TURISMO EM ANÁLISE Vol. 25, n. 2, agosto 2014

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/issn.1984-4867.v25i2p373-391

The Transformations of Values and Aspirations by Adventure Tourism in Nepal: example through the figures of three Sherpa

As Transformações de Valores e Aspirações para o Turismo de Aventura no Nepal: exemplo através das figuras de três Sherpas

Las transformaciones de valores y las aspiraciones de Turismo de Aventura en Nepal: ejemplo a través de las figuras de tres Sherpa

Michel Raspaud[1]
Julie Hallé[2]

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to analyze, through the figures and careers of three distinguished Sherpa (Ang Tharkay, Tenzing Norgay, and Sonam Sherpa), the transformation of values, perceptions and ways of thinking about their "Sherpa" profession (carrying high altitude). To do this, we use their published autobiographies and biographies, as well as the literature on mountaineering in the Himalayas. We demonstrate that, during the twentieth century, although the Sherpa of Khumbu Valley have experienced the same type of childhood (no school in their villages, work in the fields and care for animals), their aspirations changed, following the rhythm of the multiplication of the expeditions to peaks and the development of trekking activity, participating in the construction of new lifestyles and worldviews.

Keywords: Sherpa, Nepal, adventure tourism, changes.

Resumo

A finalidade deste artigo é analisar, através das figuras e carreiras de três distintos sherpas (Ang Tharkay, Tenzing Norgay e Sonam Sherpa), a transformação de valores, percepções e maneiras de pensar sobre a sua profissão "Sherpa" (portador de altitude). Para fazer isso, usamos suas autobiografias e biografias publicadas, bem como a literatura sobre montanhismo no Himalaia. Ressalta-se que durante o século XX, embora os Sherpas do vale do Khumbu tiveram o mesmo tipo de infância (nenhuma escola em suas aldeias, trabalho nos campos e criação de animais), aspirações são transformadas de acordo com o ritmo das expedições e do desenvolvimento da atividade de trekking, participando da construção de novos estilos de vida e visões de mundo.

Palavras-chave*: Sherpa, Nepal, turismo de aventura, mudanças.*

[1] Doutorado em Sociologia. Professor de Sociologia do Esporte pela Universite Joseph Fourier. França. E-mail: michel.raspaud@ujf-grenoble.fr.

[2] Doutorado em Ciência e Tecnologia da Atividade Física e Esportiva pela Universidade Joseph-Fourier. Professora do Departamento de Marketing da Grenoble Ecole de Management. França. E-mail: ulie.halle@voila.fr.

Resumen

El propósito de este artículo es analizar, por de las figuras y las carreras de tres prominentes Sherpas (Ang Tharkay, Tenzing Norgay et Sonam Sherpa), la transformación de los valores, las concepciones y formas de ver a su profesión de "sherpa" (portador de altitud). Para ello, utilizamos sus autobiografías y biografías publicadas, así como la literatura sobre montañismo en el Himalaya. Destacamos que durante el siglo XX, aunque Sherpa del valle del Khumbu han experimentado el mismo tipo de la infancia (no hay escuelas en las aldeas, trabajar en el campo, cuidando animales), las aspiraciones se transforman de acuerdo con el ritmo de la proliferación de las expediciones de montaña y el desarrollo de la actividad de trekking, participando en la construcción de nuevos estilos de vida y visiones del mundo.

Palabras clave*: Sherpa, Nepal, Turismo Aventura, Cambios.*

> Among the French passing through, there were always some expeditions in search of mountaineers top over 8000 meter. (…) however, I felt reluctant to regard such expeditions. That mountaineers climb the massive peaks of Europe, that they will open new routes on them, increasingly difficult, that they try to go up even faster, it is their business. But the Himalayan ascents are an entirely different nature: they mobilize every year thousands of porters for the approach march and hundreds of Sherpa to carry in high altitude. These, exposed to great dangers, are often the brunt of lack of preparation or the recklessness of climbers. Many have lost their lives in the mountains. If one adds to this the problems of food supply and firewood to get to base camp, along destitute villages, as well as the environmental pollution by garbage left behind, one can not help thinking that there is an imbalance screaming with the realities of the country, or some form of exploitation. These reserves have been growing the day, past in the other side, within the Tamang porters of high Ankhu Kola, I could measure the pernicious impact of these expeditions among local populations (TOFFIN, 1996, p. 22-23).

1. Introduction

This long quotation from the anthropologist Gérard Toffin, Nepal specialist, stationed at the Embassy of France in Kathmandu in early 1970, illustrates the effects of the presence of expeditions on the ground of this country. Indeed, over the last sixty years, Nepal's economy has changed significantly following the opening of its borders, and the subsequent tourism development. This opening was made for geopolitical reasons: Indeed, the British withdrawal, giving birth to the independent states of India and Pakistan (1947), and the takeover of the Communist Party of China (1949), led local politicians to seek allies who can provide a form of protection against the hegemonic tendencies of these regional powers in the North and

South. It is in this context that the highest peaks of Nepal, inaccessible during the entire period of the British Indian Empire, have become attractive. As for Mount Everest, attacked by the North during the interwar period, and now forbidden due to the invasion of Tibet by Communist China, it required research of a new road from the South. The climb of all peaks above 8000 meters, over a short period (1950-1964), has caused a craze producing an increase of expeditions of all nationalities in Nepal (as in Pakistan). These expeditions in the conditions of carriage of the time (no motorable road, much less air link ...) needed for their logistics (transport equipment) to employ hundreds of porters and, in altitude camps or to the top, Sherpa, naturally adapted to the altitude. Hence the birth of a "profession" will however undergo changes during this period (SACAREAU, 1997; ORTNER, 1999).

