up and down the way by road to observe the pattern of the movement of the DHR. Sometimes due to pragmatic reasons such as to meet railway officials and other stakeholders, I had to come back to Siliguri or to go up to Darjeeling. This aspect of the research process was highly improvised and fluid in nature. In this way not just the DHR but the whole DHR site became immersed and sedimented within my body as I started conceptualising the micro-geographic scale of the DHR site through my own bodily movement.

Following the characteristics of ethnography there was a need for rigorous empirical

observation. The unobtrusive nature of data gathering did not always sit easily with the need to conduct interviews and focus groups which at times caused me much tension in terms of getting dissolved into everyday practice. The tension was primarily epistemological and to overcome that I kept maintaining a constant reading and rethinking especially about the theoretical orientation of my study whenever I had time and to remain analytical and self-critical.

My first travel on the DHR was in February 1985 when I was quite young. It was my first ever holiday as well. It did hold, thus, a special meaning and significance for me. Despite this, I never registered my first travel experience anywhere; instead I quite deliberately let the memory of my first DHR travel grow within myself as I grew up. Later I observed and realised that as a memory of a cultural object the DHR has been reconstituted in my mind as afterwards I read different memoirs about that journey and shared other's experiences of this travel. Those texts, pictures and words altogether shaped the DHR to my senses and over time some part of it became more prominent whilst others faded away. Nevertheless, one aspect of this travel was embedded in my mind very acutely and that was its deep sensuousness. In 1985 it was carrying freight and was yet to become a primarily touristic ride; it was still in use for the locals to a great extent and thus the journey was very mixed experience. The train I travelled in at that time was a mix of coaches for passengers and freight. The sensuous performance of the DHR that I experienced at that time I have tried to explain partly in the chapter on the DHR travel in this thesis below. However, in 2007 when I started fieldwork what did hit me was the lack of that sensuousness. The effect of deforestation had affected the journey and there was not as much engagement with the landscape anymore. Places were more urbanized and due to the development of road transport I found that the train had become more abstracted from the locals even though they

are proud that it is a heritage property. Thus I drifted from my previous notion of this travel in order to make sense of it. When I went back in 2008 I tried to find if there was any residue of that sensuousness in relation to the DHR. Thus, I started to create my mobile ethnography about the DHR in a more fluid and fragmented manner. In this process, I stretched out the embodied praxis of my work beyond the railway track and started walking up the region quite randomly keeping the track as a central theme to this walking experience. I walked nearly 35km from Kurseong to Darjeeling from time to time. Sometimes I went up the hill and at other times I went down in the valley and thus covered the altitude from 4000ft to 7000ft. Instead of penetrating into the field I tried to let the field inscribe me. Here, my body was a “site of surface, affects and desires that perceive and connect with other planes of existence, energies and affects” (Fullager 2001 cited in Edensor 2006:41). I was trying to develop practical dispositions towards circumstances in particular towards the DHR through sensory experience. I was in search for the sensuous, social and poetic dimensions of the DHR in relation to this embodiment. In this way, this walking was informing me about “things extra and other, heterogenous details and elements...that cannot be put into representation...fragmentary pasts that cannot be read by others (Game 1991 cited in Edensor: 2002:164). Walking through the hill terrain amidst cloud, mist, forest and sunshine, sometimes taking the train for a short distance, sitting by the roadside having conversations with locals about the DHR whilst having tea and again walking back through peoples’ houses, walking down through their private staircases, taking a rest in the ground of a monastery whilst hearing the sound of the train coming from some indefinite distance – altogether was created a sensual delight and indeterminacy which could be defined as ‘aesthetic reflexivity’ (Lash 1999). I was trying to find an ethnographic ability as an individual engaged in adventurous wanderings and wonderings that inculcated sensory and imaginative experiences that imparted to me potential meanings of the DHR “not graspable

by concepts, but only via feeling, only via imagination” (Lash 1999 cited in Edensor 2006:37).

Never forgetting aspects of gender and ethnicity during fieldwork, my experiences had a deeper moral implication as well. In recent years, minority ethnic groups in various states in India have politically mobilized in support of separate statehood status which aims to be achieved mainly by the breaking up the existing states in which they live. For instance, Ganguly (2005) has analyzed the main reasons behind Gorkha nationalism in West Bengal, which has led to the demand for a separate ‘Gorkhaland’ and the formation of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC). He assessed the impact of the DHGC and predicted the likelihood of the resurrection of Gorkhaland agitation which, came to fruition during my fieldwork in 2008. Ethnography, like history, is embedded in a field which is limited in space and time. In my field, in my own ethnographic work I had to face literally the historical shift of the region. Eventually I found no other option than to leave the study completely open to the uncertainties of the field. However, as I argued that the DHR is both routed and rooted to the community so it was impossible to make sense of the DHR in a distant manner. Thus, I continued my stay in Kurseong, walking along the track to decipher the meaning of it whilst also seeing political rallies going on alongside. Quite often Kurseong railway station became a social ‘mooring’ for political gatherings and I remained in the midst of that in a subtle manner until the political strikes was called off for indefinite period of time. During my walking practices, considering the possible risks and unfamiliarity with the region I was frequently accompanied and assisted by a 22 years old male student of Kurseong College. We used to walk together and initially I found him a bit unsure about my approach of being less authoritative and more flexible in terms of travelling and interacting with people and places. However, eventually I convinced him not to become a mere guide showing me roads from

point to point and allowed him more space and liberty in terms of making sense of the field to me: where to go, how far to walk, where to stop. I also took his voice and versions into account about the DHR, the place and even the political movement that was gaining momentum. Thus I developed communication praxis and inter-subjectivity whilst performing walking practices. It was based on our co-presence and an attempt to decentre the category of knower and known. What I gained through all these uncertainties was a creative tension, where my subject position as a researcher working from Western academia and as a Bengali woman in terms of my ethnicity and gender juxtaposed each other. I was trying to make sense of a place with which my own ethnic background is in contact. Rather than my authority as a researcher it was my vulnerability that I subjected myself to that helped me to develop a 'felt insight' of that 'contact zone' through the embodied and communicative praxis whereby I could not claim full membership of my subject community and neither could I remain too detached due to my own ethnicity.

So often the notion has been proliferated in Western discourses about ethnographers that like colonizers and tourists, they tend to objectify and spectacularize what they find through the mobilization of particular techniques (Edensor 2002) which created considerable dilemmas in me before I started my fieldwork. Indeed as my ethnography was based on travelling it unravelled numerous possibilities encompassing my own travelling self which was always questioning, or subject to question, due to its own positionality. My positionality within the community of the Darjeeling hills was a negotiated one where I was being considered as a researcher from Western academia carrying out certain tasks regarding the DHR. But down in Siliguri this notion was often being blurred. There my positionality was something un-negotiated as a Bengali woman. Although I was equipped with western theorisation prior to carrying out my fieldwork, nevertheless, I could not dismiss the fact that going into the field

was to some extent going back home for me, both in physical sense and an emotional one in terms of feeling 'at home'. Despite all my institutionalized knowledge, at times, I could not help myself to allow myself to be immersed in the comfort of being at home, of having bodily and emotional security that a home does offer. Thus my ethnographic moments were to some extent filled with emotional delight and sharing. The sensory experience which for a Westerner at first could bring sensory onslaught as Edensor put it (2006), for me it was immersing me into familiar sensory modes and became nostalgic to some extent. However, this deep interiority could have overwritten the exteriority of cultural analysis that I was going to do there, keeping that in mind I had to ontologically position myself somewhere distant from my family. This duplicity was ultimately at the heart of my fieldwork as I was belonging to two agencies at the same time. As Shirin Housee puts it, this has the effect of: "enabling movement from one subject position to another...The personal is intricately entwined with the social milieu. Thus, each moment of identity formation is negotiated within a given political space, and its construction is always relational" (1999:141).

IV Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the methodological aspects of my research. In this context firstly I tried to conceptualize ethnography as methodology. What was shown was that being considered as a method, a theoretical orientation and even a philosophical paradigm – ethnography has a distinguished career in social science. Since its historical point of departure, ethnography has moved on a long way and has been extended to cultural studies, literary studies and in a number of applied studies including nursing, education, planning and tourism studies. Next the various definitions of ethnography have been noted and it was also pointed out that by definition ethnography refers to both the process and the product, and that there are certain amounts of convergence as well as divergence around the core elements of

ethnography. However, the very characteristics of ethnography have also been recognized which involve the need for empirical approach, the need to remain open to elements that cannot be codified at the time of study and also a concern for grounding the phenomena observed in the field. In this context, different methods of ethnographic data collection have been discussed which include participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, focus groups, personal documents and mobile methods: a combination of methodological stances which stem from the new mobilities paradigm where methods are essentially ‘on the move’ in order to grasp the social meanings of different kinds of movements of people, images, information and objects. Further discussion involved the analysis, interpretation and representation of ethnographic data.

Analysis, in this regard, was defined as a process of bringing order to data, organizing into patterns, categories and descriptive units and looking for relationships between them. Interpretation is another simultaneous process of ethnography where ethnographers attach meanings to the data. It was discussed how the shift from an objectifying methodology to an inter-subjective methodology elicited a representational transformation. The moral implications of ethnography in terms of the process of generating ethnographic information and publishing ethnographic accounts has encouraged contemporary ethnographers to bring the personal, the political and the philosophical into their accounts. Rather than writing a standard monograph concentrating on the Other or writing an ethnographic memoir centred on the self or life history; textual practices in contemporary ethnography allow both the self and the Other to appear together within a single narrative that bears a multiplicity of dialoguing voices. Hence, in following section I discussed my own experiences of data collection, the ways in which I got in touch with people of various capacities, both official and unofficial. Finally I detailed my account of mobile ethnography – the ways I tried to find

out the sensuous, social and poetic dimensions of my research topic. As a researcher the moral implications of my research and the construction of my own subject-positionality were also discussed in this context. Overall this discussion brought out the ‘felt insights’ that I gained from my field experiences, as well as both the aesthetic and self reflexivity that I have found in connection with my fieldwork experiences. In the next two chapters I present the results of my analysis of the DHR, beginning firstly with a consideration of how the DHR is represented.

CHAPTER 5: REPRESENTING THE DARJEELING HIMALAYAN RAILWAY

I Introduction

In this chapter I analyse representational aspects of the DHR which have long been proliferated in the form of discourses concerning travel narratives, tourism brochures, memoirs and other forms of mediated accounts. Some materials from my own ethnographic interviews have also been taken into account for analysis in this chapter. Here I show how the discursive representation of the DHR defines the experience and performance of the DHR and redefines the social relations embedded in the DHR.

Theoretically representation consists of three different approaches, namely, the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist approaches to representation. While the reflective approach speaks for universal validity, the constructionist approach is expressed through two major variants – the semiotic approach and the discursive approach – the latter of which discloses the constant shifting properties of words that provide meanings and the power/knowledge relationships that ensure. In reflective approaches to representation, meaning is considered to be placed in the real world – in objects, persons or in ideas and, therefore, the function of language is just to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world. Duncan and Ley state that:

“...the question of how we should represent the world has usually been taken for granted. This fundamental level of agreement concerns the issue of mimesis, the belief that we should strive to produce as accurate a reflection of the world as possible” (1993:2)

Taking the example of ‘descriptive fieldwork’, they further note that: “[t]he assumption

underlying this position is that trained observation transcribed into clear prose and unencumbered by abstract theorizing produces an accurate understanding of the world” (1993:2). The intentional approach to meaning of representation argues that meaning does not exist in the world; it is, rather dependent upon the author who makes sense of the world through his or her own unique meanings expressed through language. Yet, this particular notion of representation has its limitations and faces problems as language can never be wholly a ‘private game’ (Hall 1997). Language, even when engaged in a very personal or intimate way, is always likely to be negotiable between people, who construct different versions of events. The constructionist approach to representation thus recognizes the social character of language where neither the world nor the individual can determine the meaning in language. It is constructed through signs and concepts. According to the constructionist approach, it is not the material world that conveys meaning; it is the social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meanings.

While semiotics seems to accept representation as a closed system, subsequent developments in terms of discourse analysis are more concerned with representation as a source for the construction of social knowledge where language is not simply as a neutral medium for communicating information, but as a domain in which our knowledge of the social world is actively shaped (Tonkiss 1998). Such discourse analysis is an open ended process, intimate with social practices and the question of power. While a discourse can refer both to a single declaration and a more systematic arrangement of language, a discursive approach to representation -“involves a perspective on language which sees this not as *reflecting* reality, in a transparent or straightforward way, but as *constructing* and organizing that social reality for us” (Tonkiss 1998:246-7). Here, the main interest is in language and texts as sites in

which social meanings are created and reproduced, and social identities are formed. There is a greater sensitivity here to the power of discourses to shape people's attitude and identities.

This discursive approach to representation is greatly associated with the work of Michel Foucault. What concerned Foucault, in terms of representation is the production of knowledge. Moreover, his project is historically grounded: "The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than that of a language; relations of power not relations of meaning..." (Foucault 1980:114-5). Foucault rejected both the dialectic and the semiotic and he argued that:

Neither the dialectic, as logic of contradictions, nor semiotic, as the structure of communication, can account for the intrinsic intelligibility of conflicts. 'Dialectic' is a way of evading the always open and hazardous reality of conflict by reducing it to a Hegelian skeleton, and 'semiology' is a way of avoiding its violent, bloody and lethal character by reducing it to the calm Platonic form of language and dialogue" (Foucault 1980:115).

Discourse, Foucault argues, never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source. The same discourse, the distinct way of thinking or the state of knowledge at any one time (what Foucault called the *episteme*), will appear across a range of texts and as a form of conduct, at a number of different institutional sites within society and when these discursive events "refer to the same object, share the same style and...support a strategy...a common institutional, administrative or political drift and pattern" (Cousins and Hussain 1984:84-5) – then, they are, according to Foucault, belonging to the same 'discursive formation'. In my analysis below, I discuss the significance of such discursive formations in relation to representations of the DHR.

II Representing the DHR

In this section I analyse the representations of the DHR from both historical and contemporary viewpoints and draw upon the literature reviewed previously.

Historical representations

Representations of the DHR or of the ‘journey of the DHR’ are intimately connected with



Figure 5:1: *Darjeeling Station 1920s. Photo Courtesy: David Charlesworth*

representations of the destination of Darjeeling itself. The genesis of a railway like the DHR was very much essential for imperial development as Darjeeling became an economic and strategic centre for the imperial British government. Thus, we shall see, going to Darjeeling and travelling on the DHR often appeared inter-related in all

manners in discourses. The imperial ideals of suburban living for the colonial elites were evident in the actual construction of Darjeeling. Architectural features of Darjeeling symbolized and supported British superiority and difference which set Europeans apart from other races as well as inconveniences of Indian life, as this description testifies:

Darjeeling is a small place according to English notions...It has a church, Baptist and Roman Catholic chapels, nunnery, boarding and other schools for boys and girls, public library, Masonic lodge, hospital, treasury, jail, hotels and various shops. It is one of those places to which English children are sent for education, and there they get the rosy cheeks of old England. There are numerous residents for health occupying the villas. The military establishment consists of a hill corps, a body of

English invalids, and cantonments are prepared for English infantry (Clarke 1881:534).

This very characteristic of Darjeeling as a hill station was not a mere transplantation of the British landscape, but rather expression, as argued by Kenny (1995), “which attributed [the] colonizer’s superiority to the colonized by ascribing settlements on the hill landscape in a way that conforms to larger systems of colonial control”. In this context, climate and race in association with environment played crucial roles in making sense of imperial authority. The acquisition of the Darjeeling hill was a function of imperial development in India and, there, climate was an important factor - ‘the yearning for health and for shelter from the sweltering hot seasons’ (Clarke 1881):

...as the climate was the popular prescription for the physical health of Anglo-Indians, the environment suited their mental health as well. Sparsely settled by Indians, the hills were viewed as a blank slate on which Anglo-Indians could create a familiar landscape, a ‘comforting little piece of England’” (Kenny 1995:694-95).

