PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL (PRA) IN COMMUNITY TOURISM PLANNING: A CASE STUDY IN THE NYISHANG AND NAR-PHU REGIONS OF THE MANANG DISTRICT, NEPAL

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ABSTRACT

Third World countries are continually being promoted as important tourist destinations due to their cultural and biological diversity. However, in the rush for tourist development, many culturally unique and physically fragile rural areas are opened for tourism without a proper assessment of the existing problems of these areas or of the concerns of the people living there. These problems arise not only due to the lack of experts but also due to the lack of a framework that is appropriate to the problems of Third World rural areas. Central to such an assessment are the impacts that tourism might have on the destination community's resources (social, cultural, economic, and environmental), which nurture and sustain tourism. It is, therefore, essential to have community participation and input to integrate overall community objectives into the mainstream of tourism development. In order to achieve these goals in Third World rural areas, an appropriate framework suitable for both the assessment of tourism impacts on host societies and to facilitate community participation measures is required. To fulfil these requirements, a modified Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach is proposed and evaluated in the Manang District of Nepal.

This study has two major objectives. It has first adopted, tested, and evaluated Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques for their potential in encouraging community participation in tourism planning within a Third World rural setting. Second, specific tourism development strategies for the study area, as articulated by its residents, are presented, interpreted, and elaborated.

Four major techniques of PRA were adapted and used for this research. They are: a review of secondary data; followed by semi-structured interviews of key informants and other individuals; group interviews and discussions; and finally a community workshop. Residents of two regions, Nyishang and Nar-Phu of the Manang District of Nepal comprised the study audience. The former is a popular tourist destination on the Annapurna circuit, and the latter is a potential tourist destination which has not yet been opened to foreign visitors. The above PRA techniques and their sequential introduction have been vital in allowing research participants an analysis of their common problems and concerns, and to move systematically towards defining acceptable styles of development and desirable future tourism opportunities.

Interviewees of both Nyishang and Nar-Phu see tourism as one option to supplement agropastoralism in meeting basic community needs. Knowledge of tourists, tourism, its impacts and planning was very poor, particularly among the residents of Nar-Phu who are not exposed to tourism. Therefore, Nar-phu has much to learn form its adjacent neighbour Nyishang. Despite this, most of the interviewees were able to identify the existing tourism product of the research area. Given the poor tourism knowledge base, residents may need a high level of an external agency's assistance in the planning process, at least in the initial phase. However, the formation of a tourism management committee representing all groups of people living in the area, emerged as an appealing institutional arrangement. This can build locals' confidence and accumulate experience. Meaningful participation, however, will depend on tourism education and awareness for both the general residents and the industry sector and their balanced inputs into planning and implementation. Although the adapted PRA process has facilitated community participation for this case study, future design should include evaluation and monitoring aspects, so as to be iterative in meeting community needs at different stages of tourism development.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the problems and prospects of tourism development in Third World countries and their rural hinterlands. Tourism development has brought substantial economic advantages to Third World countries and their rural areas. However, tourism development activity and the income generated by tourism has not always been compatible with other social and economic objectives of the tourist receiving communities. Therefore, tourism planners are now being asked to be more responsive to a broader set of economic and social needs rather than following a purely economic rationale. To achieve this, tourist receiving communities are increasingly being encouraged to participate in and give meaningful input to tourism planning. There are two reasons for this. First, the impacts of tourism (economic, social and ecological) are most profound at the community level (De Kadt, 1979a; Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Blank, 1989; Simmons, 1989; 1994). Second, the receiving communities are being recognised as an essential ingredient of the 'tourism product' at any destination (Murphy, 1985, Haywood, 1988; Simmons 1989; 1994).

Within different levels of tourism planning (national, regional, local community), planning at the community level is strongly endorsed for any region or country wishing to deliver a quality experience for the tourist and ongoing benefits for the receiving communities (Haywood, 1988; Simmons, 1994). However, in many Third World countries the tourism plan, which should establish the development strategy for the whole economy, is itself non-existent or not decisively implemented. The tourism planning undertaken in these countries has often been remedial, after much development has already taken place (De Kadt, 1979b). Difficulties arise not only because of limited planning capacities, but are also due to a lack of appropriate planning techniques and approaches. In these countries, physical and social constraints to development possibilities may be much more acute than in larger economies (De Kadt, 1979b). Many small developing countries, for example, comprise different social classes in the community and they may have different interests. The articulation of the interests of the poor majority is often weak, their voices are rarely heard in local politics. Interests which community members may have in common with regard to tourism development are frequently not clearly perceived, formulated or pursued. In other cases, the community, as such, has little or no authority to deal with development, such powers being vested in central or provincial governments (De Kadt, 1979b).