This text aims to analyze the evolution of how this activity is considered by the Sherpa themselves, and how the development of adventure tourism in Nepal (expeditions, treks) led them to invest in tourism in another way, and has led them to innovation versus tradition built in previous decades.

To do this, our study is based on the biographies of three iconic Sherpa, from three different generations, who were active before and after the Second World War for the first two of them (1930s to 1950s), and since 1980 for the third. This is not only to identify the conditions under which they are engaged in the activity of "sherpa", and the "career" they performed (types of functions they have assumed, expeditions they participated), but to identify the values that animate and guide them to (WEBER, 1964), and the consequences on the approach to their business and how to invest in their work.

2. From Exploring the Himalayas to the Holiday Resorts

The first trips in the western Himalayas took place between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth century through Jesuit fathers (MASON, 1987; DIDIER, 1996). This is from the second half of the eighteenth century, that political and commercial reasons push the British to send emissaries in these regions. The systematic exploration of the Himalayan region is then organized and developed during the nineteenth century under the leadership of the Survey of India: it is to the needs of the East India Company in the first instance, and the

Empire of India from 1858, to map the western regions of the Himalayas (KEAY, 1996) and Tibet (DAS, 1994). These scientific explorations refer to geopolitical strategies for the British, because three powers meet there: Russia, China and the Indian Empire (KNIGHT, 1900) in what is called "The Great Game of Asia". The exploration for sport, of high Himalayan regions, begins only at the very end of the nineteenth century with the first attempts to climb peaks above 6000, 7000 and even 8000 meters. It was during the 1880s that WW Graham sets the goal of climbing mountains *"more for sport and adventures than for the advancement of knowledge"* (quoted by MASON, 1987, p. 93). However, expeditions of the time, often from individual initiative on the part of wealthy "professional", are systematically accompanied by at least one member of the British Indian Army, and often by one or more scientists (geologist, surveyor, cartographer, naturalist, etc.). They are composed of few (five or six), and daily tasks (portering, cooking) are provided by some natives recruited in large towns or cities starting points of the expedition, and sometimes on site all along the route. However, fairly quickly, institutions such as the Royal Geographical Society on the one hand, and especially the Alpine Club of London on the other hand, separately or together, help to finance this type of expedition, especially as regards the highest peaks. This, in the early years of the twentieth century, and especially after the First World War, on Everest, declared national objective by the Alpine Club. Meanwhile, expeditions - essentially scientific – are organized by American couples Bullock-Workman or Dutch Visser-Hoof, or by the Duke of Abruzzi (Italy), mainly in the Karakoram, mountains of the western Himalaya (now located in Pakistan).

If European mountain guides, mostly Swiss, are hired by mountaineers and explorers, local staff are then asked, mostly mule drivers, porters, cooks. However, after the First World War and with the increase in the number of expeditions, particularly those set goals very high altitude (over 7000 and 8000 meters), a kind of indigenous specialists body begins to form. The Himalayan Club, created in 1928 in Calcutta, also contributes to regulate the employment of the local staff regarding wages, the weight of loads, supplies, etc. (-------, 2004). Starting point of many expeditions to Everest (1921, 1922, 1924, then 1933, 1935, 1936 and 1938), but also Kangchenjunga (1929 and 1931), the town of Darjeeling, one of the two residences of the Vice Roy of India with Simla, is a major center of activity of mountaineering and mountain tourism in this period. Indeed, people of British origin, settled in India, live by a

double seasonal pattern: from autumn to spring in large cities of the plain, where does the bulk of economic activity, and during the hot humid summer, they move in holiday resorts built on the margins of the Himalayas, between 2000 and 2500 meters (GALLOIS, 1899; SINGH, 2003), as Simla, Mussourie, Naini Tal and Darjeeling (for a description of the latter, see ELIADE, 1990, p.101-120), holiday resorts which offer a relatively cool climate and less debilitating than overheated plains in which only remain the professionals and administrators that are essential to economic activity and security. The following lines provide an overview:

> You get these burning plains right across India, fifteen hundred miles of them, absolutely flat with rivers wandering through them fed by the snows, and behind them the greatest range of mountains in the world. You gradually go up from tropical and sub-tropical climbs, through European and Alpine flora until you get right up into the snows. I don't think there is anything in life which is such a relief and such a physical delight as going from the heat of the plains in the hot weather up into the mountains, gradually feeling it getting cooler. I remember the first time one gets to a base in the hills and the water is cold; what a delicious feeling to have cold water on your hands! (Olaf Caroe, quoted by ALLEN, 1995, p. 152).