We can see, since its introduction, the DHR journey, both literally and figuratively, confirmed the colonial desire of comfort and isolation from the plains of India. The journey of the DHR starts from the low and plain land and eventually elevates up to 7000ft and above. This elevation I argue is not just physical but reflects and reinforces the imperial assumptions of difference in relation to climate and environment. Hence, for example, one narration of travel described it this way:

We ought to have donned warm clothing at Kurseong, but want of foresight that is so characteristic of some travellers, had already settled the matter. They were all locked in the Gladstone which was stowed in the brake. When at dusk the train whizzed into the grim looking station at Ghoom, the highest point on the Darjeeling-Himalayan railway, I was shivering in my khaki suit. (Rustam Pacha 1901 [2005])

Another later representation of the DHR travel put it thus:

It was April 1943 and the ‘cool’ season when even Calcutta was bearable. It was, however, an unforgettable and magnificent experience...as the day went on and we climbed higher and higher the heat became cooler and then cold and then very cold and we arrived at Darjeeling at dusk (J. Gardiner: Memories of VSK 1939-1946)

Here, the DHR becomes an implicit agent of the imperial desire to get away from the inconveniences of the plains life in India as it was carrying the colonizers from a ‘torrid’ to a ‘temperate’ zone. The imperialist discourse, a framework that formed the imperialists’ interpretation and representation of the non-western world through a system of meaning (Kenny 1995:695), in this case, easily incorporated discourses of climate and race. The above two quotations legitimate that notion in relation to DHR travel. The physical elevation in the DHR journey from one plain to another, exhibits an elevation at another level as well which is ideological – a longing for comfort and a prestigious environment for the colonial population:

Darjeeling is quite a small town, but it has many large shops, quite a number of which are run by Britishers. A large percentage of the population is British, some living there permanently, and some just spending the hot season there. *This is another reason why it is so pleasant.* (Payne, A. J.: 1944/2002) [emphasis mine]

Significant to this desire was a notion about race. It was active both in the construction by the Europeans in articulating themselves as different from the Other and also codifying the Other in terms of their actions, gestures and features and with a hint of describing them as inferior as a race. A memoir affirms this: “The natives up in these parts are Nepalese and Tibetan mostly and the children take a delight in running alongside the train...Of course they do not do it for our amusement, but rather in the hopes of getting money thrown at them” (Payne, A. J.1944/2002). Similar notions are expressed in an earlier description thus:

From Kurseong we might have had the first peek at the far-famed Kanchenjunga had the weather permitted the pleasure. As it was, we had to content ourselves with turning our nose at the dirty bazaar with its crowd of beggar boys, and with eating some good English beef at the Clarendon Hotel.....Kurseong is the sanatorium for those that cannot bear the majesty of Darjeeling. (Rustam Pacha 1901 [2005])

There was another dimension in making sense of race by Western travellers on the DHR where the observations were based on subjecting the hill population in the form of a picturesque attainable to the Western gaze:

The railway station of Darjeeling is a decent house...which is always lively in the mornings and evenings, when trains leave and come. Indeed it is quite an institution in Darjeeling. You look in whenever you happen to be passing that way, and if perchance it is train time, you see *pretty faces and rosy cheeks...which you can never hope to see on the plains*” (Rustam Pacha 1901 [2005]) [emphasis mine]

Another example comes from the French traveller Michiaux:

If you leave the train at one of these stations, two young smiling Nepalese women, their noses pierced with gold, full of kindness, and to whom you would surrender your soul, carry off your luggage and even under the weight of your enormous cases, they keep smiling. Everywhere there are smiles, modest, gentle, guileless, the first smile of



Figure 5:2 DHR in 1930s. Photo Courtesy David Charlesworth

an Eastern race, smiles which I see as the most beautiful in the world.” (Michaux, H. 1933/2001:15).

By attributing the qualities of gentleness, beauty and simplicity to the hill population and quite explicitly setting them in contrast to the population of the plains – these two

discursive examples affirm the Western representations that contributed to the ‘imaginative geographies’ of the hills and plains “which depicted highland and lowland peoples as intrinsically different, as two places and two peoples” (Kenny 1995:709). Thus the DHR journey has become a trail of colonial cartography filled with tropes of imperial observation and desire – of difference, of superiority and of fantasies. The journey of the DHR allowed the colonial traveller to experience the notion of climate and race in a detailed manner – the way it went up the hill, offering the transition of geographical terrain as well as morphological changes. Through this process the imperialists’ mind was being able to make its own sense of self by ‘dramatizing distance and difference’ (Said 1978:55) and the DHR itself held a share of ‘taxonomic lores’ which enabled travellers to manage and even to produce the idea of the Other thus contributing to the construction of the ‘imaginative geographies’ of the East by the West.

However, contestation was evident in representing the DHR especially in the ‘contact zone’ (Pratt 1992). One of these was about the popular performance around the DHR – running along the train and jumping on and off which was and still is evident amongst the locals – was claimed to be introduced by the children from settlers’ families. In her childhood memories in Darjeeling, Pliva recalls it:

Glint and I used to love playing on the little trains. We would get the train down to Kurseong where at the start of each large loop we would jump off and run across to catch the train on the other side of the loop. *It was great fun and before long the local children started to copy us.* (2008:26) [Emphasis mine]

Hence, we see, the representational narratives constituted since the introduction of the DHR were never homogenous and at times subtly contested. I now move on to examine modern representations of the DHR.

Modern representations

Modern day travel to Darjeeling can be conceptualized, at least partly, as a derivative of the western colonial experience discussed before. The residue of ‘imaginative geographies’ crucially forms the spatial and temporal dimensions of travel related to the DHR and Darjeeling. Examples abound where modern day western visitors to Darjeeling and the DHR implicitly or explicitly negotiate their roles along the lines of the colonial imagination of travelling to a summer capital of the Raj. One of which is:

The experience in travelling this World heritage railway is very worthwhile. One passes Raj history and the modern movement of races in the changing facial structures of the people...Throughout our trip...all the people we came into contact with were invariable courteous and friendly. We do, of course, share a long, common history and this is why, perhaps, that we felt so at home (Thorne 2008:8).

In this case, as a hill station, Darjeeling offers relative isolation for the western travellers to take in Darjeeling as a stage full of ‘homelike’ qualities within which they could redefine their selves as different from Indians and simultaneously co-identify with the former British rulers of India. The tendency to dramatize distance and difference from the centres of the Indian population in the plains is still effective in making sense of DHR travel but at times, now, it is also seen as part of the DHR ‘experience’ of travel these days:

In a sense the DHR is not just a journey, but it’s a physical journey. It’s a journey that goes from *one culture to another; one subcontinent to another*. It’s a bridge. Starting from New Jalpaiguri and *going through to Siliguri town can be quite daunting. But it’s part of the DHR experience*. (British Traveller, male 52 extract from my interviews) [Emphasis mine].

The role of ‘imaginative geographies’ is ramified here in a sense which is not merely an

innocent distortion of another culture. The representation here refers to a subtle power relation within the frame of the decolonized Indian nation-state where the western traveller separates race, regions and nations according to categories of difference – a practice inherited from the colonial past. In particular the geographical location of Darjeeling in the sub-Himalayan region often evokes a mythical language in western travellers' representations of the DHR. A relatively detailed account of journey affirms this notion:

We were down in Siliguri and it was April. We actually embarked at Sukna. When you go to Sukna...the air is very nice and it's peaceful and it's quiet. We got on board and we started to ascend through the jungle. And the little engine was twisting about this side and that...I wedged a door open and I stood in that doorway for actually the entire journey. And I thought to myself, this is so spectacular it can't get any better.

...And we arrived at Ghoom in mist. It was about six o'clock at night and it was very eerie, and I felt I'd been transported to a different world. I always think, if that area isn't Shangri-La, then *Shangri-La's* lurking just around the corner. It was a world away from the plains, and we've gone across a cultural divide of India and Asia. (British Male 49, interview, Emphasis mine).



Figure 5:3: ‘Ghum’ during monsoon 2003. Photo Courtesy: Joydip Mitra

The cultural diversity much loved and celebrated by western travellers tends to be conveyed by a shared vocabulary and stereotype. In the present context, the notion of Shangri-La conveys one of those clichés – a notion of looking at another part of the world through a distorting lens of myth. The DHR climbs up to Ghum – a hill station situated at above 7000 ft height and creates a

socially constructed utopia for western travellers placed upon a remote but contemporary society. In so doing, it asserts the popular western notion of Himalayan countries as romantic, mystical realms implicitly contrasted and compared with the imperfect society of Europe. The DHR is the transportation to get the traveller to an alluring different world, an escapade: “you are ascending 7000 feet and you get all these sensations [that] come at you, and by the time you get up into the tranquillity of the hills, there is this stillness that is broken by the sound of the train.” (interview with British male 49).

To escape as such is a mere illusion as travel can only occur within the historical and cultural relations that stem from colonial histories (Simmons 2004). Thus, a kind of nostalgia continues in perpetuating such a cliché of Shangri-La; subtly it socially constructs the misty environment of Ghoom station at a time when the world was deemed more exciting, different and implicitly brings out a desire for keeping it intact. Thus it bears the mark of the western traveller’s cultural complacency and the power differentials that have historically empowered him or her to celebrate the notion that he or she carries about another part of the world; which

is as stated by Holland and Huggan (2002:139-40): “wilfully fabricated, put into the service of times and places that are brought alive through narrative – *that never existed*” (Emphasis in the original). The DHR for these travellers explicitly plays the role of a mode to escape to a romantic setting, translating the place into another more pristine time and purports a romantic ‘call of the East’:

We’re fascinated by the East. It’s mysticism. It’s mystery. It’s the whole thing, the pink sun in the sky and all of this. It conjures up an image. It’s a different world. In the West we’ve lost this. Here life is much more relaxed. Hard but relaxed in a very different way. So I think that when we come here we look at that and for us that’s something that really resonates with the inner being. Something is out there in the hills. It’s not available in the West –the mystery and mist. (interview with British male traveller, 49).

As a relatively marginal place the culture and environment of Darjeeling is often looked at by western travellers within a certain frame of reference that asserts a sense of what Rosaldo (1989) terms ‘imperialist nostalgia’: an ideological construction where amidst the world of progressive change, supposedly static societies become a stable reference point for civilized progressive identity (see Shields 1991). There is a yearning in imperialist nostalgia for more stable worlds, whether these reside in its own past, in other cultures, or in combination of the two. Darjeeling is one of such places which become an exemplar of such nostalgia and an intrinsic part of the DHR journey. An extract from another interview reaffirms this notion:

You can see poverty in the hills. There something needs to be done about the poverty in the hills, but the challenge is going to be to resolve the issue with the poverty in the hills without destroying this culture that is there...the fact that the people are on a level, that they are friendly to one another. There’s no rage between each other, or not that you can see. So that the one task for the future...is going to be trying to preserve

that *without being overtaken by the West*. (British traveller, male 49 Emphasis mine).

As argued by Rosaldo, a paradox revolves around this notion that “imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of ‘innocent yearning’ both to capture people’s imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination” (1989:108), and this comes out in representations of the DHR itself. The DHR is a relic of Indian colonial past in both form and function, thus, it often startles western travellers paradoxically. The DHR once introduced by the colonizers rendered a way of life which has already been altered and at worst diminished from their present lives by themselves but in Darjeeling, the DHR still runs and retains most of its original features and thus evokes a nostalgia, a revival of the ‘Raj’ but with a also a sense of colonial loss:

I think there is a connection with the Raj side of things. I liked the fact that a lot of what had been done over India...with locomotives being built in Britain and sent across to India to work the railways and there’s certainly a nostalgia side of it. We were looking at steam engines; you’ve still got was something that we had thrown away years before. Britain had all that. It had a fantastic network. It had all this sort of railway system. *We threw it all away. We destroyed it. India has still got it*. (British traveller male 53 Emphasis mine).

In any case, as Rosaldo puts it, “much of imperialist nostalgia’s force resides in its association with... more genuinely innocent tender recollections of what is at once an earlier epoch and a previous phase of life” (1989:108). It is a mark that acknowledges the impossibility of its own controlling gestures, and ironically seeks reassurance through the appeal to the past. And Sir Mark Tully’s version about the DHR experience reflects this representation once again:

It may be sheer romanticism...but I believe that achieved during the days of steam ships and trains, and animal transport to meet those trains. They made it possible to

travel longer distances, but not so easy that we travelled all the time. Journeys were far and slow enough to be events in themselves –to give travellers a sense of achievement when they got to the other end...I see the railways as a symbol of the balance that we need to restore in society, a sobering up, a stabilising, a revival of appreciation for the past. They are also, to me a symbol of how I should travel through life. They are after all about movement and change. (2008:42/2:22).



Figure 5:4: *DHR in Present Context in Darjeeling Station 2006. Photo Courtesy: Joydip Mitra*

Nostalgia and authority together have guided the western representations of the environment of Darjeeling and DHR travel. Contemporary travel representations of the DHR also, as we see, are saturated with the preceding colonial discourses. In both epochs colonial fantasy has remained pivotal

in representations of the DHR. The postcolonial critiques of domestic versions about the DHR are still marginalised or at best reinstate western forms of consciousness in their representations of the DHR. The symbolic significance of Darjeeling as a former summer capital, the pastoral romance in its landscape and the role of the DHR at the heart of it altogether form a discursive cartography of the DHR that rekindle imperial memories as one of the local website states: “The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway is lovingly called the ‘Toy Train’. The Toy Train ride is *a romantic approach to the Himalayas, a mysterious region.* (Darjnet.com Emphasis mine).

In a sense Darjeeling today also serves as an Indian fantasy of the English landscape and the DHR as an inevitable part of Darjeeling experience carries the burden of imperial memories.

The way Darjeeling and the DHR are tied to the framework of meaning constantly ratifies the western view of the non-western world. Although Darjeeling is no longer an English enclave and neither is the DHR a mode of transport used for the colonial purposes, nevertheless the contemporary representations of the DHR are still based on their symbolic significance created in light of their past. In this vein, Kenny argues that the “future of the hill stations cannot avoid the examination of the legacies of imperialists nor of the social, political, and aesthetic values that the British inscribed on this resort settlements and summer capitals of the ‘Raj’” (1995:695). The DHR began as a colonial project and remained colonial until 1948 when it was then handed over to the Indian Railways and nationalised. However, the official representation of the DHR still retains the form of fantasy embedded in its colonial past:

Quaint little station buildings – straight out of children’s story books – meet the train along the route as it chugs, first through the plains and then forests of bamboo, sal and semul before taking on the foothills, for the long climb ahead. An *aura of timelessness* sets in whenever the hissing and puffing engine stops for watering, while the dreamy traveller himself...feasting his eyes on natural splendours of every hue –changing as the train ascends from the sub-tropical Terai to the *temperate* and cooler upper Himalayas [Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (1881-2006) 125 Glorious Years a UNESCO World Heritage N.F Railway: Guwahati (Emphasis mine)]

Despite the organizational changes and changes in socio-political environment it is still the imperial discourse of distance and difference that feeds into the representational economy of the DHR. These discourses have already formed an institutionalised memory of the DHR which is mediated through all sources of its representations. Another official version is like this:

DHR is world famous for *sounds, fragrances and romance* of a by-gone era, in a 100 years old train hauled by tiny 4-wheel locomotives labouring uphill at 10mhp, criss-

crossing the road, rural settlements and bazaar in curves, loops, “Z’s” and steep gradients for its 88km journey; over the spectacular Himalayan landscape full of mystery and imagination. (DHR WHA Reports from International Stakeholders Workshop 2004:10) (Emphasis mine).

The semiotics of nostalgia and of colonial romance has been inscribed on the DHR over and over again and as a result has formed a banalized notion of distance and difference. The DHR is trapped into the ‘imaginative geographies’ that the imperial travellers created. The representations of the DHR have been constructed and appropriated by all dominant sources in a way that it enhances what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:217) called an ‘aesthetic imperialism’.

Local, subaltern representations

So far what has been discussed has focused predominantly on the representations of the DHR which stem from colonial travel discourses. Once colonizers travelled on it they unleashed their imaginative geographies which formed imperialists’ discourses. The residue of such discursive practices is still proliferating within western forms of travel consciousness and is even extended to the current official Indian representations of the DHR. Amidst this what is found is the relative silence of a local version about the DHR in terms of its representation. The DHR has been declared as World Heritage due to the socio-cultural and economic development it brought in to the region. However, the DHR exists at another level amongst the locals which is a very much more physical and everyday presence. How the DHR is represented among local residents is a matter of observation of their everyday practices, either by themselves or by others. The DHR serves as the set and prop on the theatrical stage

of the lives of local people. One written local version speaks about it this way:

Trying to describe a toy train is a job best suited to an antique dealer or a connoisseur of art. I am a simple, ordinary man who grew up hearing the whistle of this tin box blow, watching it pass, leaving behind a trail of dark smoke and feeling proud about the fact that it belongs to the hills, to us...to me (Limbu, S. 2000:23).