Moreover, the experience of local people in the political decision-making in most of the countries of the Third World tend to be limited, not least because groups dominant locally or nationally deliberately keep them in a subordinate position (De Kadt, 1979b:41). Even in a fairly "open" political system, local people usually do not have the knowledge to participate, in an informed and reasonably far-sighted manner, in the process leading up to social, economic and political choices (De Kadt, 1979b:42). The current requirement therefore, is a framework for the assessment of tourism and encouragement of community participation in the tourism planning process which can facilitate building local people's self-awareness and self-esteem. The framework should also be educative, empowering locals to be self-motivated to strengthen institutional capacity to manage their resources themselves. On the basis of these issues, a participatory approach to research and planning called 'Participatory Rural Appraisal' (PRA) techniques, primarily used in forestry and agriculture, is adapted and applied for the first time in the tourism research and planning context in Nepal. Particular focus has been placed on rural settings like the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions of the Manang District, where the majority of the population is primarily based on subsistence agriculture, pastoralism, some trade and recently on increasing tourist visitation. The population, scattered over a wide area, is often illiterate, of heterogenous origin, and has limited experience of the participation and decision-making process. Not surprisingly, the population has limited experience in research and little or no background data are likely to exist.

1.O RESEARCH GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The major goals of the research were to determine the potential of a PRA approach for encouraging the community's residents to participate in community tourism planning, and to develop and interpret specific developmental strategies for the study area, based on the research findings.

To achieve the above goals the following objectives were proposed.
1. To review the potential roles of PRA in assessing tourism development and in community tourism planning.
2. To adapt, test and evaluate a modified PRA process in tourism destination areas.
3. To assess residents' current state of knowledge of tourism.
4. To assess residents' perceptions of existing and potential tourism products,

5. To assess anticipated environmental, socio-cultural and economic problems associated with tourism development.

6. To identify residents' attitudes, perceptions and preferences towards tourism development.

1.1 THESIS ORGANISATION

This thesis includes seven chapters. In chapter two, the factors affecting tourism impacts, and their evolution in destination areas are discussed. A purely economic rationale for tourism development is challenged and better integration of the receiving community's other social and economic objectives are called for (Getz, 1983; Haywood, 1988). The major issues of tourism development in Third World countries are also discussed. It is argued that the benefits of tourism development in such countries are often much less than those expected by their governments. Third World countries have poorly diversified economies, lack capital for investment, lack skilled manpower, and finally lack government ability to create an environment for investment and to encourage linkage with other sectors of the economy. It is therefore suggested that, in order to broaden the economic base by tourism, it is essential to maintain control over the decision making process and the scale of tourism development which can be financed and operated by the resources, capital, and manpower available locally. In achieving the above goal, proper functioning and support of all sectors of the tourism industry is essential. Parallel with these requirements is political stability, for security of the existing industry, for securing investment, and for the security of the tourist.

Along with various tourism development issues, specific impacts of tourism at the community level are also presented and discussed. In this section, it is suggested that to understand resident communities' needs and aspirations, appropriate assessment methods are required. The tourism industry uses the destination community as a venue for consumption, therefore its impacts are most keenly felt at this level. Furthermore, the naturalness of the community, its way of life, its institutions and its culture are essential ingredients of the 'tourism product' (Haywood, 1988). Therefore, the need for their participation and meaningful input into the tourism planning process is also stressed. Although many authors have advocated greater participation, few have tested or evaluated methods appropriate to secure local residents' interest and support for tourism planning (Simmons, 1994). It is also argued that many planners rush towards involving various

publics in their work without a full consideration of the progress of public participation techniques employed in other aspects of planning. Therefore, the primary goal of this research will be to adapt, test and evaluate PRA techniques in a tourism research and planning context.

In chapter three, the evolution of the PRA approach, its principles, major PRA techniques and their strengths and weaknesses are first described and discussed. Particular attention has been paid to the rationale for the adaptation of PRA techniques over other conventional research methods, and its potential role in facilitating community participation in the community tourism planning process. Finally, the techniques adopted from the PRA approach are discussed and the process is designed to suit the tourism assessment and planning context. The methods adapted have been designed to move the research from the exploration of general issues underpinning tourism development, to the generation of specific options for implementation. This sequential design also provides a series of cross checks, one device against another. It is followed by some methodological issues that should be considered during the application of PRA techniques.