3. The First Enlistments and the Birth of the "Sherpa" Profession

In the 1920s and 1930s, the city of Darjeeling sees influx of many members of the Sherpa people of the Khumbu Valley in Nepal, whose are engaged in tea plantations, or perform various odd jobs as porters and rickshaw (TENZING NORGAY, 1955, p. 31), some coming specifically to try their luck as altitude porters[3] for the first major expeditions to the highest peaks of the eastern Himalayas, as Everest and Kangchenjunga. So is it for Ang Tharkay: born in 1907 in the village of Khunde in the Khumbu valley that leads to Everest, he migrates to Darjeeling in the early 1930s, and he succeeded, in 1933, to get hired as a porter in the expedition led by Hugh Ruttledge to Everest, expedition through Tibet and joined the mountain from the north, because Nepal was at this time closed to foreigners. The social

[3] In expeditions, we must distinguish two types of porter: the porter himself, and the porter in altitude. The first one must carry to base camp of the expedition, which begins the work of the second. It is for this the latter that we reserve the term "sherpa", the name of the ethnic group that has made a specialty of the function (but exercised members of other ethnic groups of Nepal or Pakistan to).

trajectory Ang Tharkay is quite exemplary of the Sherpa who move to India to become porter in high altitude (ANG THARKAY, 1954).

Fascinated in his teens by the stories of older returning to visit their families in the Khumbu valley, he decides to flee secretly to Darjeeling to try his luck. Overcoming difficulties and other hazards of life, he manages to get hired in 1933 by the first Mount Everest expedition of the decade, and carries loads up to Camp VI, at an altitude of over 8,300 meters. Such a feat assures him fame and regular commitments, either in expedition or in trekking, or scientific missions of exploration. For each of them, it's trips of three weeks to a month minimum, and for the most important, three or four months. Ang Tharkay works well over twenty five years, from the early 1930s into the 1950s, climbing all levels of the "profession": porter, cooks, porter of high altitude, and finally Sirdar.[4] With this function, he participates in the French expedition to Annapurna in 1950 that for the first time climbed a peak over 8000 meters. Accompanying Maurice Herzog and Louis Lachenal until the last altitude camp, the expedition leader is surprised when Ang Tharkay refuses to accompany them to climb to the top and get his share of glory (HERZOG, 1951, p. 189). No doubt the French amateur mountaineer, graduate of HEC[5], did not know the actual living conditions of the Sherpa for which physical integrity is a guarantee of the continuation of the business source of income.

The Sirdar function is usually the culmination of a career, since it is in charge of the entire indigenous personnel composing the expedition, assume considerable responsibility within it, lying very close and direct relationship with the expedition leader. Because the Sirdar has to manage porters who carry loads up to base camp, and the "sherpas" working from the base camp to equip and transport equipment in the altitude camps. His spirit of organization, dynamism and ability to motivate staff and to avoid any incident, or to negotiate when there are, must be expressed positively every day. Indeed, there is not, at this time, expedition that takes place without incident. These are mostly monetary issues: porters - who demand a wage increase - went on strike after several days of walking, far enough from the point of departure for any backtracking is impossible, and far enough from the point of arrival for their services remain essential. It is then that the expertise and negotiating skills of the Sirdar must be

[4] The Sirdar is the head of all the natives working for the expedition.
[5] HEC (Hautes Etudes Commerciales) is a prestigious private school in the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Paris that forms high-level managers of trade and industry.

effective, to find a solution that satisfies all parties: porters on one side, expedition leader on the other.

Ang Tharkay, for his part, does not anticipate at the early 1950s, the possible transformation of his country and his Khumbu Valley:

> There is no industry in our country, so that we must rely on our fields and cattle for live, incidentally on transport during the season ascents. And so it is, without doubt, that we will live until the end of time (ANG THARKAY, 1954, p. 39).

4. The Conquest of the "8000" and the Beginnings of Adventure Tourism

Since the year 1895, which saw the British mountaineer Mummery disappear on Nanga Parbat (8126 m), and up to the Second World War, no peak above 8000 meters is climbed. The ascent of the highest peak is made in 1936 by the British Tilman and Odell: Nanda Devi (7816 m) in the Garhwal Himalayas. It was only in the 1950s, that is to say half a century after the first attempts, the "fourteen 8000" are climbed in a very short period of time: from 1950 to the first of them, Annapurna (Nepal), and 1964 for the last (Shishapangma, People's Republic of China). Among these peaks, the highest of them, Mount Everest (8850 m), is the most prestigious. Its ascent, May 29, 1953, propels the New Zealander Edmund Hillary and especially the Sherpa of Indian nationality but originally from Nepal, Tenzing Norgay, in the pantheon of international sporting glories. It is through these climbs that Nepal got his first recognition, which is reinforced in the next decade by the interest shown by Western youths to non-violent movements (hippies), Eastern religions, but also the use of drugs, including hashish, cannabis and marijuana, that are the cultural elements of the trip to India and Nepal in the 1970s (see CERF, 1974).