Here, the DHR is a marker for locals to denote their identity for others and to remind themselves of who they are. The DHR is used to convey and extend their self-concepts as locals: “If you talk about the people from the Nepal they do not talk about the railway but there is slight change here in Nepali people of Darjeeling; when they talk about their culture railway comes definitely.” (Local resident. Male 22). Hence the DHR is considered as a key mechanism in defining the community of the region of Darjeeling. Constructing identity, as argued by Marchell (2004), often involves introspection, an ‘inward journey’, a look into the past – a process that is very much evident among local people in making sense of the DHR:

We love the DHR...our forefathers used to travel and there were economic prosperity due to this train and so many settlements have come up. Eventually the speed of transport had been changed and had changed lives...it takes 7-8hrs to come from Siliguri to Darjeeling by train but it is not that eight hours it is the beauty of travelling in a small train, it is that *acute nostalgia* people do feel that our forefathers travelled the same way, they got the same sceneries...it is a matter of interpretation, this long journeys, the DHR story the scenery, it needs exploration as well as explanation. (Local resident, male 62, emphasis mine).

This nostalgia, I would argue is a counter-nostalgia that has been flowing alongside the dominant version of colonial exploration. The introduction of the DHR formed different locales in the region as well as developing the population of the region. Since then the lives of the local people as well as life of the DHR have gone parallel to each other. The role of the

DHR in their lives provides rich cultural reservoirs of popular perception and emotional geographies which do not necessarily fall into the realm of the dominant discursive representation of the DHR. The same local resident above explained this thus:

It has been being with us for such a long time that it has become like a human being for us, like my old buddy. We know when it is coming, we know the whistle, and we know the tempo goes on, we feel sad when it is not there. It is an inspiration for local people and a sentimental attachment.

This explanation I argue forms a counter form of consciousness about the DHR based on its close proximity in the everyday lives of the local population. This is another kind of ‘ontological reality’ that has been constructed due to the regular movement of the DHR in their lives. This construction is albeit an inter-subjective but one that stems from a deep material attachment between the locals and the DHR itself. This is expressed in more detail by another local who belongs to the younger generation of the hills:

It is a symbol of beauty that it holds since hundred years or so that is concentrated into just one train. It was a very important part of my childhood. Every time I used to have fun it used to be somewhere around, we used to hear the train passing anytime so it is like the best years of my life the train is attached to it; the train is like the symbol which represents those best years of my life. When I went down to the plain I started feeling at advantage compare to people who grew up in plains. I feel that people who grew up in cities they missed a lot in their childhood, they are in front of television and video game all the time. We never had that but we had forest, the toy train. During weekend we used to go out with friends they used to go out but that is to malls and Mcdonalds, may be that is fun but when you look back what you have done in your childhood if they say I used to go to Mcdonalds it is not that big experience but on the other hand if you talk about going to forest hopping on to the running train...I

mean having the train in my place, growing up with it...I feel I am a bit at advantage emotionally and this train is part of it. And also as a child leaning experiences that I had may be that taught me more and this train was part of that what I experienced as a kid. That is what I have developed in past years and this train gave me the feeling that I am at advantage that I have something here, something beautiful here. (Local resident, male 21).

What comes out from this detailed explanation is somewhat different to the institutionalized version of the DHR travel. It represents life and all its learning experiences in a deeper sense.



Figure 5:5 *'Existential Comfort': DHR in Kurseong Station 2006. Photo Courtesy Joydip Mitra*

The presence of the DHR in life, hopping on and off the train is not just a form of pastoral romance rather it works in much deeper foundational levels of the lives of the local. Thus, while the colonial and its derivative representations of the DHR create a romantic appeal to this journey, the subverted local version of the DHR speaks about the existential comfort

that the DHR renders. These two versions never conflate but subtly denote the subject-positions of the two different populations as colonizer and colonized. It is not possible to demarcate the points of departure of these two versions in terms of colonial and postcolonial epochs as they have been inscribing and re-inscribing on the DHR from the very beginning at two different levels. Hence it would be oft-noted again what Guha (1982) explains regarding the subaltern class that there were critiques of elitism rooted in power and that the politics of the people have been left out of this process. This was an autonomous domain devoid of its

connection with elite politics or dominant groups of the indigenous society. There are vast areas in the life and consciousness of the local people where the DHR reigns wittingly or unwittingly. After decolonization the role of former colonizers only remained confined into discursive practices whereas the DHR still remained part of the practicing lives for the locals. Thus, the local version tends to be more material and less discursive. The railway runs into their nerves both literally and figuratively. It is still running through their front doors the way it used to run a hundred years ago. Thus it is impossible for them to posit the DHR at a discursive distance. However, the intensity of attachment has been altered over time as there is not much employment available for the locals as road transport as well as other technological advancement has taken place in the hills. Thus the DHR as heritage has become more abstracted from local life, but the attachment remains as a form of ‘ontological reality’ as is explained in the above quotation and that in a sense it is more performed and materially constructed. We cannot completely decipher the meaning of this attachment though textual representational analysis but only a non-representational approach of practice, space, subject knowledge and embodiment.

III Conclusions

In this chapter I have analysed the textual representations of the DHR that have been produced since its introduction as a vehicle of colonial development. The empirical evidences elaborated in this chapter confirm theoretical aspects of postcolonialism discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis. I have shown how the imperialist discourses of climate and race were incorporated into the travel narratives of the DHR in its early stages and even after decolonization, and how the modern day western traveller remains wedded to the ‘imaginative geographies’ of the imperialist discursive practices. It was further shown how

the popular western notion of Shangri-La has proliferated in the western travellers minds and structured a representation of the DHR in the context of 'imperialist nostalgia'. This nostalgia, in an extensive sense, recreates the representation in the realm of private as a collective mythology. By analysing individual narrative I tried to show what Said calls "the determining imprint of individual...upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting a discursive formation" (1978:23). In so doing I have tried to show the way colonial tropes scripted on the DHR are something deeper than surface rhetoric or convention, rather it refers to the moral attitude implicated in the Western cultural formation that travellers do carry with themselves. I have also shown how the postcolonial fails to represent a critical relation to the colonial as is evident in current official discourses of the DHR. I have argued that the recurrent theme of romance and nostalgia scripted the representation of the DHR has tended to create a kind of 'aesthetic imperialism'. However, along this dominant version of representation there is another form of consciousness derived from the locals of the region. In this context I tried to show how the 'ontological reality' of the local has been, and continues to be, constructed with the regular confrontation of the DHR in the everyday lives of local residents. With reference to the notion of subaltern politics I also argued that this representation stands out of the realm of imperial discursive practices in and around the DHR. This is constructed more materially and thus, subtly eludes the constraints of both the dominant power and its normative 'archive' of cultural representation of the DHR and I further argued, this is a reality that can be sensed and demonstrated as embodied practice, something that can only be grasped by recourse to non-representational theory which I analyse further in the next chapter. In this way I tried to develop an empirical chapter on the DHR in connection with the postcolonial context.

CHAPTER 6: EXPERIENCING THE DARJEELING HIMALAYAN RAILWAY

I Introduction

In this chapter I will analyse the ‘journey’ of the DHR – how it is instrumental to making the ‘travel experience’ and is itself constituted through different embodied practices and performances of travel. This analysis is developed through what has been called the new ‘mobilities paradigm’. In the context of mobilities research Urry (2007) argues that, there is a definite lack in the examination of the complex social processes that underlie and orchestrate the use of transport in tourism. Research on transport and communication systems has hitherto mainly taken place as a separate segment with little interchange with the rest of the social sciences. With the ‘spatial turn’ in the social sciences in the 1980s, research has focused upon the social relations that are spatially organized with studies of travel also demonstrating how cultural objects are invariably on the move and tend to hold or lose their values as they move from place to place. Objects are instrumental in mobilizing place and reconstituting belonging and memory (Lury 1997; Fortier 2000; Molotch 2003). Different studies have shown how humans are complexly networked with machines: “...the social is materially heterogenous: talk, bodies, text, machines, architectures, all of this and many more are implicated in and perform the social” (Law 1994 cited in Urry 2007:34). Mobilities, in this context essentially involve ‘hybrid geographies’ of humans and machines that contingently make people and material move and hold their shape. In this research we can also see how such hybrids are evident and attached with complex and enduring connections between the people and the DHR. However, we will see how this involves intermittent face-to-face relationships with other people and distance and solitude in-between these moments

of co-presence. The DHR has distinct social spaces in each locality it passes through. Thus it will be conducive to see how those places are 'in play' and 'to play' in connection with the DHR. The analysis below thus relies on the theoretical currency of mobilities which helps to demonstrate how different modes of travel involve different embodied performances: "...they are forms of material and sociable dwelling-in-motion, places of and for various occasioned activities. Different means of transport provide contrasting experiences, performances and affordances" (Urry 2007:37). Here I will firstly draw on notions of mobility related to walking and train travel.

Walking is the most significant form in the history of human movement and evident in almost all other modes of movement. The principal features of life have been experienced through walking. Moreover, walking is crucial in generating a sense of place. Walking has created paths and trade routes, maps and guidebooks. The walking body also produces and reproduces social life in many different ways as the rhythms of the body and the footsteps made cause an array of biosocial practices. It is slow but still the commonest way to overcome the friction of distance and thus, part and parcel of multiple mobile socialities. Walking involves societally variable techniques of the body and differs greatly within and across different societies. There are different ways and styles of walking through different environments. Each kind of walking necessarily entails a set of bodily techniques –“each dependent upon different pre-cognitive ways of anticipating how to be in the world that surrounds and constructs each person” (Urry 2007:65). Walking involves mundane activities, forced activities and also activities of fulfilment. These range from going shopping to climbing mountains or going on expeditions. Moreover, it is “[t]hrough locomotion [that] the environment is perceived, known about, lived within...in locomotion one particularly strange ‘modern’ form is walking for its own sake, freely chosen, sending the bare body off into

environments...” (Urry 2007:65). Walking often only becomes possible in combination with other multiple technologies. These technologies are paving and pathways, places to walk to, rules and regulations about movement and access, other means of movement and also footwear and clothing. In combination with such technologies human bodies produce different capacities of walking bodies to walk the walk, to know how places are and to touch the world.

The introduction of the railway mobility system, however, brought about an historical shift from this history of travelling by feet. Where walking was predominantly a private affair, the railway introduced created new public spaces. The railway mobility system also connected people located in different places through these new mechanized mobile route-ways. The railway system re-ordered the outlines of time, space and everyday life. With this system human life also became immensely intertwined with machines. The railway machine is distinct in a sense as it locks together the route and the vehicle and forms a somewhat invisible entity (Schievelbusch 1986). It pulls carriages full of people at speed through the places in which people work and live. It introduces new sites of socialities such as the railways stations and compartments. Thus the railway machine enters and reshapes everyday social life. The mechanization of movement through railway system also induced a concern both for speed and for the timetabling of everyday life which brought about a temporal discipline. It set a new regime of time, based upon the power of clock-time which then became ubiquitous alongside the railway machine – “The timetable is in a way the nineteenth-century innovation, bringing together the railway machine, accurate clock-time, mass publication and scheduling across a national system” (Urry 2007:98). Thus the historical significance of the railway system or ‘train mobility’ was in restructuring the existing social relations between nature, time and space, and establishing the foundations of

industrialised travel and legitimating movement as one of the cardinal features of modernity (Symes 2007).

Due to the socio-political movement in the Himalayan region where the research took place in 2007-2008, the train service of the DHR was considerably disrupted. The current analysis is, thus, based on mainly ethnographic interviews taken from the field. I took several trips on the DHR from time to time and from place to place and the material generated was part direct observation, part direct participation, and part interactional and conversational in nature. Significantly, I also walked extensively along the track (nearly 35 km) from Kurseong to Darjeeling at different times as a comprehensive way to understand the embeddedness of the DHR in the locale. Methodologically it can be conceptualized as the ‘co-present immersion’ of a researcher in the field for observing and recording. However, it is argued that unlike other ethnographic research on train-travel, in the current research walking played a crucial role as much as travelling on the train itself. In this context, firstly I will give a brief description of the DHR track.

II Experiencing the Darjeeling Himalyan Railway

The DHR track and the Hill Cart Road on which the track is aligned are historically interlinked. The need for a railway was initially expressed by the tea industry: “[t]hen to get up the hills the stores necessary for the industry, and to take down to the sea the products of their toil, the tonga, the old bullock cart, the pack pony, and the human carrier bearing enormous loads on his back were found to be insufficient,. The result was an agitation for a railway...” (O’Malley 1907:30). Thus the DHR was constructed between 1879 and 1881 using the alignment of the Darjeeling Hill Cart Road. The B Class engine is the most successful one in the DHR line which dominated the DHR from 1889 till at least 1999 and is

still going strong. The speed of the train is 15km to 20km.



Figure 6:1: *DHR B Class Locomotive;*
Photo Courtesy: David Charlesworth

The track of the DHR, I argue, is crucial and indicative in the experience and embodiment of the DHR. With the establishment of Darjeeling as a tea production point and also as a strategic geopolitical centre of colonial India, it became important for the colonial administration to construct better transportation. The construction of the Hill

Cart Road begun in 1861 and the entire stretch from Siliguri to Darjeeling was completed in 1869. The road was a major

feat of engineering as it was 25 foot wide (average), 49 miles long and with a ruling gradient of 1:31. From Sukna to Ghoom, where the tracks rise from 533 to 7407 feet above sea level, the ruling gradient is 1 in 30.5 with the steepest 8km section having a gradient of 1 in 18. Over its 88.48 km stretch, there are 919 curves (74%), the sharpest of which is 120 degrees between Sukna and Rongtong. There is extensive use of short radius full loops and Z reverses to attain elevation. What is found in the journey is that the railway at times leaves the road altogether and at other times attains a different alignment by means of ‘loops’ and ‘reverses’. In the ‘loop’ the railway track circles around and passes over itself by a bridge, thereby quickly attaining a higher elevation and an immediately better alignment. In the ‘reverse’ the same objective is obtained by running the track back diagonally up the hill-side for a short distance, and then again resuming an alignment parallel to the original alignment but higher up the side of the mountain. The track thus criss-crosses the Hill Cart Road over 177 times.

Without the employment of tunnels, the track winds around the ridges and valleys of the hilly terrain crossing 5 major and 498 minor bridges (Weise 2005, TERI 1999).

In 1907, O'Malley wrote: "...the road on which it was constructed was ready made, and for the most part it was only necessary to lay the rails along it". Later critics found this to be an over-simplified comment on the engineering excellence of the DHR however, in my research I see that this road has made a unique complement to the DHR journey. Some of the major aspects that the DHR journey can impart are only because of its close inter-linkage with the hill-cart road.

Performing and Embodying the DHR

Conventional research on tourism studies were based on applied research (Hall and Page 2002) which were established in terms of understanding about places as territorially fixed identities where tourism planning, development and politics may occur and tourism impacts happen. Contemporary social and cultural theories of tourism have moved on from the previous line of understanding about place and started to take tourists' travel experiences into account which was hitherto viewed as an external element that destinations have to deal with. In this later phenomenon tourism has focused on the imaginations, discourses and mythologies that outline how places are perceived (Shields 1991, Gregory 1994, Urry 1995). This implicit understanding of place, however, has had a tendency to reduce places to visual formations only and, thus, neglects how places are sensed, used, and practised (Barenholdt et al 2004). From the social theory of the 1990s in examining the role of embodiment, studies have taken in the context of how tourist places are performed in practice. Explaining the work of Jokinen and Veijola (1994) Hannam states that: "...motivations for travel may emerge from a desire to immerse the body in contexts that have only previously been experienced through

visual representations” (2006:243).

The shifting attention to the practices and performances of tourists can therefore be considered as a move towards understanding the embodiment and sociality of practices and places where the making of places through performances comes to the forefront. Hence, place is no longer a fixed location or cultural imagination but is to be juxtaposed in analytical terms with more dynamic flows of tourists, images and culture (Coleman and Crang 2002). Coleman and Crang emphasize the importance of seeing places “from the perspective of a performance that takes them up and transforms them, redeploys them and connects them through metonymic relationships, or what de Certeau called spatial stories (1984)” (2002:10).