In chapter four, the methodology as applied in the case study is described. Four major techniques adapted from PRA are applied. These are: secondary data review; semi-structured interviews with key informants and individuals; home visits and group interviews; and a community workshop. Each of these techniques are adapted to address the twin research objectives; first, to gain valid data through a filtering and focusing process, and second, to evaluate the method itself. Along with a description of the adopted PRA process, some major problems encountered at the research site are also presented.

Chapter five serves the dual purpose of introducing the chosen research areas, the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions of the Manang district, and reviewing secondary data as a necessary first step in the adapted PRA methodology. It includes the general characteristics of the Manang District followed by reasons for the selection of the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions; the socio-cultural aspects of the people living in Nyishang and Nar-Phu; and the development of tourism in Nyishang region; and its potential in the Nar-Phu region.

In chapter six, the data generated from the adapted PRA techniques is presented and evaluated. First, the current challenges facing the Manang District are identified and tourism development, as an option for addressing the challenges, is recognised. The ingredients for tourism

development, potential participation and planning are also reviewed. Attention has been paid to configuring and interpreting the major constraints that shape tourism development, and determining specific tourism development that is seen as desirable by the residents of the study area. At the end of the chapter, the potential of the adapted PRA for the assessment of tourism and community tourism planning are evaluated and presented.

In the final chapter, a summary of the results and their implications for the research area are presented. It is followed by implications of PRA for community tourism planning. The limitations of the study and opportunities for further research are also explored.

CHAPTER TWO
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Tourism development is often seen as a relatively quick and simple solution to the problem of underdeveloped economies. The enthusiasm for tourism development has been driven by economic concerns with little or no thought given to the social and cultural impacts on host communities and their environments. These impacts can result in the modification of indigenous cultures and disruption to the life styles of the recipient communities. The objectives of this chapter are to review factors perpetuating socio-cultural and environmental impacts, to discuss recurrent Third World tourism development issues and also to discuss more specific impacts at the community level. It also reviews the potential of community based tourism planning in mitigating existing and future negative impacts. Particular emphasis is given to methods appropriate for community participation in tourism planning in Third World rural areas.

This chapter is divided into five parts. In the first part, major factors contributing to tourism impacts and tourism evolution in destination areas are discussed. Unlike other export industries, in tourism, the consumer shifts to the point of supply, consequently, significant concern has been expressed in the literature about the role of tourism as one of the agents of economic, environmental, social and cultural change. In the second part, the issues of tourism development in Third World countries are discussed. It is argued that, unless proper planning and control measures are mandated, tourism development may not be a secure growth industry for Third World countries. In the third part, the impacts of tourism on the host society and its environment are discussed. The aim of this section is not to substantiate a link between tourism development and specific impacts. They are included as examples of impacts that can occur and to identify significant issues requiring consideration in a tourism planning process. Next, 'community participation in tourism planning', as one of the measures to reduce future negative impacts, is discussed. It is argued that proper participation measures are now required to fulfil the objectives of community participation. The final part is a summary of the chapter.

2.1 FACTORS AFFECTING TOURISM IMPACTS AND EVOLUTION OF TOURIST DESTINATION AREAS

Like any other economic activity, tourism produces employment, profits, rents and revenue for the hosting community. Similar to other groups of economic goods, tourism also follows the principle of demand and supply. However, there are some unique characteristics or specialities of tourism which distinguish it from other industries and their products.

Tourism products (experiences) *per se* are intangible and they are produced and consumed simultaneously (Simmons, 1989). Due to their intangibility, they can neither be stored nor transported (Collier, 1989). Therefore, in tourism the customer must be physically present to consume the tourism products at the point of production (destination) (English, 1986; Blank, 1989; Jafari, 1989; Sinclair, Alizadeh, and Onunga, 1992). Thus the physical presence of tourists at the destination inevitably results in different mixes of impacts in the host community's environment: socio-cultural, economic, and biophysical.