It is through this cultural interest, which, however, should not be reduced to the youth population of western countries, the Nepal opens to tourism in general and adventure tourism in particular. Cultural tourism is a manna essential for the Nepalese economy, the entry of international tourists in the territory growing fast enough: while there are just over 6,000 tourists in 1962, the number 100 000 is reached in 1976, that of 400,000 twenty years later

(1997), then, after the recession due to local (murder of the royal family, Maoist; see STEINMAN, 2006) and global geopolitical instability (September 11th…), the number of tourists exceeded 500,000 in 2007, and reached 600,000 in 2010.

Table 1. Number of International Tourists in Nepal (1962-2011).

Year	Tourists	Year	Tourists
1962	6,179	1990	254,885
1966	12,567	1994	326,531
1970	45,970	1998	463,684
1974	89,838	2002	275,468
1978	156,123	2006	383,926
1982	175,448	2010	602,867
1986	223,231	2011	736,215

Source: Nepal Tourism Statistics 2011.

Thus, beyond the resources and heritage that are mountains and landscapes, it is in this overall context of growth of tourism in Nepal that sport tourism need to be considered.

At first begins to develop a new form of distinctive holiday (PASSAVANT, 1996) for Western populations: trekking. It increases rapidly from 1970, when the Ministry of Tourism of Nepal creates trekking permits: 3,431 are issued that year (7.5% of all international tourists). There are more than 37,000 ten years later (23%), 62,000 in 1990 (24.4%), over 118,000 in 2000 (25.5%), to reach a record level of 139,929 trekkers in 2009 (27.4%). These figures show that mountain tourism (expeditions, trekking, but rafting to), occupies an important place in the tourism of Nepal (PANDEY & al., 1995).

Table 2. Number of Trekkers in Nepal, 1978-2010.

Year	Trekkers	Year	Trekkers	Year	Trekkers
1978	21,919	1990	62,092	2002	59,644
1982	32,332	1994	76,290	2006	66,931
1986	49,575	1998	111,862	2010	70,218

Source: Nepal Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation website.

The development of trekking activity has positive effects on the economy of tourism in the regions of Nepal who have no worthy cultural heritage. Thus, for the local population, economy grows in rural areas visited, people see it as a complement to agricultural activity by

welcoming tourists, they have to feed and house. But also in the cities, especially Kathmandu, it develops an important activity around travel agencies, whether or not trekking. The table below (Table N.3) highlights the tripling of the number of tourism agencies in the past twelve years, both as regards the traditional travel agencies (563 in 1999 and 1,814 in 2010, up 320%), for trekking agencies (161 in 1993, 475 in 1999 and 1,240 in 2010, up 260%, but +770% since 1993).

Table 3. Travel and Trekking Agencies Number in Nepal, 1993-2010.

Year	Travel Agencies	Trekking Agencies	Year	Travel Agencies	Trekking Agencies
1993	?	161	2004	877	705
1994-98	?	?	2005	948	740
1999	563	475	2006	1,026	793
2000	637	537	2007	1,167	872
2001	691	580	2008	1,320	977
2002	738	611	2009	1,496	1,096
2003	788	645	2010	1,814	1,240

Source: Nepal Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation website.

The impact of sport tourism is particularly important on the job, since if the number of tourist guides[6] has increased by 140% between 2001 and 2010 (n= +768) the one of trekking guides grew by 250% (n= +4000) at the same time.

Table 4. Total number of tourist guides and trekking guides, 2001-2010.

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Tourist Guides	1,900	2,001	2,071	2,149	2,202	2,271	2,343	2,458	2,548	2,668
Trekking Guides	2,745	3,094	3,457	3,930	4,395	4,663	5,098	5,356	5,987	6,745

Source: Nepal Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation website.

So while Kathmandu sees a considerable demographic and economic development (more than one million inhabitants in 2011)[7], the regions open to sports tourism[8] benefit flows trekkers

[6] That is to say, the guides accompanying groups of tourists making visits to cultural (temples, monuments, landmarks of national history...).
[7] Government of Nepal, National Population census: http://census.gov.np/ (4 October 2012).
[8] All regions can not receive the sports tourism, as all regions and all summits are not open to this activity by national political authorities.

who come to spend their money through trekking tours. Also, these isolated agricultural regions, increased from a subsistence economy to an economy based in part on the contribution of tourism. However, it is necessary to create the conditions for receiving Western countries tourists, that is to say a cuisine exotic but certainly acceptable, accommodation tending towards a certain quality despite finding a form of authenticity and the acceptance of some form of hardiness from the trekkers, but also to upgrade a number of other components of tourism services and supervision of clients such as learning foreign languages, the regularity of the quality of services, establishing friendly relations with tourists while maintaining a professional approach, etc. All elements involved in the creation of a level of professionalism shared by all local stakeholders in tourism.

5. Changes in the Practice of Mountaineering in the Himalayas

After the period of nationalist character of mountaineering in the Himalayas, reserved for the happy few - national expeditions consisting of high-level climbers, handpicked, with funding in part by public funds (state, government) - the decades 70, but also 80 and 90 of the last century, see unfold a number of significant changes.