In the present context as I am thus analysing a form of train travel through the analysis of a place through performances. Through my field observations and from the interviews a recurrent theme comes about and that is: how the DHR has become an intrinsic part of the landscape. It has been mentioned elsewhere that:

The DHR showed what could be done with a narrow gauge in very challenging terrain. Interestingly enough, the DHR has never been excelled in terms of achieving its aims so economically and with such modest engineering works. This very modesty is one of its most remarkable features, and one that has never been equalled in such terrain elsewhere...its relationship to its environment is unusually intimate... (Lee 1999:12).

Hence, the DHR opens up possibilities of what Coleman and Crang (2002:10) note “about mobilising and reconfiguring spaces and places. Bringing them into new constellation and therefore transforming them”. The DHR track criss-crosses the Hill Cart Road at 177 points and the train famously passes through different vibrant locales and one of the most significant

performances of people that the DHR could induce because of its track and of its slow run is that one can get on and off the train while it is on the move and it is in this process that I argue that the DHR negotiates between place and people, not by being a stage for performance but by being itself an actor and taking initiative into this process. This becomes evident mostly from the versions of the people who belong to those locales as this is one of the usual but exciting performances to them:

There are many things about it like we can get on the running train anytime and then get off, take a tea and then come back and then get on again. (Local resident male 21)

Whenever I travel, I make journey by the toy train, I quickly get off from the running train to a loop just to enjoy a cup of tea, until the train has made a full circle to come up. I keep chatting with the local people and as the train comes up I get on it. I still do enjoy this nostalgia (Local resident and tour operator male 44)

This performance is juxtaposed with tourists' performances in experiencing the journey. To my question of what are the differences between the locals and the tourists in terms of experiencing the DHR, a 15years old schoolboy jokingly replied: "Tourists do not hang out of the train neither can they jump on and off the train which we do." For tourists to observe this very performance from inside the train adds a dimension, fills their discourses and memories afterwards as an inclusive part of the experience of the DHR journey as we can find from a comment like this one from a domestic tourist:

It serves useful human purposes and, at the same time delights a traveller's heart. We see anyone can get into it and anyone can also get off from it. It is a safe journey by all means. Unlike other trains it has an appearance and a route which do not arouse any fear of risk in people's mind... (Domestic tourist, male 65).

In this non-visual performance notably we find the absence of girls, however, as this

performance if emphatically gendered in the Indian context. The physical effort of running alongside the train or behind the train, of catching it and jumping on it excludes girls and engenders this performance as something related to the boyhood masculinity of the locals. In my focus group with a mix of sixteen boys and girls arranged in a school of Kurseong, one of the girls commented that:

Boys do take this train in a playful way, they jump on and off the train but girls don't do that. In our locality in Sonada boys do practice jumping on and off the train and kids try to follow the older boys, as girls we lack this experience. (Kurseong school student girl 14).

One of the boys from the group put it as:

For girls I think it is not the ride. They sometimes travel, and mostly see it from distance. How we relate ourselves to the train as boys is like participation, it is a kind of performance (Kurseong school student boy 14)

And another boy continued by normalising it this way:

It has become a culture of our boyhood like we boys do climb up the tree; similarly we do jump on and off the running train this is the relation... (Kurseong school student boy 15)

Thus as a local, he domesticates and inhabits the journey of the DHR. Hence the performance of getting on and off the train tends to the notion of performativity where the self is contingently and performatively produced and thus, it becomes one of the corporeal and social performances that make the journey of the DHR as 'touristic' for outsiders.

However, for both the tourist and the local, the experience of the DHR in its corporeal nature



Figure 6.2 ‘Popular performance’:
Hanging out of the Train. Photo Courtesy.
David Charlesworth

brings a ‘sensuous immediacy’ between the train and the traveller. As mentioned before due to its run through the high terrain the DHR track consists of some major engineering features such as loops, Z-reverses and others. In order to go up the steep route the pace of the train slows

down at times which one of the travellers describes as “this route climbs up as if counting each of its steps” and this process

of climbing up strikingly affects the traveller and becomes an embodied one – a hybrid relation between the traveller and the train: the human and non-human. One tourist put it thus:

Whenever the train was climbing from one height to another and the sound of the train was getting slower as the train was climbing from one height to another it seemed to be the train was getting out of breath under a burden like me. I was truly feeling for it. This experience was something unique; never to be had else...it was no longer a machine but a human being...as if a machine had assumed human feelings. I can still recollect that tiny little object was carrying us and it was getting exhausted. (Domestic tourist 62 male).

This complex relationality between the traveller and the mode of travel, thus, unfolds an aspect of mobilities in terms of the material culture of travel. Quoting Franklin (2003:98) it can be argued that it is precisely the “links and relationships” between humans and machines that become important. Here the DHR incorporates the human body with its movement and

enables the body to sense the place and its stiffness, to make the body feel it belongs to the place. Thus nonhuman machine empowers and enables human agency: “[w]e become involve with things. From this perspective tourist engage with material cultures...Things and technologies can be understood as ‘prostheses’ that enhance the physicality of the body and enable it to...sense realities that would otherwise be beyond its capability” (Parrinello 2001, Lury 1998, cited in Haldrup and Larsen 2007:278).

The introduction of the DHR as a hill passenger railway successfully demonstrated the nineteenth century phenomenon of a speeding mechanical apparatus which brought a new social connectedness, became an integral part of the human experience of this Himalayan landscape and also became established as familiar routinised feature of everyday life. However, the DHR has also emerges from the notion of railway machine described “as being like projectiles slicing through the landscape on level, straight tracks, deploying new building technologies of multiple cuttings, embankments, bridges and tunnels” (Urry 2007:94). The unique track of the DHR which is criss-crossing the road as well as its pace foreground an alternative notion of the railway to that which Urry (2007) describes. At the same time it is the ‘movement’ of the DHR that facilitates some of the corporeal mobilities of those who travel on it as another local put it: “It is not just getting on and off the train; if one is a fast-runner he can even overtake the train.” (Local resident male 25)

Train travel, here then, becomes mingled with that of travelling on foot. The boundary between walking or running and that of travelling on the train itself becomes blurred. Here the body becomes enabled to experience a place through which the DHR is passing as well as becoming corporeally alive by coping with the freely chosen difficulty of running alongside the train. Thus, we find where the railway system moved passengers around the spatial

system like a parcel or other goods – “like an anonymized parcel of flesh, shunted from place to place” (Thrift 1996:266), in the case of the DHR this anonymity fades out and allows the individual to come to terms with the place, the pace of the train and with one’s own practice of travelling, as one local resident describes:

During college life I used to get on and off the train and used to travel in short distances. It was part of an adventure at that time. Now the DHR invokes me because of its slow pace where I can get opportunity to see the landscape, to see inside the train. The DHR offers me time to see, to think, to interact with people both within and outside of the train more than any other mode of travel. (Local resident and tour operator male 44).

Similarly, another local resident stated that:

It is very slow it seems like sitting in a room with twenty other people. It takes three hours to cover 35km and during this time people start talking to each other eventually it becomes a place to socialize (Local resident male 22).

Watts (2008) has argued that following the notion of distributed personhood (Gell 1998) a passenger can be understood as both the person and the property – the material essential for meaningful social interaction; but this notion of distributed personhood is stretched here even beyond the train to the outside world – the road, the market, the people and the material outside the train – with which a traveller makes meaningful social interactions or simply brings his or her own bodily mobility into play. At the same time, the notion of the packed passenger and unpacked passenger also become extraneous as in this journey there is a blurring of the boundary of being inside the train and being outside the train. The interactions and activities often stretch out of the train and thus leave little possibility of remaining as compressed packed passenger. The notion of the unpacked passenger is also more extended in comparison with other train journeys as it renders more possibilities to change than are

incorporated with the environment outside the train. The endearing name of the DHR as a ‘toy train’, in this context, sometimes bears an extended meaning related to the playfulness of the body: “[t]o me the name toy train means it is not just a vehicle it is a thing to enjoy, travelling on this train for half hour or an hour we feel relaxed and a kind of natural enjoyment” (Kurseong school student boy 13). In this way it develops aspects of leisured embodiment:

It is the fact that if you are going to the office, you are in hurry you cant travel by it but if you have a leisure time say you are to a picnic or sort of thing then it is the best mode of transport in this age...travelling on this train gives an experience that we have an extra life, we have another life that we can entertain ourselves. (Kurseong school student boy 13).

Urry states that such practices nearly always involve travel over and beyond other places, to get to these almost sacred sites of leisure: “[t]hese practices are located in often distinct and specialised ‘leisure spaces’ that are geographically and ontologically distant from work and domestic routines and sites” (2001:243). In contrast to that, however, the DHR runs through the mundane space along the main road on which numerous vehicles run, people go to work and perform their everyday tasks. Thus, we can argue that the DHR, within the frame of a ‘mundane-scape’, always offers an alternative way of travelling, of both work and leisure embodiment. It transcends touristic travel and comes to play in this mundane sphere. It can be argued that it is certainly the ‘pace’ of the train that affords such practices and enables people to be engaged kinaesthetically:

...by travelling in other vehicle we feel some jerking, some treacherous feeling in the bending but it does not happen on this train. On this train the speed is uniform and slow and we do not feel any kind of pain or treacherous feeling (Kurseong school student 14 boy).

We can begin to see how the ‘pace’ of the DHR invokes different performed, mobile bodies and it brings the role of affordances in a crucial way as well. Affordances, have been defined as: “...both objective and subjective, both part of the environment and part of the organism. Affordances stem from the reciprocity between the environment and the organism and derive from how people are kinaesthetically active within their world” (Costall 1995, cited in Urry 2001:244). One of my interviewees gives an example of this:

This train offers one particular fun. Suppose, somebody wants to go towards Darjeeling and suppose again he has missed the train but the fun is that there are numerous winding hilly short-cuts in our region. So the train leaves the station and moves in the usual direction, and the man, following one of the short-cuts reaches the point on the train’s way well before the train itself has reached there. As soon as the train reaches there he jumps into it. (Local resident 45 male)

Here, the hilly terrain plays a crucial role as an affordance that enables the locals’ body to reach the train through an unusual and playful manner; on the other hand the pace of the DHR through this hilly terrain, full of curves and other geographical features, opens up the possibilities of other such affordances. This process shows that such affordances are implicit within a physical milieu and this implicitness is directly connected to bodily capacities (Michael 1996). Watts (2008) also describes the train journey is “not a seamless flow of times and spaces from departure to arrival, but was discontinuous,” and this is true of the journey of the DHR as well, particularly where the journey time consists of a complex mixture of stopping points at stations, water points where the train has to stop to take water for boiler, Z-reverses and other points where the train stops in order to move upward and for mechanical breakdowns among other reasons. The reasons are often manipulated by the people who travel. It shows how time is an effect of situated social and material interactions or tasks (Ingold 1995, Watts 2008).

The temporality of the DHR travel which is much localised and variable, which relies heavily upon how things and people interact, also evokes a sense of romanticism that one domestic tourist explains in this way:

It was during market hour in Sonada. The train stopped longer, we had tea then the train started. And another time in Tindharia train came in before time and left in before time as well. It has such a fanciful nature that it is not meant for those who are very calculative and matter of fact people. It is appealing as a way to escape from fixity and to my sense the element of romance starts from here. (Domestic tourist male 41).

Again the notion of a packed and highly mobile passenger gets excluded in terms of the making sense of the DHR journey. Here, people who are travelling and driving the DHR are resisting the flow of time by halting longer or departing before time. Thus travel time becomes constituted through social action and by people's conscious efforts to resist or break the flow of time. The journey time which is mutually constituted by the pace of the DHR and that of people's actions in relation to this mode of travel unfolds an alternative interpretation of the train journey. It is the *de-acceleration* that enables people to exert travel time in a way different to the usual train travel and thus transcends normal train travel:

[the] DHR journey is fascinating. It is some sort of obsession. I don't mind taking 12hours journey. I feel happy sitting inside; looking at the sceneries. I feel good thinking that I have seen these 60 years ago, my grandfather had seen similar things hundred years ago. It is that acute nostalgia that I do feel while travelling on this train. It is that our forefathers had travelled the same way, got the same sceneries. Now it is told that it takes 7 hours to come to Darjeeling but we should keep in mind that the DHR is not there for the sake of time consumption only. It is there to experience the

travelling that our forefathers used to do. It is matter of interpretation –the DHR story, the long journey, the scenery; it needs exploration as well as explanation. (Local resident, male 68).

Movement, Landscape and the DHR

Despite the different travelling practices that have evolved around the DHR, the prevailing aspect of the experience of ‘seeing’ while travelling on the DHR as well as ‘seeing’ the DHR in the context of landscape come to the fore because the visual is acknowledged as a more identifiable element of the touristic experience compare to non-visual senses which are considered to be somewhat ineffable (Edensor 2006). Certainly, the DHR plays a paradigmatic role as one of the key mobilities technologies and thus offers a ‘mobility of vision’ (Schivelbusch 1979). Since its introduction, the DHR has been running through the space of the hill region which is mingled with many other ‘task-scapes’ of the local residents lives. However, despite this fact, the journey of the DHR easily surpasses the notion of mundane travel because of its relationship to the landscape through which it passes. Weise (2005:24) tries to put this in some detail:

The railway begins on the plains of West Bengal and soon begins climbing through a remnant of lowland jungle, including stands of teak. As the railway climbs, so the flora changes and its upper sections are dominated by enormous Himalayan pines, which in misty weather give a surreal quality to the landscape. It frequently hugs the ages of hillsides with drops, often of thousands of feet, to the plains and valleys below. Towering over the entire scene is the perennially snow-covered bulk of Kanchenjunga, at 28,146ft (8579m) the third highest mountain in the world. From

Kurseong (31miles or 49km from Siliguri at an elevation of 4846ft or 1524m) the railway offers frequent views of this stupendous mountain, which by Ghoom dominates the entire landscape. Thus from the tiny train, the passenger can look down on the stifling tropical plains of Bengal or up into the eternal snows of the highest peaks of the Himalaya. No railway anywhere else offers such sight.

Conventional train journeys, due to their excessive and unnatural speeds, reduce and intervene in the traveller's imagination: but the very nature of the movement that the DHR has nourishes the traveller's imagination in a different manner. Larsen (2001) has argued that the mechanical movement of the train, its rationalized and coercive temporalities, high velocity and all of its rational features such as its straight tracks, bridges, tunnels and slicing through the landscape on different levels – all diminish the picturesque qualities of a virginal landscape. This notion of conventional train and its journey – becomes dismissed when it comes to the features of the DHR and the experience of travelling on it. As one local boy put it:

The other trains go on through a separate track, over the bridge but here on the train we travel through the whole market, through the whole town, people from inside the train can touch other peoples' hand who are outside the train and even can talk to them while the train is moving as it moves so slowly across the market, in the town and suddenly on to a bridge (Kurseong school student boy 15).

Thus, the track of the DHR – the way it has been laid out originally, and the movement of the train through this track, contingently make the relation with the landscape in a way which quite spontaneously resists the landscape from being turned into a 'non-place' (Auge 1995). Its various criss-crosses, stops, loops, and reverses on its way move to act as if it has a sensuous nature that is outside this world: "The glimpse of the nature from the train window was looking as if we were flying up in the galactic world." (School student Kurseong boy

14). Here the DHR as a hybrid of mobility and visualization acts upon the travellers. A traveller's vision tends to capture the phenomena while travelling on the train. The DHR offers an abundance of this and in a way which sometimes is akin to that of 'gazing': when a traveller can even take a decisive moment, whether or not to capture that in photograph, or to contemplate the visual field. Indeed, I found from local people's comments as well as from my own observations that: "tourists do take photographs of every step." (Local boy 11 Kurseong railway station).

This practice of taking photographs while journeying on the DHR is a kind of celebration of the lingering moments and registering visions that the DHR offers which is otherwise largely impossible in other train journeys. However, the slow motion of this train never allows the vision to be fixed into any preferential moment nor let it be a series of mere fleeting images. A traveller can be reflexively engaged in visualizing the scenery, grasping some of it or let it flow in front of eyes through choice:

The little train clawed its way round impossibly tight curves and ran past people's front doors, and there were bright colours of the dwellings...and then we have come up above the jungle and we were on a hillside it was stunning scenery! And I just kept thinking all the time 'the rest must be a disappointment. It can't get any better'. Kurseong and then above Kurseong...the change. Running through the bazaar at Kurseong and Sonada and so on was as if you were just hit with one image after the next. (Western tourist, UK 52).