Tourism is also a social phenomenon. It includes contact and a whole range of different relationships between traveller and host population. The contact and the resulting nature of the relationship is the main variable influencing the extent to which understanding or misunderstanding is fostered by the tourism process (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; English, 1986). Simmons (1988:31-34) has attempted to incorporate a range of factors reported in the literature (see Nettekoven, 1979:50 for tourist-host encounter, and UNESCO, 1976:82 for the nature of the tourist-host relationship) into these themes: behavioural; policy and planning; and structural; each of which contribute to the development of social, cultural and environmental impacts. These are briefly paraphrased below.

A. Behavioural

1. Cultural and economic distance: The potential for social impact is greater if there is a wide divergence of characteristics (race, nationality, appearance, affluence) between the interacting groups.

2. Contrast in lifestyle: Different orientation and other behavioural aspects of interacting groups.

3. Guest/Host ratio: The higher the intensity of tourist numbers, the higher will be the potential for negative impacts.

B. Policy and planning

1. Rate of development: If the development of tourism is gradual, communities have time to adapt and develop entrepreneurial activities.

2. Control and/or policy formulation: The potential for disagreement will be higher if local groups are not involved in planning and control decisions. Similarly, enterprises beyond the control of locals tend to create opposition and dissension.

3. Comprehensiveness of planning: Planning that is broad based, participatory, involves local authorities and considers the values of local culture will tend to be more compatible and creates less antagonism.

4. Ownership, profits and employment: A tourist industry will be appreciated and viewed as positive if profits are reinvested in the local industry, ancillary facilities and infrastructure. Similarly, employing local people at all levels of the industry will also be appreciated.

C. Structural

1. Level of economic diversification of the destination: The higher the economic diversification, the lower will be the economic leakage, and the greater the flow of money through a local economy.

2. Political stability and safety: Political stability and safety are important both for the tourists themselves and for tourism investment.

3. The physical capacity to absorb tourism: The size of a tourist destination and its geographic features will dictate its capacity to sustain tourism.

It seems that of these three major groups, behavioural factors may be the least easily controlled or manipulated with the possible exception of the tourists to resident ratio. The other two groups of factors, namely policy and planning and structural factors can be regulated to minimise the negative impacts of tourism.

De Kadt (1979a) suggests that the level of contact between the guest and host must be differentiated according to the stage of tourism development in which they occur and the type

of tourist involved. There are a number of models dealing with stages of tourism development in the destination area which accommodate changing visitor type and changing perceptions and attitudes of hosts throughout the period of tourism development. The most common example is Butler's (1980) tourism area life cycle model. In this, Butler assumes that a tourist destination passes through six consecutive stages, namely: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and a final stage of decline or rejuvenation as shown in Figure 1. Each of these stages is discussed in the following sections.
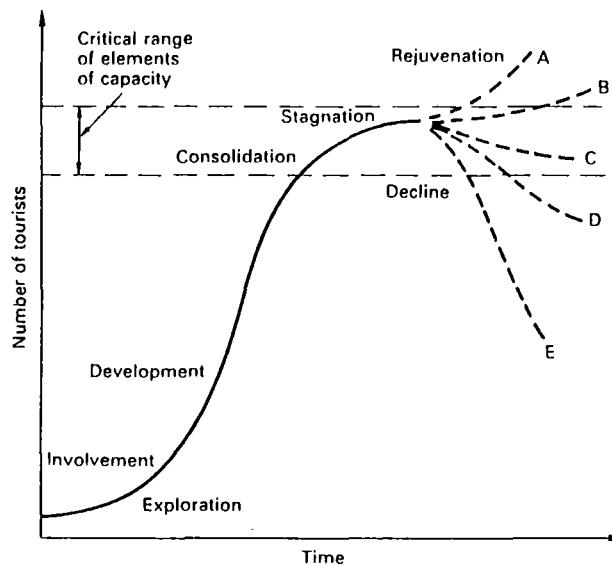
Figure 1. A tourist area cycle of evolution, (Source Butler, 1980:7).

The exploration stage: This stage is characterised by a small number of visitors. They may be identified as akin to Plog's (1991) 'allocentric' (adventure-seeking, preferring exotic) or Cohen's (1979) 'explorer' categorisations of tourists, in that they make their own travel arrangements and seek to merge with the local community. The locals themselves will welcome their 'guests' for they bring novelty and open a window to the outside world. The physical and social impact is small. Any commercial activity that occurs tends to be small-scale, or family-based, and there is effectively no adaptation of marketing strategies.