On the one hand, with mountaineers as Reinhold Messner (Italy), a new approach to the high altitude develops, consisting of the transfer of the Alpine style in the Himalayas: it is “light” expeditions, using a minimum of equipment and human resources ("Sherpa") to reach the top. Team of climbers is smaller (two, three or four), and after the necessary period of acclimatization to the altitude, ascent is attempted without the installation of permanent altitude camps, and climbing quickly to stay the least possible time in the “death zone” (that is to say that more than 7500 or 8000 meters). The cost of the expedition is thereby greatly reduced relative to antecedent “heavy” ones, requiring several tons of equipment, hundreds of porters, and many “sherpas”. On the other hand, in 1980, the Swiss Max Eiselin, mountaineer and manager of a sports store in Zurich, offers to his customers the ascent of Dhaulagiri (8167 m, in western Nepal, he ascended in 1960), in a purely commercial way: he takes care of all the administrative organization and logistics, the customer only has to pay for the supply of proposed services. The market opens to new sports clients, who do not belong to the elite

clubs and other alpine or mountain associations, while competent amateur (or less) can then purchase his participation in a commercial expedition (CARREL, 2009).

Finally, Reinhold Messner, once again, by the ascent of a series of "fourteen 8000" during the period from 1970 to 1986, became the first to accomplish this achievement. The competition by peaks interposed in the 1980s with the Polish Jerzy Kukuczka (who completes the series in 1987), but the same challenge that bind several other climbers of different nationalities in their wake (Benoît Chamoux [France], Erhard Loretan [Switzerland], Carlos Carsolio [Mexico], Wanda Rutkiewicz [Poland], etc.), together popularized and demystifies the superhuman side of climb to such altitudes. Also, the Himalayas at 8000 meters become a playground for amateur mountaineer with money (or could motivate sponsors) and the necessary time off (six weeks for a "small" 8000, two months for Mount Everest). This, especially as the decades 80 and 90 correspond to the development of "extreme" sports: Marathon becomes a popular race that saw thousands enrolled participants, foot races endurance of unimaginable distances before are created (100 km and more ...). The organization of commercial shipments becomes a market (KRAKAUER, 1997) where many are trying to gain a foothold, with more or less success (commercial and / or sport), because reaching the summit of 8000 requires both physical qualities (and technical) from the climbers that favorable weather, and the absence of major incidents throughout the expedition (severe fall, edema, avalanche, group cohesion, logistics [LIEVRE, 2007], etc.). Also to take account of Nepal alone, the number of expeditions increasing fairly steadily since the opening of borders to foreigners in the early 1950s, as highlighted in the following table.

Table 5. Number of Mountaineering Expeditions in Nepal, 1949-1986.

Years	Expeditions Number	Expeditions Number / Year	Countries Number
1949-1965	138	8	17
1979-1986	530	76	31

Source: -------, 2003, p.126 (by René de Milleville).

However, if the number of expeditions increases, the number of climbers participating remains fairly stable (except for the last few years). However, it should be noted that it is primarily the number of persons employed by the expeditions that drops considerably. Indeed, over time, the mountaineering equipment lightens through advances in materials engineering,

as well as for other equipment (tents, etc.), and porters no longer have to carry - among others - the coins will be used to pay them! This corroborates the trend outlined above, regarding the reduction of the size of these expeditions. So there are consequences for employment of porters.

Table 6. Number of Employees by Expedition in Nepal, 1990-2008.

Year	Expeditions	Employees	Empl.//Exp.	Year	Expeditions	Employees	Empl./Exp.
1990	120	14 179	118	2000	132	11 587	88
1991	130	9 080	70	2001	112	6 203	55
1992	113	8 261	73	2002	134	10 599	79
1993	95	5 423	57	2003	152	14 838	98
1994	105	5 236	50	2004	140	9 362	67
1995	91	5 123	56	2005	128	?	?
1996	129	4 924	38	2006	133	4 344	33
1997	120	7 003	58	2007	162	4 823	30
1998	141	6 942	49	2008	267	4 231	16
1999	115	9 690	84				

Source: Nepal Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation website.

However, reducing the number of expedition employees is not only due to the size of these ones. Indeed, there are other factors to consider such as reducing the weight of equipment used by many climbers, the rationalization of logistics, but also the improvement of transport. Whereas until the 1960s or even the 1970s, everything was done on foot, trail construction, the use of all-terrain vehicles, and the construction of small airports like Lukla, on the road to Everest, greatly facilitate communications and travels. Also, it is the whole structure of the economy of sport tourism that has been transformed.

Finally, we must not forget that in this economic environment, the practice of mountaineering in the Himalayas of Nepal brings in foreign currency to the tune of three million U.S. $ in 2010, because as there is a trekking permit, each peak is priced, especially Everest which the permit price is U.S. $ 10,000 per person! The following table shows that the highest mountain in the world is an economic capital that the Nepalese authorities have no incentive to neglect within the meaning of environmental protection (particularly through waste management), and it should keep its aura of adventure Mecca, despite the crowds that flock there especially

in the spring (the base camp on the Nepalese side has about five hundred people in April and May).