As a speeding machine, the train usually undermines the possibility of a penetrative look but the DHR shows it the other way round. It even renders a 'close' look to the details of the outside landscape:

What enchants me about the DHR is that a railway route stretching close by forest

climbing up the hill. The trees screen the route. The route seems to have merged with the entire landscape. There, indeed, exists such a route meant for the train –this is what amazes me. The train climbs up as if counting each of its steps...I think for this very reason this journey offers abundant romanticism. (Domestic tourist, male 65).

From both of these comments what we find is that the intimacy of the train route and the speed of the train together make the vision close and immersing; fleeting but not blurred at all. Since we already know that visual images are multidimensional and recurrently changing, we are conscious about the tendency for some closer images to blur. We also already know that the individual perception of space with sight is “one of relative movement, or stability against motion, which is partly realised through the distance between foreground and background, and between our own motion and that of the objects observed.” (Rodaway 1994:124-25). However, the DHR as a hybrid of mobility and visualization deconstructs this entire notion. It has an optimum speed that resists at all times to get the objects, whether close or distant, to blur. The vision it offers of any object is more apparent. Thus landscapes are not obliterated from the vision while journeying on the DHR. As in one of above quotations it was explained that “you were just hit one image after the next”. The images are at best serialised but thick and rich in detail, depending on the traveller’s reflexive engagement. In this way the journey of the DHR to some extent offers the privilege of moments of being the flaneur in terms of visualizing and capturing the landscape in a slow and detailed manner. Thus, I argue, the ‘mobility of vision’ attached to the DHR at times falls somewhere in between the gaze and the glance. As Rodaway argues:

Vision is not presented with a picture of a totality to view at leisure, to explore methodically like a work of art, but rather visual experiences flow past us, we catch glimpses of this and that, identify and linger on this and that, and so build up a collection of images and changes in our minds, that is, we compose a view. In

remembering experience, we tend to reduce the flow of visual experience to specific images or scenes that is to moments, to snapshots. (1994:125).

However, while travelling on the DHR travellers can compose views in both ways. The body could be engaged reflexively in 'picturing practices' or it could be an immobile 'armchair' spectator (Larsen 2001). The optimum speed of the DHR gives much scope to the traveller to be engaged in having a more penetrative look to the outside, alternatively it allows one to have a mobile travel glance: a visual cinematic experience of the moving landscape but in slow motion. In the latter case the journey appears to one traveller in this way:

It is just like you are reclining in an easy chair and seeing around you an extraordinary landscape which has started moving. The effect thus produced on you is the same as that you experience here. Seated by a window you make yourself comfortable and the landscape is moving and moving – this is sure to cast a spell on you. (Domestic tourist, male 41).

Here, the traveller becomes assimilated with the velocity of the train and finds aesthetic pleasure in the fleeting appearances within the frame of the moving machinery. In so doing he or she attempts to grasp the totalities, the vastness and the fluid rhythm of the landscape. The experience, thus, bears a resemblance to a "cinematic sensation of mobile landscape images" (Larsen 2001:92). However, in spite of the crucial role it plays, the mobility of the DHR cannot fully seal-off the passenger from the "exterior" world. I argue that in the mobility of the DHR there always remains a blurring aspect which allows exterior mobility into the interior and vice-versa:

Generally the journey is very slow and there is a kind of immersion into the landscape. When we can travel on a faster mode of transport we cannot understand that...There is an obvious visual transition. Then transition of landscape, transition of the feature of people, transition of the pace...in the plain the pace people maintain in

their movement obviously up in the hill say, in Tindharia people move on a much slower pace and we can see it very clearly when travelling on the DHR. (Domestic tourist, male 41)

The DHR journey, hence does not fully claim the ‘autonomization of sight’ and cannot reduce exterior world into a mere framed, horizontal visionscape, rather it allows the traveller’s eyes to register the various mobilities of the exterior world in an almost intact fashion even when the train itself is moving. So in terms of the ‘vision-scape’ that the DHR proposes to the traveller, it is of a choreographic nature which consists of both its own mobility as well as the different mobilities of others in the outside world it passes through. In this way it drifts away from De Certeau’s ‘speculative experience of the world’ in the train journey: “...being outside of these things that they stay there, detached and absolute, that leave us without having anything to do with this departure themselves; being deprived of them, surprised by their ephemeral and quiet strangeness. Astonishment and abandonment...They do not change their place any more than I do; vision alone continually undoes and remakes the relationships between these fixed elements.” (1984:111-12).

The immersion into the landscape brings details and particularities that exist in the landscape including their respective other mobilities. The following comment of a traveller affirms that:

Since it was for the first time that I was visiting the Himalayas and since the toy train was taking me into the interior of the Himalayas, the Himalayas and the train were mingled together, the two become inseparable in my mind. The second thing is ‘cloud’. I have never seen before the cloud rising from some place below, making its way into the coaches of the train. This was happening off and on right after the train had crossed Kurseong. The cloud was entering through one window, was moistening our clothes and then passing out of the window. (Domestic tourist, male 61).

I had similar experiences during my first ever journey on the DHR in February 1985, when the forest was very dense in places and due to it being the winter season there were frequent encounters with clouds due to the altitude. The windowpane did not allow me to ‘see’ and the rail did not just allow me to ‘move through’ but both still allowed me to have a very tactile experience with the environment. I was able to be in touch with the leaves of the trees, with the moss in the rock face, the cloud as mentioned in above quotation was moistening my clothes quite often and more over the coal dust was flying in the air, leaving my clothes dusty and filling the air with its smell mingled with the smells of wild moss. The random inter-mobility of the train and the cloud created surreal and choreographic moments between the train and the landscape and offered me ever-changing images of the landscape. The changes occurred not just by the movement of train but also due to the moving clouds as well which were covering one side of the hill while fleeing away from the other side and the landscape was like a kaleidoscope. Thus the visual notion that this journey offered me at that time was a mix between the visual and the embodied one.

The visual is not only related to the journey of the DHR but the DHR itself considered as a visual component of the landscape. The sight of the train moving along the landscape of the



hill has been proliferated in many different travel brochures. The DHR surely holds a brand value for the destination Darjeeling and it has long been perpetuated in media (especially in Bollywood movies) as an icon of a romantic mode of travel and has

become a ‘travel motivator’ (Beeton 2005) even before the concept of ‘destination branding’

came into being. Describing how the DHR is viewed while moving through the landscape, one interviewee stated that:

It's almost like an enormous garden railway. It follows the landscape. It's like having a big railway in your garden, where you can see so much of it. You can see it going round the flower beds and things like this. So it's having a toy train in your back garden but on a bigger scale. You are close to it all the time. It's never behind fences or hidden from view. You can see it all the time. It's the way it goes through the landscape but doesn't spoil it in any way. (Western tourist UK 53 male)

The sight of the DHR in the context of the hill region and that of the view it offers in its journey, in one way or the other, successfully affirms many different meanings and associations attached to the term 'landscape'. Watching it from afar in the backdrop of the region gives the meaning of the landscape as a visual representation which has often been considered as a romantic one. Whereas the relationship it creates to the space it moves through induces meanings of the landscape as a way of seeing, a technique and also a relationship between people and environment (Rodaway 1994). In this way it develops different metaphors and materiality of the space and enables a traveller or a beholder to grasp those metaphors and materiality. The proximity with the train and the journey being inside the train gives a traveller a notion of the surrounding space: "... a surrounding space that is touched...a sense of smell, a space where people can be met" (Crouch 2000); and a distant view of and from the DHR arouses the notion of far-off spaces which can be reached both through vision and in sound of the train itself. However, these different notions are not separable, but rather interactive.

Community, Mobility and the DHR

The DHR climbs the Himalayan mountains and links two geographical worlds – the plains

and the hills, and it does this in a fashion which incorporates and manifests different aspects of mobilities. However, UNESCO judged the DHR as a World Heritage Site on the bases of their criteria which also entails that this railway is an outstanding example of the influence of an innovative transportation system on the social and economic development of a multicultural region. Indeed, the mobility of the DHR has had immense social and economic influence. It played a major role in the development of the tea industry in Darjeeling and it also enabled the expansion of population which became more mixed in terms of culture and ethnicity. Settlements alongside the railway track have turned into different vibrant locales of the Darjeeling region over time. Thus, the DHR has historically become routed through the community. Its interwoven nature with the community has been interpreted by many locals as the way in which the: “DHR runs into our nerves because the train line is within a stone-throw from our houses” (Local resident male 56)



Figure 6:4: *‘Taskscape’: DHR within Community. Photo Courtesy: David Charlesworth*

To understand the relation between the DHR and the community it is essential to address the notion of ‘task-scapes’ (Ingold and Kurttila 2000). The DHR in a sense is an aspect of the everyday that expresses itself in the community. It falls into the realm of the everyday, familiar space of the community where locals perform largely unreflexive

habits. The DHR track belongs to the site which is meant for the grounded routines of the locals and to some extent the train itself is instrumental to some of the regular activities and performances of the locals. In places along the route of the train, we see kids hop on and off the train and this has been going on generation after generation. They are going places but at

the same time it is a play for them. For these people it is an “unnoticed framework of practices...in which we dwell” (Ingold and Kurttila 2000 cited in Edensor 2006:29). The activities that have evolved around the DHR give the train a highly domesticated nature which local people see as a signifier of their identity:

Everyone who grows up in this place will have used this train at some point of time for something important say for example the school student...they use the train a lot so what happens...we go to school by the train everyday, we go somewhere everyday and the train has a role in it, we meet people...in a way it does affect the identity of this region and of us. (Local resident male 21).

As an immersed practice and routine movement, the accumulation of recurring actions with regard to the DHR train become sedimented in the bodies of the local community and ensures a sense of being in place. In this case, the activities are mapped on to the DHR in a regular way, following certain times, through the predictable track and altogether give an important sense of consistency to the space of the community. This is often performed and experienced collectively so that to give a sense of place as home. As explained by Edensor: “[t]his is the taskscape, the terrain on which quotidian manoeuvres and modes of dwelling are unreflexively carried out, a habitat organized to enable continuity and stability, and recreated by regular existential practices.” (2006:29). This taskscape has been formed historically as the DHR has had its major workforce settled alongside its track and it was the main mode of transport in the Darjeeling region until the 1960s. From his childhood memory one local person recalled the role of the DHR in this way:

In my childhood during 60s it was very vibrant and lively train that time it was the main mode of transport, people used to come all way to attend the *Haat* (market) it was quite lively affair. It has been being with us for such a long time that it has become like a human being for us I feel like my old buddy is coming. We know when

it is coming, we know the whistle, we know the tempo goes on, we feel sad when it is not there, we feel energetic, full of confidence when we hear the whistle, this is a sentimental attachment we have with this train. (Local resident male 66).

In this way, the everyday practices in and around the DHR, and the habitual engagement with it, have been inscribed on the body of the community as a whole. Over time, this has sustained a normative unquestioned disposition in the minds of the locals as a sense of being in place and has provided a necessary existential comfort to them. The habits related to the DHR which developed over generations in the minds of the people have established a 'cultural community' who are tackling the world around them with familiar manoeuvres (Edensor 2007). A local expressed this by explaining the train as something very 'personal' and thus:

Even now whenever the train passes everybody stops and looks at this just wants to see it is running. Even though they do not ride every day, still to see, hear and to feel its presence is something reassuring. It is a kind of mindset that had been established here. In the olden days it provided us employment and stability in our lives. Since then it is looked upon as a stable factor. (Local resident male 62)

Indeed the relation between the DHR and its adjacent community is primarily based on proximity and banal mobility. The space of the DHR site is juxtaposed with the space of the community and their everyday activities. The DHR practically runs extremely close to schools, shops, and other public places and more importantly passes, as near as it can get to, almost through people's houses. Thus, it keeps defying the dichotomy of the public and the private. There is always a 'potential fluidity' (Crouch 2003) in the relation between the two – the train and the community – which constantly opens up possibilities of going further in sensation and desire. As one local boy asserted, it is 'culturally meant' for the life of the region to have a train like this; to see every morning a tiny train that is passing very close by

the window of his bedroom, and it is a culture of the community as boys jump on and off the running train in terms of celebrating their boyhood. The diverse social and cultural activities, low level of restriction and confinement and different incompatible juxtapositions give the DHR travel experience a characteristic which is full of rich sensory experiences, which is in particular very appealing to the Western traveller in his or her quest for ‘sensory otherness’ (Edensor 2006) in contrast to the modern spatial predictability. As one western traveller put it:

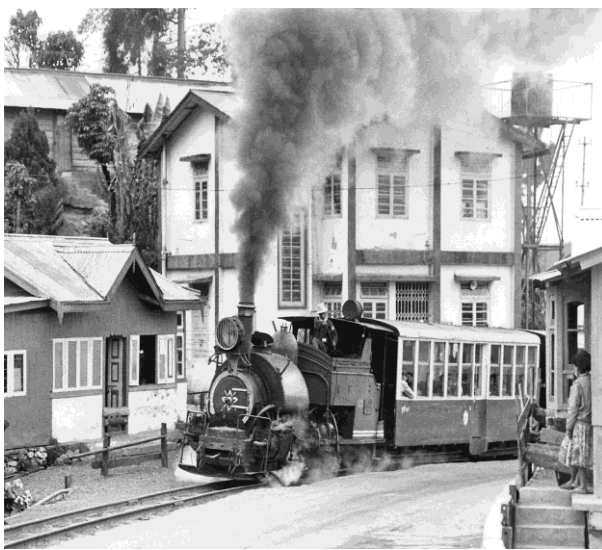


Figure 6.5: *Juxtaposed Spaces of DHR site and Community. Photo Courtesy: David Charlesworth*

It's possibly the most spectacular railway in the world, but it's certainly the most romantic because it is intertwined with the local community. People come out to wave and watch the train go by and you sit in a carriage and you are inches away from people's front doors and from the bazaars. You can reach out and take something off a

counter. (Western Tourist UK male 53)

The process reveals a carnivalesque spirit between the traveller and the community through



Figure 6.6: *'A railway only when a train passes' Photo Courtesy: David Charlesworth*

an indeterminate sensibility which affirms that which can only be palpable by feeling and by imagination. The dynamics of the DHR and the community has been observed by the traveller not just in terms of proximity of the train and the

community space. It was also observed that the railway track itself is a specific site for community activities and bears a rich sense of 'taskscape':

Local people know the timetables well and as space is limited they make the best of it. Traders will use it to display their wares, children use it as a traffic-free playground, dogs sleep in the sun and elderly gentlemen bring out their table and chairs for a peaceful conversation or a game of Checkers or Backgammon. It is amazing to watch this scene change as a train approaches. The obliging driver gives a distinct early warning from his engine, and like a boat parting a reed bed the shoppers, traders, dogs and children make way for the approaching train. Tables, chairs, fruit and vegetables, boxes and crates are all removed. We have a railway... but only for a few seconds.....everything is replaced as the buffer of the last carriage passes by... and until the next time, the railway has gone. (Western traveller UK male 53)

Hence it is stated further that: "it is a railway only when a train passes." The community here intrudes within the narrow and specific site of the railway track which is technically meant for the train only. But in absence of the train or in between the timing for two trains the space is utilized in a more unpredictable, innovative and carnivalesque manner by the community. In this case, it is not the train but the community that inscribes itself on the DHR; creating inter-spatiality and exerting extended and innovative meanings to the DHR track. To put it otherwise the track is turned into a 'place to play' (Urry and Sheller 2004) and a place for rich social intertextuality.