The involvement stage: As the number of visitors increase, the involvement stage is entered. The host community now begins to respond to the increasing numbers of visitors by providing some new facilities, for example setting aside a part of their home and taking in visitors. Levels of tourist/host interaction may be higher than before, and the marketing of the area remains low.

At this stage the relationship between guest and host is still harmonious, and the tourist still possesses high levels of interest and sympathy with the local way of life. In the later phase of the involvement stage, some of the community might recognise that tourism will continue to grow, and that in order to earn more from it they will have to expand the facilities being provided.

The developmental stage: Butler (1980) assumes that the process continues, and the numbers of tourists coming now begins to grow quite significantly. He describes this stage as being the one where the community now becomes a tourist resort. Plog's (1991) 'mid centric' or Cohen's (1979) 'institutionalised tourist' now arrives. New retail businesses appear, some of which may be owned by local people, some by nationals drawn from other centres of population, and who have retail and catering experience. This stage also attracts migrant workers into the hotels and restaurants. The relationship between host and guest has changed, and tourism is now a business no longer enjoying the novelty and excitement that it once possessed. As this stage progresses, local involvement and control over the tourism industry declines rapidly (Butler, 1980).

The consolidation stage: The consolidation stage begins as the rate of increase in visitor numbers begins to decline, although absolute numbers continue to increase. Revenue earned per tourist tends to fall, as the destination loses its exclusivity. The tourists now being attracted are the 'organised mass tourist' and Plog's (1991) 'psychocentrics' (safety-seeking, preferring the familiar). Business strategies turn to maintaining visitor numbers, although critical capacities are close to being reached. Butler (1980) points out that at this stage the large number of visitors and facilities provided for them may arouse some opposition and discontent among permanent residents, particularly those not directly involved in the tourism industry.

In the stagnation stage, the impact of tourism appears increasingly in the form of social, environmental, and economic problems. As visitor numbers decline, surplus capacity becomes available and the destination slowly loses its fashionable status as businesses discount prices to maintain volume. After the stagnation stage, the destination may decline further or new innovation might be sought for its rejuvenation.

However, it should be noted that not all destinations follow the same stages as described above. Any destination's evolution process is influenced by accessibility, government policy, the

planning process and the rate and scale of development, as well as the characteristics of their natural and social resource systems (Simmons and Leiper, 1993). The major theme to learn from the above model is that any destination will have limits to growth in terms of the social and natural resource systems that nurture and sustain its tourism. Unless specific steps are taken, tourist destination areas and resources will inevitably become over-used, unattractive, and will eventually experience declining use (Butler, 1980). Therefore "tourist attractions ... should be viewed and treated as finite and possibly non-renewable resource. They could then be carefully protected and preserved" (Butler, 1980:11).

While Butler's (1980) model describes the evolution of tourist destination areas in aggregate, there are subtle concomitant changes occurring in the host populations' perceptions and acceptance of tourism. For example Smith (1977), in her study of the anthropology of tourism, developed a tourist typology based on tourist numbers, their goals and their adaptation to local norms. As tourism changes in scale, numbers increase, and the type of tourist attracted changes. Adaptation to local norms declines and increasingly Western amenities are sought (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Frequency of types of tourists and their adaptation to local norms

Tourist types	Numbers of Tourists	Adaptations to Local Norms
Explorer	Very limited	Accepts fully
Elite	Rarely seen	Adapts fully
Off-beat	Uncommon but seen	Adapts well
Unusual	Occasional	Adapts somewhat
Incipient mass	Steady flow	Seeks Western amenities
Mass	Continuous flow	Expect Western amenities
Charter	Massive arrivals	Demands Western amenities

(Source: Smith, 1977:9)

Pearce (1982) also notes that as the number of tourists increase, the easy-going dimensions of tourist-host contact diminishes. Simmons and Leiper (1993:212) suggest that as tourism development progresses, not only will destinations attract different types of tourist, but other important factors such as length of stay may be changing at the same time. Parallel with the changing tourist types, the attitude and perceptions of the host may also change as tourism

development progresses. The following section discusses recurrent theories and factors affecting host perceptions and attitudes.

2.1.1 Host perception and attitude

Although there are different contact levels at different developmental stages, De Kadt (1979) argues that direct host/tourist contact is not necessary for impact to occur. The mere sight of tourists and their behaviour, and the untidy infrastructure built for them may induce behavioural change on the part of permanent residents. Therefore, even if the contact is brief, it is important to recognise the cumulative effect of increasing numbers of tourists.