Table 7. Peaks of Nepal whose royalties totalised more than U.S. $ 50,000 in 2010.

Peaks	Altitude	Expeditions Number	Summiters	Royalties (US$)
Everest	8848 m	30	170	2 343 000
Manaslu	8163 m	13	42	127 000
Lhotse	8516 m	10	14	100 750
Makalu I	8463 m	6	13	84 000
Ama Dablam	6812 m	31	122	77 000
Annapurna I	8091 m	7	19	67 500
Dhaulagiri I	8167 m	6	13	59 500
All the others	---	177	270	169 850
Total	---	280	663	3 028 600

Source: Nepal Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation website.

6. Social Transformations Due to the Development of Adventure Tourism

If Ang Tharkay, in the early 1950s, can not imagine any transformation of the economy and society in Nepal, this is not the case of Tenzing Norgay. Born in 1914, he is younger than his eldest only seven years, but this is an age difference sufficient to introduce a number of changes in the modes of thinking and look to the future. Tenzing Norgay, also a native of the Khumbu valley, follows a similar path to that of his predecessor: he moved to Darjeeling in 1932 because his friend Dawa Thondup told him that he will be engaged in the expedition to Mount Everest in 1933. He lives near Dawa Thondup home, in the district of Toong Soog Busti, as a tenant in the house of Ang Tharkay: *"(…) throughout the neighborhood, lived other men who had distinguished themselves on Everest and elsewhere"* (TENZING NORGAY, 1955, p. 41). However, he is not engaged in this expedition and should expect the 1935 one: he receives 12 annas per day for carrying loads of 27 to 41 kg between lower camps, and one rupee[9] per day to carry 25 kg above the snowline, *"so that if I walked well, I*

[9] The rupee was divided into sixteen annas. In 1935, 100 British Indian Rupees worth 189.16 Swiss Francs, while a British Pound worth 25.22 Swiss Francs: thus the value of one Rupee was £ 0.075 (source: *La Fédération Horlogère*, mercredi 15 mai 1935, 50e année, n° 20, p. 127, http://doc.rero.ch/lm.php?url=1000,25,18,19350515.pdf). At the same time, the monthly salary of a member of the Indian infantry was 11 Rupees, the one of an officer of the Indian National Army was 15 Rupees (source: http://2ndlook.wordpress.com/tag/british-indian-army/).

would make more money than ever before" (TENZING NORGAY, 1955, p. 46). From that time, having shown physical and technical capabilities himself to, he never stops being hired by one or the other for expeditions in high-altitude regions of India and Nepal, spending even five years in Chitral (now a District of Pakistan). In Darjeeling, where not accompanied expeditions, he takes tourists to places of interest, such as Tiger Hill where you can see Mount Everest. However, unlike Ang Tharkay, Tenzing Norgay shown more ambition because, attending Western mountaineers, a dream arises gradually: to climb Mount Everest. This simple fact shows considerable transformation in attitudes between generations yet very close.

Among the Sherpa of this generation, none went to school because it does not exist in the Khumbu[10], not even in Darjeeling before the 1950s for the population of Sherpa. But Tenzing Norgay, alongside the Westerners, and who himself could not learn to read and write, is aware of the need for education: his two daughters go for several years in Nepali schools in Darjeeling, *"but now I can pay, they go to the Catholic convent of Loreto"* (TENZING NORGAY, 1955, p. 116). Jamling, a son born in 1965 from his second marriage, leave Nepal at the age of twenty years to study in the United States where he remained for ten years (J. TENZING NORGAY, 2002). This problem is even more evident today, as pointed Apa Sherpa[11], who has climbed - always in the context of western expeditions - twenty-one times Mount Everest between 1990 and 2011: *"If I do this, it is so that my children do not have to do it"* (quoted in BOUTROY, 2006, p. 171).

Unlike that of its predecessor, the autobiography of Tenzing Norgay is studded with remarks on transformations that are now known where he lives in India and Nepal his country of origin: the education that the children can now receive, the development of modernization, openness to other cultures, transnational friendships that become possible (especially with the Swiss climber Raymond Lambert), etc. He perceives very well that his home world has entered an era of change, or mutation.

[10] As a child, Tenzing Norgay had been sent by his parents in a lamasery, but "when I fled the monastery, I lost my only chance of education" (TENZING NORGAY, 1955, p.29).

[11] Lhakpa Tenzing Sherpa, named Apa Sherpa, was born in 1960 in the village of Thame in the Khumbu (Everest region), which is from his wife to. They moved to the United States for career opportunities reasons and the education of their three children.