Apart from the community in general, the DHR also renders an important durable meaning to the many people who work for this railway. Unlike other railways the industrial part of the DHR such as its workshop, the loco shed etc are situated within the periphery of the community. Historically the employment of the DHR was localised and thus a blurring of the

boundaries between work and life always existed there. As one retired railwayman explained, the relation of working life to community life was, and is, at best a mixed and juxtaposed one. Moreover, within the workforce there were also many interrelated functions like the driver was doing the duty of a guard and the guard was doing the duty of a points-man; dispersed out of a feeling of personal attachment as the DHR runs through them even when they are not actually working on it. Hence I argue that the DHR has always created a liminal space for its workforce. For example, one employee describes the difference between the work-experience of the DHR and other railways this way:

I worked in Dibrugarh workshop in Assam. There I used to have no contact with the outer world during my working hours, but here, say, I am working inside the workshop, something happens out there on the track, we rush. Again, the train passes so close by the workshop that it seems where am I working exactly: In the workshop, on the train or outside in the community? I feel as if I am part of a broader community. (Railwayman 51 Tindharia workshop).

Thus for an employee, the DHR exists on at least two levels: when he is at work as well as when he is not at work. This blurring boundary between working lives and community lives creates shared and durable meanings for the DHR and is often expressed in a posture which is more personal and attached. A traveller exclaimed as he observed this attachment:

Have you ever seen an engine with a garland wound round its chimney –as for myself I have never seen one. I came across such an engine fitted to the toy train, wearing withered garland may be driver or stoker or somebody else has put it...Fantastic! (Domestic tourist, male 31).

During my interviews with the railwaymen it was argued by them many times that it is because of this personal attachment the DHR has been running for so long time:

There are many people in this workshop whose grandfathers, fathers –all have worked

here. So when we are here we feel it is something like our family asset and we should maintain it properly. This is why it sustained for such a long time. (Railwayman 51 Tindharia workshop).

What comes out, I argue, is that the liminality of the space that the DHR renders to its employees combined with the space of the community, are enmeshed and altogether make the fabric of the relations between the community and the DHR.

The DHR reigns over other sensory paradigms of the community as well. One of the most important of which is the sound of the train. People assert that: “Wherever we remain in the region we can at least hear the sound of the train” (Local resident, male 21). I argue that the sound of the train is inherent in the qualities of the place and is crucial in constructing the ‘lay geographical knowledge’ (Crouch 1999) about the place as well. The ‘soundscape’ of the DHR is a sensory paradigm which is one of the culturally located modes of sensory experiences for the community:

I live down in the tea garden I cannot see the train but can hear the whistle and whenever I hear the sound of the train it reminds me that I belong to the Darjeeling region. (Kurseong college student female 20).

Like the proximity and tactility with the train, the sound also reinstates the sense of place in the minds of the local people:

When you hear the whistle and the sound *chuk chuk* and get the smell of burning coal that means it is toy train and it is Darjeeling! (Local boy 12 Sonada Railway station).

In fact, all throughout my field-walking I found every time and everywhere the sound of the train. Remote villages up in the hills and far from the main town, even in those places where the sight of the train is impossible to get to the whistle of the train reaches as the train passes though the main stations and moreover it echoes and amplifies in places due to the hill

landscape and thus creates an even closer presence to the DHR than it perhaps really is. The sound of the train becomes like a leitmotif all over the region and constructs an auditory geography:

I would go to school by train in my childhood and apart from that while our classes used to go on we never used to hear the sound of vehicles passing by on the road but we always used to hear the whistle of the train. For me it is the memory that gets me attached to it. What I have done when I was a kid with the train and the sound everyday... (Local resident male 23).

More importantly community people bear a somatic memory of this as one put it:

Every day we hear the sound of the train coming but one morning if we do not hear the sound we feel like something is missing may be in pragmatic sense we don't do anything for this train but we do take care of it in moral sense. (Local school student in Kurseong, 15).

Thus, the sonic effect of the DHR confirms the social meanings of it being in the region, being part of the community and also having the DHR within it. The community is imbued with the sound-scape of the DHR and the sensory experience it gives is something cumulative and accomplished. The DHR makes auditory and to some extent also olfactory geographies of the region and this 'lay geographical knowledge' the locals emphasise in making sense of their place. Hence, ultimately the DHR turns out to be the embodiment of the hills. This embodied significance of the DHR within the community is expressed not only through different performances but also through other gestures of the community; some of which are quite subtle in nature. As one traveller put it:

When the train passes through the Siliguri bazaar in the plain nobody notices it, nobody looks at the train but right after Sukna people look at the train pay attention to it, we can see people are watching from their windows whenever the train passes any

locality. They can *afford* the time in watching the train passing which the people in the plain cannot. This transition of life, of life style we can understand in the DHR travel. (Domestic Traveller male 41; emphasis mine)

The DHR has existed on other levels too. For an economically marginal area like the Darjeeling region, the people's livelihoods used to be dependent on the DHR not just in terms of employment, but also, for example, water supply, as people used to take the hot water discharged by the engine:

There is a water point in Tung station. When the train stops and discharges hot water you can see the children from near by locality come and take the hot water. It is very usual thing over there and a very sensitive example of how the train is related to the peoples' everyday lives. (Domestic Traveller male 41).

In this way the DHR exists intimately with the community it passes through. It exists through different familiar manoeuvres of the people which strengthen their affective and cognitive links between the train and community. Hence, both the DHR and the community space become intrinsically worked, reworked and negotiated. The quotidian practices of the community in relation to the DHR have been confirmed as part of becoming: a sensual experiencing and understanding of the community about the railway. The process has always been and still is open-ended, generative and fluid: "constantly attaching, weaving...constantly mutating and creating" (Harrison 2000:502). The mobility of the DHR has historically constructed and developed the community and the community has inputted meaning into the DHR which is more symbolic rather than structural, which is not susceptible to objective description, but only to interpretation; as one of the locals interpreted:

It was the first technology that was introduced in this region. Eventually all other technological development start coming up and our thinking started developing over the time. So it has become a linking up with the development of our culture. This train

has introduced us to the whole world. We see this train daily, so in one way or the other it is there in our lives. Generation after generation in our childhood we run behind the train, it is a kind of excitement, a feeling which flows from one generation to another and also when we hear about this train from our older generation like my own grandfather who was a soldier he used to talk about the cargo train; in those days it was there and it is still here so a kind of thrill that I do feel about this train. (Local resident male 22).

III Conclusions

In this chapter I have analysed the DHR through the ways in which it incorporates different aspects of mobilities. It has been widely acknowledged that advanced transportation transforms ways of seeing the world in accordance with the speed and movement of those transports and introduces new seductions of the road and of experiences that caused by sheer speed and acceleration. However, in contrast the DHR develops a notion of existentially authentic, non-trivial experiences as a past mode of transport. By placing the DHR at heart of mobilities both through its material and discursive practices what is significant is its deceleration, a very non-conformist way of journeying that brings out different sensuous aspects of rail travel which stem from different travel practices in and around the DHR. The current discussion took a non-representational theoretical approach which addressed practices, spaces, subjects, knowledge and embodiment in relation to the DHR. It has shown how the various socio-material relations are constructed through different embodied practices in and around the DHR. In this context I discussed the performing and embodying of the DHR where the focus was on the popular performance of getting on and off the train – how it incorporates a different geographical concern with socio-spatiality. These particular aspects of the movement of the DHR also bring out very different notions of the relations between

mobilities and the visual interpretation and engagement with the landscape. As is known, place is a pervasive component in leisure and tourism, thus, it was shown how the movement of the DHR constructs a sense of place through visual practices and how the traveller's eyes register the landscape while travelling on the DHR. This sense of place comes out more intimately in the third part of this analysis where I tried to analyse the relations between the train and the community. The historical construction of the community alongside the DHR track has evolved but the DHR has always had a crucial role in it. The focus in particular, was on the inter-relationship of the locale and the DHR and how they (re)inscribe on to each other. Quite consciously I have tried to bring more voices and observations of people into this text without closure to give it a more polyphonic form cohering the sensuous, the social and the poetic dimensions of DHR travel. Thus, in this empirical chapter based on mobilities paradigm I tried to show what Sheller and Urry (2004) argued as reshaping of space, place and presence on the material due to specifically located material practices which, in present context, is the everyday transportation of the DHR and material cultures related to it. In so doing this chapter goes beyond the constraint of the 'a-mobile' and dominant mode of representational analysis of the DHR. This empirical chapter, thus, I argue gives an innovative way of understanding the DHR travel as in here the very 'mobile' entity of the DHR has been taken into account and has been analysed instead of framing and confining it into certain ideological frame of representation which we have seen in previous analysis. Hence, in other way, this chapter provides empirical evidences to the theoretical currency of 'new mobilities' paradigm by applying a subterranean and innovative approach to mobility in the context of the DHR.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding chapter I will reflect on my research and I will revisit the aims and objectives of my research showing how they have been structured within this thesis and fulfilled through the research. I will also reflect on that which I have gained during my research including the limitations that I have found in this work. My self reflection, I argue, could indicate the potential directions of future research related to the DHR. The DHR, like many other railways in the world is a socio-technical system. Thus a proper appreciation of the historical significance of the DHR is necessary in order to see this railway as both the product of, and an influence on, wider social circumstances (Weise 2005). In my research I have attempted to take the DHR out of ‘loco-centrism’ and to place it in the context of social theory. I have brought together two different contextual explorations which help to understand the multifaceted aspects of the DHR in a critical manner.

According to the aims and objectives of the research, firstly, I have completed an ethnographic study of the DHR. In so doing, I have applied various methods of data-collection to a number of people ranging from railway and other administrative officials and tourists to school children and people including the railwaymen who live alongside the DHR track. Following the definitional aspects of ethnography I was in sustained and direct social contact with agents over an extended period of time and tried to write up the encounter – respecting, recording and representing, at least partially in its own terms – what is called ‘the irreducibility of human experience’ (Willis and Trondman 2002) – within my thesis. All of these aspects were crucial to the analyses – both representational and non-representational – of my thesis. There was an ongoing attempt to place specific encounters, events and understandings into a fuller, more meaningful context of the DHR. Significant to this process

was my 'mobile ethnography'. 'Mobile ethnography' is a subterranean (Urry 2007) concern which I brought to the fore as a primary way of inquiring into the DHR. As I detailed in the methodology chapter, this particular way of doing fieldwork informed me about the heterogeneous details and elements related to the DHR which were otherwise impossible to grasp, especially via representations. It allowed an aesthetic reflexivity that offered me potential meanings of the DHR not graspable only by concepts, but also by emotion and imagination. I argue that this sensory experience helped me gain insights about the representational economy of the DHR: the way DHR has been perpetuated as a 'romantic' mode of travel and I further argue, I have been able, therefore, to decipher the meanings of that romanticism and other representational aspects which have been proliferated about the DHR. My ethnography on the DHR was an embodied experience and sensuous way of knowing about the DHR which involved the interpersonal communications with the people of my subject community. My institutional knowledge of Western academia and my being a Bengali woman in terms of ethnicity and also carrying out research within a Nepali community, were juxtaposed. I gained a 'felt insight' into the life of the other people in this context and that sometimes questioned my own ontological reality, too. Thus it was not merely the production of research data but rather the way such data were transformed into a narrative combining research design, fieldwork and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically and personally situated accounts of the DHR.

Secondly, I critically evaluated the discursive representations of the DHR in the light of the postcolonial theoretical context. In my research, the postcolonial context has been referred to as both the historical end of colonialism as well as the significant changes in power structures after the official end of colonialism and also the continuing discursive effects of colonialism after its ending. I explored the DHR as a colonial product and, hence, the generic aspects of

the DHR travel reflected into the narratives produced by the colonizers. I further explored how that very notion of colonial travel has been perpetuated through modern day travel narratives and through the official representations of the DHR. The recurrent theme of romance and nostalgia attached to DHR travel and its discursive representation produces a kind of 'aesthetic imperialism' even after the official end of colonialism and the significant changes that have happened in the ownership of the DHR. Thus it has been shown how the representation of the DHR has been and is still being produced by the dominant ideology and political imperatives where the colonizers and the colonized are locked into complex relationships. Parallel to this I have shown how the 'ontological reality' of the local has been, and continues to be, constructed within a regular confrontation of the DHR in the everyday lives of local residents. With reference to the notion of subaltern politics I also argued that this latter representation stands out of the realm of imperial discursive practices in and around the DHR. In my research I tried to apply the 'Subaltern Studies' approach as an intervention into the hitherto dominant mode of representation of the DHR where I have shown the local representation of the DHR has subtly eluded the constraints of both the dominant power and its normative 'archive' of cultural representation of the DHR.

Thirdly, I critically analysed the material culture of the 'journey' of the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway in the context of 'new mobilities' paradigm. Unlike other theories of social science, the new mobilities paradigm is able to grasp the shifting entities of all kinds. In the case of the DHR, it has always been heavily mediatised and perpetuated as a romantic mode of travel and the loco-centrism related to it has produced numerous discourses, but all were inadequate to grasp its very essence as a fully functional railway. I have explained in other analysis the ideological construction related to the DHR; from its imaginative geographies to the imperialist nostalgia; but exactly what are those elements coherent such ideological

construction of the DHR have never been grasped by its representational analysis. It is, I argue, the critical analysis of the material culture of the actual 'journey' that helps us to understand the inherent qualities of the DHR. In the context of experiencing the DHR, quite consciously I have tried to bring more voices and observations of people into this text without closure to give it a more polyphonic form - cohering the sensuous, the social and the poetic dimensions of DHR travel. This discussion took a non-representational theoretical approach and addressed several practices, spaces, subjects, knowledge and embodiment in relation to the DHR. It has shown how the various socio-material relations are constructed through different embodied practices in and around the DHR; and also the notions of the relations between mobilities and the visual interpretation and engagement with the landscape. The sense of place came out more intimately in the third part of this analysis where I tried to analyse the relations between the train and the community. The historical construction of the community alongside the DHR track has evolved but the DHR has always had a crucial role in it. The focus in particular, was on the inter-relationship of the locale and the DHR and how they (re)inscribe on to each other. The quotidian practices of the community in relation to the DHR have been confirmed as part of a process of becoming: a sensual experiencing and understanding of the community about the railway. The process has always been and still is open-ended, generative and fluid. The mobility of the DHR has historically constructed and developed the community and the community has inputted meaning into the DHR which is more symbolic rather than structural. Hence, both the DHR and the community space become intrinsically worked, reworked and negotiated by reshaping of space, place and presence on the material due to specifically located material practices (Sheller and Urry 2004) which, in the present context, is the everyday transportation of the DHR and material cultures related to it. This has gone beyond the constraint of the 'a-mobile' and dominant mode of representational analysis of the DHR. I would like here to bring forward some self reflections

that I have found useful in my research.

Self reflections

In this thesis I have analysed the western dominant versions related to the representation of the DHR as well as the current official documents in which these representations are proliferated along the line of its colonial version. However, in between the two there is another segment namely the domestic touristic representation which has not been addressed at greater length in this research. Although I have shown how the cultural hegemony is at work in the civil domain that is in current official representations of the DHR, however a more in-depth analysis is required in order to know to what extent that affects the domestic tourist population. Hence, a deeper understanding of the representations of the DHR is necessary in the domestic context. This could help to explore the wider socio-cultural dimensions of India's railways and also the postcolonial conditions attached to it. The current thesis is therefore limited to the analysis of the textual representation of the DHR. Other forms of representations need also to be examined in order to understand the social transformations in which the DHR has played a prominent part. In explaining the significance of the DHR to domestic individuals, one interviewee puts it:

To me the DHR is simply a very romantic mode of transport...for whatever reason...may be because of steam engine which has already gone extinct, its whistle, its puffing – from its visual effect to its sound – everything, down memory lane somewhere it strikes a chord. I see the DHR and its experience in a much romanticised way. Usually I go to Darjeeling during monsoon, it is raining heavily and the train is coming through the rain...its whistle and the rain –altogether it is to me simply a wash colour painting. It is something more than a mode of transport. Well it is definitely a mode of travel but it takes to some other plain which is not just

physical. There is an element of romance in it (Extract from interview Domestic Tourist male 41).

The comment evokes a pictorial quality of the DHR and certain senses which reminds us of J.M.W. Turner's famous painting *'Rain, Steam and Speed'*; on which Carter states:

Rain Steam and Speed is about loss, but also about progress. To be more precise, it is about the casualties of progress and the impossibility of not changing (1997:4).

Such an interpretation as I have come across in my interviews could be considered as an imaginative response to technology. As Briggs explained (1991) for the Victorians the steam engine played an evocative role in their imagination, as if, it had "sprung into sudden existence like Minerva from the brains of Jupiter" (Taylor 1827; cited in Briggs 1991). Placing the same technology, in current spatio-temporality, could bring out another kind of interpretation where it is no longer an expression of sheer speed but a remembrance from things past which serves the connection between eras. Hence it could also be crucial to understand the railway history: the levels of historical change and continuity that could be grasped through such representations of the DHR.