There are two major frameworks that recognise the differential impacts of tourism growth and development. The first is Doxey's (1975) framework for understanding residents' irritation. Doxey argues that the level of irritation arising from contact between host and guest will be determined by the mutual compatibility of each group. However, for Mathieson and Wall (1982:139), even "...for seemingly compatible groups, sheer numbers may generate tension, with differences in colour, culture, economic status and nationality as complicating factors". Doxey (1975) suggests that destination areas pass through five stages of irritation. These are summarised below:

1. **The level of euphoria:** Hosts show enthusiasm for tourism development. They welcome visitors because there are opportunities for locals and money flows in along with tourists.

2. **The level of apathy:** Tourism industry expands and tourists are seen as a source of profit. Tourist host contact becomes more formal.

3. **The level of irritation:** Tourism industry reaches nearly to the saturation point at which locals cannot handle tourist numbers without the expansion of facilities.

4. **The level of antagonism:** Irritation becomes more open towards tourists through speech and behaviour. Mutual politeness gives way to antagonism.

5. **The final level:** The locals learn to live with changed environments that are irreversible. The destination still might draw tourists but of a different type.

In contrast to Doxey's (1975) linear model, Butler's (1974) framework (after Bjorklund and Philbrick, 1972, in Mathieson and Wall, 1982:139), based on cultural interaction, attempts to clarify differing attitudes among individuals at the community level. Butler (1974, in Mathieson

and Wall 1982) suggests that residents' attitudes may be either positive or negative, and behaviour may be active or passive, respectively. The resulting combinations of reactions to tourism may take one of four forms as shown in Figure 3. Within the community, all forms may exist at any one time but the number of people in any one category may not remain constant.
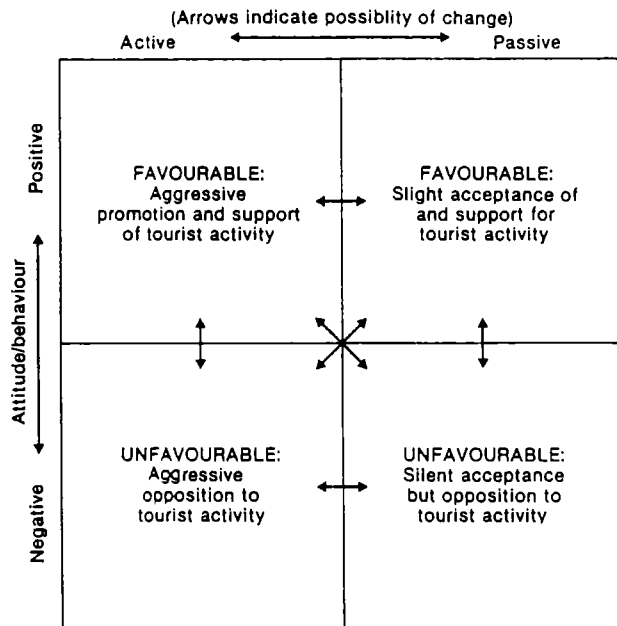
Figure 3. Host attitudinal/behavioural responses to tourist activity (Source: Mathieson and Wall, 1982:139)

For example, entrepreneurs who are financially involved in tourism are likely to be engaged in active promotion while an often small but highly vocal group, uninvolved in tourism, can be expected to lead aggressive opposition to tourist development and the changes which it brings. The majority of the population is likely to fall into the other two categories, either silently accepting tourism and its impact because of benefits which it brings or resigned acceptance because they can see no way of reversing the trend (Butler, 1974; cited in Mathieson and Wall, 1982:140).

In the above two models, Doxey assumed that change is unidirectional applying to the prevailing mood of a destination community in its entirety. On the other hand, Butler's (1974) framework allows for attitude and behaviour changes in a variety of directions among groups and individuals within a single destination.

In addition to the host communities' degree of economic linkages (either investment or employment) to the tourism industry, there is a spatial dimension that may affect host perceptions and attitudes. Residents who live close to a tourism activity will be most aware of the industry and feel its full impact (Murphy, 1985). Understanding host populations' perceptions and attitudes may reveal discrepancies between "actual" and "perceived" impacts. Pearce (1994) believes that community feelings, both real (objectively verifiable) and perceived (subjectively felt) are equally important for preventing and dealing with impacts. To understand both 'real' and 'perceived' impacts will, however, require an appropriate research framework. Identifying negative impacts as perceived by the residents is useful in setting up programmes to minimise friction between tourists and residents, and in formulating plans to gain residents' support for tourism development (Belisle and Hoy, 1980:88).