7. The Entrepreneurial Spirit of Adventure Tourism

The importance of developing trekking activities in the Himalayas, and the evolution of the Western tour operators offers over the years (-----, 2003; -----; -------, 2004), have considerable impact on local populations. Mutual attendance between Sherpa populations on one hand, trekkers and climbers and other Westerners in another hand, in the Khumbu valley and Kathmandu, led to the establishment of cultural bridges. Some settled (and marry) in Nepal as French climber Henri Sigayret (SIGAYRET, 1998), others come for a while working in France as Sonam Sherpa (ASSELIN, 2010). This one is certainly the best example of the typical self-made man of Nepalese tourism adventure, completed a socio-economic trajectory the analysis provides insight into the changes in mentality, but also the ability to capitalize on the experience and improve it in reinvesting in the entrepreneurship.

Sonam Sherpa was born in 1961, almost half a century after Tenzing Norgay, in a Solo Khumbu village of hundred and fifty inhabitants, at the altitude of 2800 meters, without running water or electricity. Like his predecessors, he is not going to school and caring for farm work during his childhood. Indeed, all of the Solo Khumbu villages have not benefited as quickly investments made by New Zealand mountaineer Edmund Hillary, who wanted to bring the Sherpa people, in the form of health and school facilities[12], benefits that had made for him the ascent of Mount Everest (HILLARY, 1999). It's very young Sonam Sherpa leaves his region to Kathmandu, where one of his sisters worked in a travel agency of adventure tourism. It is through this that he began to work on treks as porter and cook according to the model described above. He was lucky to be befriended by French trekkers, qualified mountaineers, who invite him soon in France: beyond culture shock, he worked for several months as skiman[13] or in mountain huts in the area of Chamonix - where, in France, “things are” - alongside, inside, the French clientele of winter sports and mountain sports.

Returned to Kathmandu, he married Pasang Lhamu, who will become a national hero by being the first Nepali woman to climb Everest (1993, where she dies), and he founded his own trekking company, Tamserku (the name of a peak near his village). This business grows as grow together trekking activity but also the achievements of climbers on the 8000.

[12] Construction of hospitals in Kunde and in Paphlu, and a school in Khumjung.
[13] The skiman is, in a ski shop, whose maintains and repairs skis, rents and sells ski equipment and accessories.

Befriending with the most prestigious of them, the social surface of his business grows, especially as Sonam Sherpa knows incorporate what makes the difference and he has learned in Europe: the quality of service offered to customers, whether simple trekker, or more confirmed climbers. Today, he employs one thousand eight hundred people.

However, having found gaps in transport at a time when the speed of movement is crucial, he creates despite all the difficulties made by the Nepalese administration, a domestic airline company that serves the towns of Nepal and end up with a fleet of seventeen units at the head of which he placed one of his brothers. Finally, diversifying his customer base in a market of trekking agencies increasingly crowded (see Table N.3 above), he creates a new concept, that of five-star lodges to accommodate customers attracted by the trek but also by the comfort that can be offered in addition.

Thus, the knowledge learned through his international contacts, but undoubtedly by latent predispositions, Sonam Sherpa built the company that makes adventure tourism in synergy full range of services and logistics services needed by trekkers and mountaineers: travel agency, transportation, accommodation…

8. Conclusion

In a century, from the birth of Ang Tharkay (1907) to today, Nepal has undergone considerable changes: country sealed until the late 1940s, the independence of India and Pakistan to on the one hand, the invasion of Tibet by Communist China on the other hand, led the authorities to open the borders and then to accept international aid and, therefore, the changes it led, unlike in Bhutan remained closed. While cultural heritage, but also the "capital mountain" was an essential element of the transformation the country has experienced since then: in this context, the development of adventure tourism activity has played an important role, combining more than cultural tourism (the vast majority of Indian origin), Western and indigenous. Sherpa, especially Sirdars best, some of whom form to access the standards of mountain guides issued by the IFMGA[14], are individuals open to otherness not only by their

[14] IFMGA: International Federation of Mountain Guides Associations.

participation in expeditions, but also because they are traveling abroad and are as mediators between cultures (BOUTROY, 2006). As emphasized by Tashi and Judy Tenzing[15]:

> I must add that the Sherpa have become the elite of the trekking industry and they are highly sought after as Sirdars and as guides. The reasons for their success are simple: they usually speak English properly, learn foreign languages easily, willingly accept responsibilities and demonstrate a remarkable sense of initiative in crisis. (T. and J. TENZING, 2003, p. 243).

Thus, through the figures of great "Sherpa" and Sirdars, that was Ang Tharkay and Tenzing Norgay on the one hand, but also as an entrepreneur like Sonam Sherpa on the other hand, we can "read" the transformation of Sherpa population aspirations and, therefore, appreciate the changes in their values and aspirations along with the social and economic changes at work.

References

ALLEN, C. **Plain Tales of the Raj**. London: Abacus, 1995 (1st ed., André Deutsch & BBC, 1975).

ANG THARKAY (recueillis par NORTON, B. P.). **Mémoires d'un Sherpa**. Paris: Amiot-Dumont, 1954.

ASSELIN, J. M. **L'irrésistible ascension de Sonam Sherpa**. Grenoble: Glénat, 2010.

BOUTROY, E. La professionnalisation des guides népalais. Quelques réflexions autour de la réappropriation du tourisme de montagne. **Autrepart**, n.40, p.169-176, 2006.