The first analysis was based upon the representational aspect of the DHR where I mainly focused on the textual production of the DHR. Much more exploration is needed especially in terms of popular media representations of the DHR. As is known popular media has an impact on making a travel destinations appealing as well how it reconstructs and reinforces particular images of those destinations (Beeton 2005). In this context the DHR has always fed into the representational economy of the popular media. It has a place in popular imagination and a rich brand value in particular in the Bollywood film industry as a romantic mode of travel. One Indian website puts this emphatically by saying *'Rail Meeting Reel'*:

Those who are on the wrong side of 40, might perhaps remember the film *Aradhana* in which, Rajesh Khanna travelling in a jeep, woos Sharmila Tagore travelling in the Toy Train to the accompaniment of a haunting melody. Avant Garde as ever, Hindi filmdom recognised the *romantic potential* of the Darjeeling railway long before even



Figure 7: 1: *Photo Courtesy David Charlesworth*

the railways themselves woke it up (luxury-train-travel-tours-india.com; emphasis mine).

However what is notable here is that film sequences involve both cars and the DHR – historically two different modes of transport, which denote two different socialities being constructed simultaneously, as we have seen in

mobilities context. Automobility as represented by the car conjoins autonomy and mobility. The car, as Urry puts it “is simultaneously immensely flexible and wholly coercive” (2007:119). However, in this context, the dichotomy between the car and the train is blurred. Significantly the track of the DHR, as it is criss-crossing the road thus brings about a similar flexible nature like the car. In many Bollywood films we can see the movement of these two different modes of transport is synchronized and mutual and that it induces romance. Hence further research into the relationships between the car and the DHR is required. During my own research, while I was interviewing people, a remark I often heard in this context was that: “I think it is the only railway in the world which is caught stuck in a traffic jam. That is the funny side of it.” Crucial to this remark is the unavoidable relation of the DHR with the road traffic. The DHR has to face contestation due to road transport. However, the relation between the two needs further exploration incorporating mobile methods. The exploration

could open up potentially new dimensions of mobilities research such as the complex social processes of the use of different modes of transport as well as the orchestration and/or coercion between the two in a single regional context.

Furthermore, in both of my analyses I have focused upon the relationships between the community and the DHR. Drawing upon the work of the subaltern studies school I have shown that there is a form of consciousness amongst the locals in relation to the DHR in terms of the ‘everyday’. The presence of the DHR in life, hopping on and off the train, domesticates the train not just as a form of pastoral romance, but rather it works at a much deeper foundational level in the lives of the locals. I have also argued that it is not possible to justify this attachment in terms of dominant colonial and post-colonial elite versions of the DHR. While the colonial and its derivative representations of the DHR create a romantic



Figure 7.2: The DHR Crew. Photo Courtesy: David Charlesworth

appeal to this journey, the subverted local versions of the DHR speak about the existential comfort that the DHR renders. This is an autonomous domain devoid of its connection with elite representations of the DHR. There are vast areas in the

life and consciousness of the local people where the DHR needs to be researched further.

What came out of this context might open up possibilities for writing an alternative historiography of the DHR as a functioning railway and in particular its relation with its workforce. Compared to its frequent representations in the media, the lives of the workforce remain less discussed. Also during my field work what I found is the lack of archival material of vernacular histories of the DHR workforce. Thus oral history could be apt for developing

further understandings about the working lives of the DHR. In my research, by interviewing the train work-force, I have tried to trace out how the subverted subject-positionality of the locals creates their own representations of the DHR as well as how it domesticates this into their lives, making sense of the DHR in their own terms. Further oral histories of DHR workers and their personal reminiscence should carefully be incorporated with factors such as working conditions, labour relations and the interaction of manpower and technology. What Pandey mentioned with regard to the struggle to write Subaltern Histories is worth-noting in this context, that:

The 'traces', 'fragments', 'voices from the edge' ...should not be thought of as nuggets, buried beneath layers of predatory meaning-construction...to automatically reveal their worth and meaning. What is in question here...is the 'ability' to hear, especially to hear which we have not heard before, and to transgress in situating the text or the 'fragment' differently (1995:227)

The whole process, as I argue, needs to be integrated with the interpretation of the DHR as a heritage railway as heritage interpretation represents a critically important medium for contemporary tourism. Here the tangible aspects of the DHR have been recognised and appreciated however, beneath the dominant appreciation of the DHR as industrial heritage, a fuller explanation of the heritage value of the DHR which entails intangible aspects is yet to be made. By underscoring such meanings we could develop a critical understanding about the subject positionality of the colonial and post-colonial and the relations between the two and thus establish a clearer meaning of the DHR as 'post-colonial heritage'. The methodology of the current research stems from the new mobilities paradigm which was crucial to understand the social as well as poetic dimensions of the DHR. This methodological stance brought out a kind of aesthetic reflexivity and the choreographic nature in ethnographic research.

Thus in my self-reflection I have tried to find out other possible ways that further research could be done on the DHR which remain un-attempted in this thesis. Significantly, in this process I could not be able to think of the two theoretical currencies separately, instead they have merged. I have tried to show how the DHR has been used in popular media but in that process the ‘mobile’ aspect of the DHR becomes intermingled. Albeit the thesis has been structured in a sequential manner where two theoretical and two empirical chapters have been discussed separately but in the whole thesis the two aspects, namely the representational and the mobilities, have fed each other. Quite significantly human mobility is a deeply embodied experience and the direct experience of human mobility is connected to the representational meanings of mobility. The DHR has been mediatised heavily, but its romanticism, its nostalgia – all but were previously framed into an a-mobile context. The ‘mobile’ aspects of it has never been deciphered and justified by its conventional representation. Thus, I tried to bring together the two theoretical contexts in order to get a fuller understanding of the DHR. I argue that as the thesis developed it became impossible to keep the two paradigms separate because the ‘imaginative geographies’ or ‘imperial nostalgia’ or other traces of romance – all are but products of the very corporeal nature of the DHR and the way it has withstood changes over time. So being a productive system of colonial era the DHR not only informs about the past and creates a relation to the present post-colonial epoch; but its very ‘de-acceleration’ also refers to a striking contrast to other aspects of mobilities which are predominantly based on acceleration. In other way, this de-acceleration, I would argue, is one of the fundamental elements that offers colonial ambience in this post-colonial time but also perpetuates colonial discursive representations.

Finally, in support of my research I would like mention what Kerr has previously mentioned that “[t]he study of India’s railways must not become a guarded and autarchic research field.

India's railways must be situated within a broader advance of transportation and communication studies... A broader approach encompassing transport, traffic and mobility...must be developed" (2007:iv). This research hence can claim, at least, a relatively new and innovative departure in that it has taken to this broader field by analysing both the historical significance and material culture of one of the most significant railway journeys in India.

References

- Abu Lughod, L. (1991) 'Writing Against Culture' in R. G. Fox (ed) *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe., New Mexico: School of American research Press.
- Adam, B. (1990) *Time and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Aitcheson, C. (1999) 'New Cultural Geographies: The Spatiality of Leisure, Gender and Sexuality'. *Leisure Studies* 18:19-39.
- Aitcheson, C. And Reeves, C. (1998) 'Gendered (Bed) Spaces: The Culture and Commerce of Women Only Tourism' in C. Aitcheson and F. Jordan (eds) *Gender, Space and Identity: Leisure, Culture and Commerce*. Brighton: leisure Studies Association.
- Altheide, D. and Johnson, M. (1998) 'Criteria for Assessing Interpretive Validity in Qualitative Research' in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Material*. London: Sage.
- Ang, I. (1994) 'On Not Speaking Chinese: Postmodern Ethnicity and the Politics of Diaspora' *New Formations*. 24/4.
- Arellano, A. (2004) 'Bodies, spirits and Incas: Performing Machu Pichu' in M. Sheller and J. Urry (eds) *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*. London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B. et al (1989, 2002) *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literature*. London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B. et al (2000) *Post-colonial Studies: Key Concepts*. London: Routledge.
- Ashworth, G. J. and Turnbridge, J. E. (1996) *Dissonant Heritage*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Ateljevic, I. and Doorne, S. (2002) Representing New Zealand: Tourism Strategy and Ideology. *Annals of Tourism Research* 29/3:648-67.
- Auge, M. (1995) *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London:

Verso.

Bahri, D. (1995) 'Once More with Feeling: What is Postcolonialism?' *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 26/1:51-82.

Barenholdt, J. et al (ed) (2004) *Performing Tourist Places*. Hants: Ashgate.

Baszanger, I and Dodier, N. (2004) Ethnography: Relating the part to the whole in D. Silverman (ed) *Qualitative research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage.

Bauman, Z. (1993) *Postmodern Ethics*. London: Routledge.

Baumgart, W. (1982) *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914*. revd edn, trans. By the author with Ben, V. Mast. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beeton, S. (2005) *Film-Induced Tourism* Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Berger, J. (1983) *Ways of Seeing* London and Harmondsworth: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin.

Bhabha, H. K. (1993) *Location of Culture*. London: Routledge

Brewer, J. D. (1984) Looking Back at Fascism: A Phenomenological Analysis of BUF Membership, *Sociological Review*, 32:742-70.

Bryman, A. (1988) *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*, London: Allen and Unwin.

Bryman, A. (2004) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. and Burgess, R. (eds) (1994) *Analysing Qualitative Data*. London: Routledge.

Burgess, R. (1982) *Field Research: a Sourcebook and Field Manual*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Burgess, R. (1984) *In the Field*. London: Routledge.

Carter, I. (1997) Rain Steam and What? *The Oxford Art Journal* 20/2:3-12.

Chaklader, S. (2004) *Sub-Regional Movement in India: With Reference to Boroland and Gorkhaland*. Kolkata: K. P. Bagchi.

- Chakrabarty, D. (1989) *Rethinking Working Class History: Bengal 1890-1940*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chandra, B (1979) *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Childs, P. And Williams, P. (1997) *An Introduction to Post-colonial Theory*. Englewood Cliff. NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Clark, H. (1881) 'The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India: Their Value and Importance, with some Statistics of their Products and Trade' *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 44/3:528-573.
- Clark, S. (eds) (1999). *Travel Writing and Empire*. London: Zed Books.
- Clarke, H (1881) The English Stations in the Hill Regions of India: their Value and Importance, with some Statistics of their Products and Trade. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 44/3:528-73.
- Clifford, J. (1981) On Ethnographic Surrealism, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23:539-64.
- Clifford, J. (1983) Power and Dialogue in Ethnography in G. Stocking (ed) *Observer Observed*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Clifford, J. (1988) *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, J. (1997) *Routes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, J. and Marcus, G. (eds) (1986) *Writing Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) *Making Sense of Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage.

Cohen, E. (1977) 'Toward a Sociology of International Tourism' *Social Research* 39/1: 164-82.

Cohen, S. And Taylor, L. (1972) *Psychological Survival*. London: Penguin.

Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (2002) "Grounded tourists, travelling theory" in S. Coleman and M. Crang, (eds) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp 1-20.

Coleman, S. and Crang, M. (eds) (2002) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance* New York: Berghahn Books.

Coles, T. E. and Timothy, DJ. (eds) (2004) *Tourism, Diaspora and Space*, London: Routledge.

Coles, T. E. et al (2004) *Tourism Diasporas and Space*. London : Routledge.

Conquergood, D. (2003) Rethinking Ethnography: Towards a Critical Cultural Politics in Y.

S. Lincoln and N. K. Denzin (ed) *Turning Points in Qualitative Research: Tying Knots in a Handkerchief*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.

Craik, J. (1994) 'Peripheral Pleasure: The Peculiarities of Post-colonial Tourism', *Culture and Policy* 6/1.

Cresswell, T. (2006) *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*. London: Routledge.

Crouch, D (1999) Introduction: Encounters in Leisure/Tourism in D. Crouch (ed) *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Crouch, D. (2003) Spacing, Performing and Becoming: Tangles in the Mundane. *Environment and Planning A* 35: 1945-1960.

Crouch, D. (2000) Places Around Us: Embodied Lay Geographies in Leisure and Tourism.

Leisure Studies 19: 63-76.

Dant, T. (2004) The Driver-Car. *Theory, Culture & Society* 21(4/5):61-79.

Das, A. J. (1947) *Bengal District Gazetteer: Darjeeling* Alipore, Bengal: Bengal Government Press.

Dasgupta, A. (1999) Ethnic Problems and Movements or Autonomy in Darjeeling. *Social Scientist* Vol27, PT 11/12 P: 47-68.

Dauglas, J. (1985) *Creative Interviewing*. London: Sage.

De Boeck, F. (1996) Postcolonialism, Power and Identity: Local and Global Perspectives from Zaire in R. Werbner and T. Ranger (eds) *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*. London: Zed Books.

De Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Denzin, N. (1970) *The Research Act*. Chicago: Aldine.

Denzin, N. (1998) The Art and Politics of Interpretation, in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. London: Sage.

Denzin, N. And Lincoln, Y (1998) Entering the Field of Qualitative Research, in N. Denzin and Y. Lincol (eds) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiriy*. London: Sage.

Douglas, N. and Dauglas, N. (1996) 'Tourism in the Pacific: Historical Factors' in C. M. Hall and S. Page (eds) *Tourism in the Pacific: Issues and Cases*. International Thomson Business Press. London.

Duncan, J. and Ley, D. (1993) *Place/ Culture/ Representation*. London: Routledge.

Edenson, T (2006) Sensing Tourist Spaces in C. Minca & T. Oakes (eds) *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers INC. pp: 23-45.

Edensor, T (2007) Mundane Mobilities, Performances and Spaces of Tourism. *Social & Cultural Geography* Vol 8/ No 2: 199-215.

Edensor, T. (2004) Automobility and National Identity: Representation, Geography and Driving Practice. *Theory Culture & Society* 21(4/5): 101-20.

Elias, N. (1992) *Time. An Essay*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Engels, D. & Marks, S. (ed) (1994). *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in Africa and India*. London: British Academic Press.

Enloe, C (1989) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*. Barkley, CA: University of California Press.

Fareedi, M. And Lepcha, P. D. (undated) *Area and Issue Profile of Darjeeling and Sikkim*. Darjeeling: R.C. D. C Hayden Hall.

Featherstone, M. (ed) (1990) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. London: Sage.

Fetterman, D. (1998) *Ethnography*. London: Sage.

Fine, G. A. and Sandstrom, K. L. (1988) Knowing Children, Participant Observations with Minors *Qualitative Research Methods*; No: 15 Newbury Park: Sage

Finnstrom, S (1997) *Postcoloniality and the postcolony: Theories of the Global and the Local*, Working papers in Cultural Anthropology, No 7, Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology, Uppsala University.

- Fontana, A. and Frey, J. (1998) *Interviewing: The Art of Science* in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. London: Sage.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/ Knowledge Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. (edited by C. Gordon et al). Brighton: Harvester Press
- Franklin, A and Crang, M (2001) The Trouble with Tourism and Travel theory? *Tourist Studies* 1:5-22.
- Franklin, A. (2003) *Tourism: An Introduction*. London: Sage.
- Gandhi, L. (1998) *Postcolonial Theory: A critical introduction*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Ganguly, R. (2005) 'Poverty, Malgovernance and Ethnopolitical Mobilization: Gorkha Nationalism and the Gorkhaland Agitation in India' in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 11:467-502.
- Geertz, C. (1988) *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gell, A. (1998) *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gilroy, P. (1993) *The Black Atlantic, Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso.
- Gregory, D. (1994) *Geographical Imaginations* London: Blackwell. Guha, R. (ed) (1982) *Subaltern Studies I*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Guha, R. (ed) (1997) *A Subaltern Studies Reader: 1986-1995*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Haldrup, M and Larsen, J. (2006) Material Cultures of Tourism. *Leisure Studies* 25/ 3: 275-89.