2.1.2 Summary of factors affecting tourism impacts

The salient feature of the tourism industry is that the presence of consumers at the point of production contributes directly or indirectly to social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts. The major factors contributing to tourism impacts are cultural and economic distance, the affluence of guests as compared with hosts, the sheer number of visitors, the pace of tourism development, and local control and ownership of industry. Models of tourist destination evolution suggest that, as tourism development progresses, not only the tourists attracted may be of a different kind, but the destination community's attitudes and perceptions may also change at the same time. Parallel with these changes, the local community may also lose control over the industry which was initially established by them. These trends are most acute for peripheral destination areas with limited population and infrastructure bases and, most importantly, a lack of policy and planning directives. If tourism development is set in the wider context of overall socio-economic development, it is necessary to manage tourist host encounters, to ensure an adequate flow of benefits to local people and their direct involvement in tourism planning, and to ensure that tourism development is based on local peoples' needs and aspirations. De Kadt (1979b), however, suggests that the issue of local community interest cannot, by itself, determine the desirability of tourism project. But if social impacts are to be taken into account, and no undue weight is to be given to economic considerations, then local community interests are probably better promoted by slower development of widely dispersed, small-scale facilities, than by massive, integrated and concentrated ones.

2.2 TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

In Third World countries, tourism development is often seen as a cure for underdeveloped economies. Central to this issue is that in these countries, the socio-cultural and community-related consequences are seldom considered until it is too late (Becker and Bradbury, 1994). This has led many critics to argue that Third World tourism largely benefits First World business and that Third World nations have opened themselves to risk of cultural, economic and environmental instability (Belk, 1993). These issues are discussed in the remainder of the chapter.

2.2.1 The issues of tourism development

Most tourism development issues can not be separated from the historical and political processes that gave shape to their development. De Kadt (1979b) argues that the global political economy is historically structured by colonialism, post-war Euro-American hegemony, and present politico-economic domination of South by North. This leaves little room for regions on the political, economic and geographical "peripheries" of the Northern "centres" to manoeuvre in any of their development strategies, including that for tourism. Organisations like the World Bank and United Nations have been providing funds, prescribing tourism for the economic advancement of poor countries and a number of these countries embarked upon tourism development without adequate feasibility studies and with little planning to integrate tourism into national development in general (Crick, 1989). Because of this, Third World countries may not be able to enjoy the full benefits that tourism brings.

In many resource-poor Third World countries, tourism is often the leading industry which earns foreign exchange for government revenue, and employment, but the net contribution of tourism is said to be minimal. Due to the lack of investment capital, skilled manpower and local products, Third World countries often have to rely on foreign capital, consultants and goods. To attract foreign investment, Third World countries are normally required to offer very generous financial incentives, such as tax free profits for a number of years (Crick, 1989; Belk, 1993). For example, the Ivory Coast provided tax exemptions of five to ten years for some hotels and tourist companies and financed a Club Mediterranean hotel with an agreement that no money needed to be paid back until the hotel reached a certain level of profitability (Belk, 1993:31). In addition, due to the lack of internal production ability, most of the Third World countries have

to import consumer goods such as liquor, toiletries, and air traffic control equipment from abroad in order to cater for foreign tourists. Critics also argue that the employment generated by tourism may be seasonal, temporary and filled by expatriates brought by multinational companies, particularly in management positions, whilst the majority of local jobs are often unskilled and are highly vulnerable to the fluctuations in tourism (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Lovel and Feuerstein, 1992; Belk, 1993). Therefore, the net foreign exchange may show little improvement (English, 1986; Belk, 1993).

Moreover, tourism is composed of a complex set of products of which Third World countries only supply a part, primarily accommodation and some transportation, as well as goods and services such as small-scale local shops and restaurants (Sinclair *et al.*, 1992:60). In each of these sectors, there are multinational corporations with ready access to foreign capital which then exercise a large measure of control of these products, limiting Third World participation to an even greater degree (Ascher, 1985; Crick, 1989; Selwyn, 1992; Belk, 1993). For example, in Kenya approximately 78 per cent of the major hotels in coastal areas, 67 per cent of hotels in Nairobi and 66 per cent of lodges in National Parks and Game Reserves have some foreign investment (Sinclair *et al.*, 1992:59). Thus, Third World countries have limited access to the full range of benefits that tourism development brings.