CARREL, F. Et vint le temps des mangeurs de cimes. **Le Monde diplomatique**, n°665, p.22-23, 2009.

CERF, M. **L'antivoyage**. Paris: Mercure de France, 1974.

DAS, C. **Voyage à Lhassa et au Tibet central**. Genève: Olizane, 1994 (1st ed., Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet, 1902).

DE MILLEVILLE, R. **Etude statistique sur sept ans d'expéditions en Himalaya du Népal** (1er septembre 1979 au 31 mai 1986, soit 530 expéditions) [Manuscript]. Chamonix: Ecole nationale de ski et alpinisme, Centre de documentation, 1986.

DIDIER, H. **Les Portugais au Tibet. Les premières relations jésuites** *(1624-1635)*. Paris: Chandeigne, 1996.

DOUGLAS, E. **Tenzing. Hero of Everest. A Biography of Tenzing Norgay**. Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2003.

[15] Tashi Tenzing Wangchuk, named Tashi Tenzing, is the son of Pem Pem, the eldest daughter from the first marriage of Tenzing Norgay. He married in 1990 with Judy Pyne, an Australian guide, and they founded a trekking agency in Australia.

ELIADE, M. **L'Inde**, Paris: Presses Pocket, 1990.

GALLOIS, E. Les villes anglaises de l'Himalaya. **Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lille**. Off-print. Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1899.

-----, -. 2003.

-----, -.; -------, -. 2004.

HERZOG, M. **Annapurna premier 8000**. Paris/Grenoble: Arthaud, 1951.

HILLARY, E. Un regard depuis le sommet. Grenoble: Glénat, 1999 (1st ed**., View from the Summit. Doubleday**, 1999).

KEAY, J. **Explorers of the Western Himalayas 1820-1895.** London: John Murray, 1996.

KNIGHT E. F. **Where Three Empires Meet. A narrative of recent travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the adjoining countries**, London/New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900 (1st ed., 1895).

KRAKAUER, J. Tragédie à l'Everest. Paris: Plon, 1997 (1st ed. **Into Thin Air: A Personal Account of the Mt. Everest Disaster**. Villard Books, 1997).

LIEVRE, P. **La logistique**. Paris: La Découverte, 2007.

MASON, K. **Abode of Snow. A history of Himalayan exploration and mountaineering from the earliest times to the ascent of Everest**. London/Seattle: Diadem Books/The Mountaineers, 1987 (1st ed., London: Rupert Hart-Davies, 1955).

MINISTRY OF TOURISM & CIVIL AVIATION. **Some provisions relating to mountain tourism in Nepal (complement)**. Kathmandu: Her Majesty's Government, 1993.

MINISTRY OF TOURISM & CIVIL AVIATION. **Annual Statistical report 1992**. Kathmandu: Her Majesty's Government, 1992.

ORTNER, S. B. **Life and Death on Mt. Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering.** Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

PANDEY, R. N.; CHETTRI, P.; KUNWAR, R. R.; GHIMIRE, G. **Case study on the effects of tourism on culture and environment: Nepal.** Bangkok: UNESCO, 1995.

PASSAVANT, E**. L'enchantement du monde par le voyage. Etude du renouvellement d'un mysticisme laïc cultivé.** PhD. (Doctorat en sociologie). Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1996.

-------, -. 2003.

-------, -. 2004.

SACAREAU, I. **Porteurs de l'Himalaya. Le trekking au Népal**. Paris: Belin, 1997.

SIGAYRET, H. **Journal d'un sahib au Népal**. Grenoble: Glénat, 1998.

SINGH, C. Du fond des vallées aux sommets. Les villes précoloniales de l'Himachal et l'impact de la domination britannique sur la croissance urbaine. **Histoire des Alpes / Storia delle Alpi / Geschichte der Alpen**, n.8, p.125-143, 2003.

STEINMAN, B. (Ed.). **Le maoïsme au Népal. Lectures d'une révolution**. Paris: CNRS Editions, 2006.

TENZING, T.; TENZING, J. **Tenzing et les sherpas de l'Everest. Grenoble: Glénat, 2003 (1st ed. Tenzing and the Sherpas of Everest**. HarperCollins, 2001).

TENZING NORGAY (racontée à ULLMAN, J. R.). Tenzing de l'Everest. Autobiographie. Paris/Grenoble: Arthaud, 1955 (1st ed., **Man of Everest**. London: George G. Harrap, 1955).

TENZING NORGAY SHERPA (as told to BARNES, M.). **After Everest. An Autobiography**. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977.

TENZING NORGAY, J. A la recherche de l'âme de mon père. Un sherpa au sommet de l'Everest. Paris: Presses du Châtelet, 2002 (1st ed**.,** ***Touching My Father's Soul***. HarperCollins, 2001).

TOFFIN, G. **Les tambours de Katmandou**. Paris: Payot & Rivages, 1996.

WEBER, M. L'éthique protestante et l'esprit du capitalisme. Paris: Plon, 1964 (**The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism**).

Recebido em: 01/02/2013

Aprovado em: 12/05/2013