- Haldrup, M. et al (2004) *Performing Tourist Places*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hall, C. M (1998) 'Making the Pacific: Globalization, Modernity and Myth' in G. Ringer (ed) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism* New York: Routledge.
- Hall, C. M. (1992) 'Sex Tourism in South-East Asia' in D. Harrison (ed) *Tourism in the Less Developed Nations*. London: Balhaven Press.
- Hall, C. M. (1992) 'Sex Tourism in South East Asia' in D. Harrison (ed) *Tourism and the Less Developed Nations*. London: Belhaven Press, pp. 64-74.
- Hall, C. M. (1994) *Tourism and Politics: Policy Power and Place*. Chichester: Willey.
- Hall, C. M. and Page, S. J. (2002) *The Geography of Recreation and Tourism: Environment Place and Space* London: Routledge.
- Hall, C. M. and Tucker, H. (2004) *Tourism and Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Hall, S. (ed) (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Halsall, D. A. (2001) Railway heritage and the Tourist Gaze: Stoomtram Hoorn-Medemblik. *Journal of transport Geography* 9:151-60.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1995/2001) *Ethnography*, second edition, London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M. (1990) *Reading Ethnographic Research*. London: Longman.
- Hammersley, M. (1995) *The Politics of Social Research*. London: Sage.
- Hammersley, M. and Atkinson, P. (1983) *Ethnography: Principle in Practice*. London:

Tavistock.

Hannam, K (2002) Using Archives in P. Shurmer-Smith (ed) *Doing Cultural Geography*. London: Sage.

Hanson, A. (1989) 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic' *American Anthropologist* 91/4:890-902.

Harmand, J. (1910). *Domination et Colonisation*. Paris: Flammarion.

Harrison, P. (2000) Making Sense: Embodiment and the sensibilities of the Everyday. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18: 497-517.

Harvey, D (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hawking, S. (1988) *A Brief History of Time* London: Bantam.

Hitchcock, M. et al (1993) *Tourism in South-East Asia*. London: Routledge.

Hobart, M. (ed) (1993) *An Anthropological Critique of Development* London: Routledge.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1987) *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914*. London: Weidenfield & Nicolson.

Holdaway, S. (1982) 'An insider Job': a case study of covert research, in M. Bulmer (ed) *Social Research Ethics*. London: Macmillan.

Holland, P and Huggan, G (2004) Varieties of Nostalgia in Contemporary Travel Writing in G. Hooper and T. Young (eds) *Perspectives on Travel Writing* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hollinshead, K. (1992) "'White" gaze, "red" people -shadow visions: The disidentification of "Indians" in cultural tourism' *Leisure Studies* 11: 43-64.

Housee, S. (1999) Journey through Life: The Self in Travel in R. Kaur and J. Hutnyk (eds)

Travel Worlds: Journeys in Contemporary Cultural politics London: Zed Books.

<http://www.darjnet.com/darjeeling/darjeeling/> Accessed 16.07.09

<http://www.luxurv-train-travel-tours-india.com/the-tov-trains-of-india/darjeeling-toy-train.html>. Accessed 16.07.09

Huberman, A. and Miles, M. B. (1998) Data Management and Analysis Method in N. Denzin and Y. Loncoln (eds) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. London: Sage.

Ingold, T. (1995) Work, Time and Industry. *Time and Society* 4:5-28.

Ingold, T. and Kurttila, T. (2000) Perceiving the Environment in Finish Lapland. *Body and Society* 3 /4: 183-96.

Jackson, M. (1989) *Paths Towards a Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Johnson, J. (2010) Euro-Railing: A Mobile Ethnography of Backpacker Train Travel in K. Hannam and A. Diekmann (eds) *Beyond backpacker Tourism: Mobilities and Experiences*. Buffalo, Toronto: Channel View Publications.

Jones, S. G. (1998) "Information, Internet, and Community: Notes Towards an Understanding of Community in the Information Age," in S. G. Jones ed. *CyberSociety: Revisiting Computer-Mediated Communication and Community*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 1-34.

Joyce, P. (ed) (1987) *The Historical Meanings of Work*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Kenny, J. T. (1995) Climate, race and Imperial Authority: The symbolic Landscape of the British Hill Station in India. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85/4: 694-

714.

Kerr, I. J. (2003) "Representation and Representations of the Railways of Colonial and Post-Colonial South Asia" *Modern Asian Studies* 37/2: 287-326.

Kerr, I. J. (2007) *27Down: New Departures in Indian Railway Studies* New Delhi: Orient Longman.

Kessing, R. (1989) 'Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific' *The Contemporary Pacific* 1:19-42.

Khawas, V. (2005) *Environment and Rural Development in Darjeeling Himalaya: Issues and Concerns* <http://www.mtnforum.org/resouces/library/khawv02a.htm>

Kinnaird, V. and Hall, D. (eds) (1994) *Tourism: A Gender Analysis*. Chichester: Wiley.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B (1998) *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage* Barkley, CA: University of California Press.

Kriegar, S. (1983) *The Mirror Dance: Identity in a Women's Community*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Larsen, J. (2001) Tourism Mobilities and the Travel Glance: Experiences of Being on the Move. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 1/2: 80-98.

Lee, R. (1999) The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway and World Heritage. *Proceedings of the 4th DHR Heritage Conference* New Delhi: TERI.

Limbu, S. (2000) The Prize Winning Entry (Written Work). *Darjeeling Mail* February 2000/9:22-25.

Lofland, J. (1971) *Analysing Social Settings*. Belmont: Wadsworth.

- Loomba, A. (1998) *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* London: Routledge.
- Lury, C. (1997) 'The Objects of Travel' in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds) *Touring Cultures* London: Routledge, pp: 75-95.
- MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken.
- Macnaghten, P. and Urry, J. (1998) *Contested Natures*. London: Sage.
- Majid, A. (2001) 'Provincial acts: The limits of postcolonial theory', *Postcolonialism/Political Correctness*[^], an international conference organized by The Postgraduate School of Critical Theory and Cultural Studies, University of Nottingham, and The British Council, Morocco, Casablanca, 12-14 April 2001.
- Marcus, G. (1980) Rhetoric and Ethnographic Genre in Anthropological Research, *Current Anthropology* 21: 509.
- Marcus, G. and Cushman, D. (1982) Ethnography as Text, *Annual Review of anthropology* 11:25-69.
- Marcus, G. E. and Fischer, M. M. J. (1986) *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marschall, S. (2004) Commodifying Heritage: Post-Apartheid Monuments and Cultural Tourism in South Africa in C. M. Hall and Tucker, H. (eds) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* London: Routledge.
- Marx, K (1976-81) *Capital*, 3 vols, trans. Fowkes, B & Fernbach, D Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Marx, K (1977) *Selected Writings* (ed) McLellan, D. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marx, K and Engels, F. (1952) *Manifesto of the Communist Party* [1848]. Moscow: Progress Publishers
Chakrabarty, D. "Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indians' Past?" *Representation* 37 (Winter 1992) pp. 1-26.

Marx, K. (1973) *Grundrisse: Foundation of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Nicolous, M. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Marx, K. (1973) *Surveys from Exiles: Political Writings*. Vol 2, trans. Fowkes, B & Jackson, P. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Matthews, H. G. (1978) *International Tourism: a Political and Social Analysis*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company.

McClintock, A. (1995) *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*. New York: Routledge.

Mead, M. (1969[1930]) *The Social organization of Manua's* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Michael, M. (1996) *Constructing Identities* London: Sage.

Michaux, H. (1933[2001]) Himalayan Railway: from Un Barbare en Asie. *Darjeeling Mail* Aug2001:15p: 15.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Sage.

Mishra, V. and Hodge, B. (1991) 'What is Post-Colonialism? Notes Toward a Debate' *Textual Practice* 5/3: 399-414

- Mongia, P. (ed) (1996) *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*. London: Arnold
- Moore Gilbert, B. (1997). *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts Practices Policies*. London: Verso.
- Moore-Gilbert, B. (2000) Spivak and Bhaba in H. Schwarz and S. Ray (eds) *A companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Morgan, N. and Pritchard, A. (1998) *Tourism Promotion and Power*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Morgan, N. J. And Pritchard, A. (1999) *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating Images, Creating Identities* Chichester: Wiley.
- Morris, M. (1988) 'At Henry Parkes Motel' *Cultural Studies* 2:1-47.
- Morrow, V. and Richards, M. (1996) The Ethics of Social Research with Children: An Overview. *Children and Society* 10:90-105
- Nash, D. (1989) 'Tourism as a form of imperialism', in V. Smith (ed) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (2nd edn), Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Nath, S. (2008) The Darjeeling Himalayan railway: The Challenges Ahead in *The DHR: 10 Years of Progress*. Published on the Occasion of 8th Annual Conference of DHR Lovers. Siliguri, India.
- O'Mally, L. S. S. ([1907] 2001) *Bengal District Gazetteer: Darjeeling* Calcutta: Government of West Bengal.
- Ong, A. (1985) 'Industrialisation and prostitution in southeast Asia', *Southeast Asia Chronicle* 96:2-6.
- Opperman, M. and McKinley, S. (1997) 'Sexual Imagery in the Marketing of Pacific Tourism Destinations' in M. Opperman (ed) *Pacific Rim Tourism*. Wallingford: CAB

International.

Otto, T. and Verloop, R. (1996) 'The Asaro Mudmen: Local property, Public Culture?' *The Contemporary Pacific* 8/2:349-86.

Pacha, R. (1901 [2005]) Darjeeling *Calcutta Review Vol CXII* Reprinted in Darjeeling Mail Nov 2005:32 pp: 22-23 Transcribed by Hugh Raynor.

Panday, G. (1995) 'Voices from the Edge: The Struggle to Write Subaltern Histories' *Ethnos* 60 /3-4: 223-242.

Papson, S. (1981) 'Spuriousness and tourism: politics of two Canadian provincial governments', *Annals of Tourism Research* 8, 2:220-235.

Papson, S. (1998) 'Spuriousness and Tourism: Politics of Two Canadian Provincial Governments' *Annals of Tourism Research* 8/2:220-35.

Payne, A. J. (2002) Letter from Darjeeling c 1944 in *Darjeeling Mail* 2002/17: 18-19.

Pliva, M (2008) The Pliva's and Darjeeling. *Darjeeling Mail* 2008 /44:26.

Plummer, K. (1983) *Documents of Life*. London: Allen and Unwin

Prakash, G. (1990) "Writing Post-Orientalist histories in the Third World: Perspective from Indian Historiography" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32/ 2: 383-408.

Prakash, G (1992) Postcolonial Criticism and Indian Historiography *Social Text* 31/32:8-19.

Prakash, G. (1994) "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism", *American historical Review* 99:1475-1490.

Pratt, M. L. (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.

- Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. J. (2001) Culture Identity and Tourism Representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales? *Tourism Management* 22: 167-79.
- Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. J. (2000) Constructing Tourism Landscapes: Gender Sexuality and Space *Tourism Geographies* 2/2: 115-139.
- Quason, A. (2000). Postcolonialism: Theory, Practice or Process? Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Rodaway, P. (1994) *Sensuous Geographies: Body, Sense and Place* London: Routledge.
- Rosaldo, R. (1989) *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* Boston: Beacon.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Said, E. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- Scale, C. (1999) *The Quality of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.
- Schivelbusch, W. (1986) *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schwarz, H. (1997) *Writing Cultural History in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Seal, A. (1968) *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: competition and collaboration in the later nineteenth century*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Selwyn, T. (1993) 'Peter Pan in South East Asia: Views from the Brochures' in M. Hitchcock et al (eds) *Tourism in South East Asia*. London: Routledge.
- Selwyn, T. (1996) *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism* Chichester: Wiley.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2004) *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*. London: Routledge.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (2006) 'The new mobilities paradigm' *Environment and Planning A* 38/2: 207-226.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J.(eds) (2004) *Mobile technologies of the City* London: Routledge.

Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* London: Routledge.

Shurmer-Smith, P. and Hannam, K. (1994) *Worlds of Desire, Realms of Power: A Cultural Geography*. London: Arnold.

Simmons, B. A. (2004) Saying the Same Old Song: A contemporary Travel Discourse and the Popular Magazine Text in C. M. Hall and H. Tucker (eds) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* London: Routledge.

Smithson, J. (2008) Focus Groups in P. Alasuutari et al (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Social Research Methods* London: Sage.

Spivak, G (1987) *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. London: Methuen.

Spivak, G. (1985) "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography" in *Subaltern studies* TV (Delhi 1985).

Spivak, G. (1985) "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives". *History and Theory* 24.

Spivak, G. (1990) " Poststructuralism, Marginality, Postcoloniality and Value" in Collier, P and Geyer-Ryan, H (ed) (1990) *Literary Theory Today*. London: Cambridge Polity.

Spivak, G. (1990) "The Making of Americans, the Teaching of English, the Future of Colonial Studies" *New Literary History*, 21.

Spivak, G. (1994) "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Williams, P. & Chrisman, L. (ed) *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Stanley, L. (1996) The Mother of Invention: Necessity, Writing and Representation *Feminism and Psychology* 6:45-51.

Stocking, G. (ed) (1983) *Observers Observed*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Stocking, Jr. G. W. (ed) (1989) *Romantic motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility* Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Stranglement, T (2002) "Constructing the past: Railway history from below or a study in nostalgia?" *The Journal of Transport History* 23/ 2: 147-58.

Symes, C. (2007) Coaching and Training: An Ethnography of Student Commuting on Sydney's Suburban Trains. *Mobilities* 2/3:443-61.

Taksa, L (1994) Toil, Struggle and Repose: Oral History and the Exploration of Labour Culture in Australia. *Labour History* 67:110-27.

Tedlock, B. (2000) Ethnography and Ethnographic Representation in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

TERI (2001) *Sustainable Tourism Development in the Darjeeling Hills Area: Final Report* New Delhi: TERI

Theory, Culture & Society (2004) 21: 4/5 Special Issues on Automobilities Thorne, A. (2008)

The Hill Stations Tour. *Darjeeling Mail* November, 44: 8-9.

Tiffin, C. and Lawson, A. (eds) (1994) *De-Scribing Empire: Post-colonialism and*

Textuality. London: Routledge.

Timothy, D. J. (2001) *Tourism and Political Boundaries*. London: Routledge.

Tonkiss, F. (1998) Analysing Discourse in C, Scale (ed) *Researching Society and Culture*. pp: 245-60. London: Sage.

Trask, H. (1991) Natives and Anthropologist: the Colonial Struggle *The Contemporary Pacific* 3:159-67.

Trinh, T. M. (1989) *Woman Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Tully, M. (2008) Train Ride to Paradise (Part 1) *Darjeeling Mail* Feb 41:11-19.

Tully, M. (2008) Train Ride to Paradise (Part 2) *Darjeeling Mail* May 42:19-22.

Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places* London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology Beyond Societies: mobilities for the twenty-first century*. London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2001) "Transport of Delight" *Leisure Studies* 20: 237-245. Urry, J. (2007) *Mobilities*. Malden.MA: Polity Press.

van Maanen, J. (1988) *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Veijola, S. and Jokinen, E. (1994) The Body in Tourist Studies. *Theory Culture and Society* Vol: 6/125-51.

Waite, G and Cook, L. (2007) 'Leaving nothing but ripples on the water: performing ecotourism natures' *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8/4.

Wallace, R. (2009) *The Darjeeling Himalayan Railway: A Guide to the DHR Darjeeling and*

its Tea. DHR Society UK.

Watts, L. (2008) The Art and Craft of Train Travel in *Social and Cultural Geography* 9/6: 711-26.

Weise, K. (2005) *Notes on Defining the Darjeeling Himalayan Railway: World Heritage Property* (Unpublished).

Weithorn, L. A. and Scherer, D. G. (1994) Children's Involvement in Research Participation Decision: psychological Considerations in M.A Gordin and L. H. Glantz (eds) *Children as Research Subject: Science, Ethics and Law* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Whatmore, S. (2002) *Hybrid Geographies. Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. London: Sage.

Willis, P and Trondman, M. (2002) Manifesto for Ethnography. *Cultural Studies: Critical Methodologies*. Volume 3 Number 2: 394-402.

Wolcott, H. (1973) *The Man in the Principal's Office: an Ethnography* New York: Rinehart and Winston.

Wolff, J (1993) "On the Road Again: Metaphors of Travel in Cultural Criticism" *Cultural Studies* 111.

Wood, R. E. (1993) 'Tourism Culture and the Sociology of Development' in M. Hitchcock et al (eds) *Tourism in South-East Asia*.

Young, R. (1990). *White Mythologies*. London: Routledge.

Young, R. (2001). *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Zukin, S. (1992) *Landscape of Power*. Berkeley: University of California.