Tourism is expected to expand continuously both in terms of space and numbers in years to come. However, Richter comments that most tourism activity will probably continue to be within the tourist generating areas, as 93 per cent of American tourism occurs within North America and Europe (1992:36). Therefore, Third World countries may not receive as many tourists as they have projected. Furthermore, due to the changing nature of tourist demand, and the constant desire for new and more exotic experiences, individual tourism destinations must compete as never before for usually seasonal interest of the travelling public (Richter, 1992). Thus, the general growth of international tourism does not mean that any particular Third World destination has a secure future (Crick, 1989) and it may not be a secure growth pathway for countries, particularly as they become increasingly dependent on tourism.

Finally, most of the Third World countries are said to be mutually substitutable as tourist destination and developed countries having control of air, train, and sea links can easily redirect tourism traffic (Crick, 1989, Richter, 1992) if any changes in exchange, relative inflation rates

or political instability occurs. Even though developing countries have their own 'flagship' airline, this does not always provide comprehensive long distance international flights as route allocation between countries is usually limited (Sinclair *et al.*, 1992). For example, the landlocked Third World country Nepal is often dependent on the timetable and routes of other nations' airlines. If these re-route, cut flights or skip their ports, it will take months to years to regain a former momentum (Richter, 1992).

Harrison (1992) suggests that the extent of tourism's contribution varies according to the area in question, any available alternative strategies, and the willingness and ability of the government to create an environment for investment and encourage linkages with other sectors of the economy. However, for many Third World countries the tourism revenues generated are less likely to stay within the country because they often lack these abilities (Sinclair *et al.*, 1992; Richter, 1992). If Third World countries are to derive maximum benefits from international tourism, they have to develop and strengthen the nationally owned private sector and the entrepreneurial class and managerial capacity in the public sector. In order to diversify peripheral economic bases into tourism, two strategies are necessary. The first is to maintain control over decision making processes underlying development and management of the tourism industry. The second is to confine development to a scale of growth which can be financed and operated by resources, capital, and manpower available or controlled from within the country itself. However, the above goals could not be achieved without "functioning and powerful ...tourism organisations" of a country which "would require the support of all sectors of the [countrys'] tourism industry...." (Keller, 1987:27). In addition, the political situation of the destination also plays a major role in the development of a tourism industry. This is further elaborated below.

2.2.2 Tourism and political stability

Tourism as a discretionary activity is highly vulnerable to political instability (Richter, 1992) or vice versa, when tourism development is incongruent with local interest. Sun, sea, sand, and sex, the four 's's', are often seen as the core of a developing nation's appeal (Crick,1989:308). Richter (1992) points out that a fifth 's', security, is even more critical in tourism development. Violent protest, civil war, terrorist action, violation of human rights and riots and strikes will serve to cause tourists to cancel their vacations (Hall, 1994). In Nepal, the past five years have been full of such "fluctuations" (Mill, 1995).

Richter (1992) argues that most of these countries have not carried out a clear and realistic assessment of the internal political situation or the regional political economic climate that affects tourism. Tourism is, for example, Nepal's biggest source of foreign revenue. However, political events like the disputes in 1989 with India that closed the border between the two countries not only curtailed Indian tourism and other tourists passing through India, but also created a severe shortage of daily requirements: petrol, kerosene, salt and other supplies needed for the tourism industry.

Nepal's tourism has also suffered from political conflict and uncertainty based on the populist demands for democratic rule in 1990, and more widespread perceptions of political instability in South Asia, especially India. Although Nepal had air links with Thailand, which was perceived to be more stable, proximity and identification with its more turbulent neighbour had a dramatic effect on tourist arrival patterns (Richter, 1992). For example, in India and Pakistan the religious and ethnic roots of the political disputes over Kashmir have not only spoiled the tourism opportunities for both countries but also affected Nepal's tourism. Therefore, political stability within the country and neighbouring countries is extremely necessary for landlocked countries like Nepal for the safety of investments, the industry and tourists themselves.

In some countries, tourism itself is a source of political strife and a destabilising force. This is because tourism is usually selected as a development option by governing elites as much for political prestige as for economic viability (Richer, 1992). As one extreme example in the Philippines, under the regime of Marcos (1972-1981), twelve luxury hotels in the ownership of his family were built in Manila with money borrowed from the nations's social security funds while social services and quality of life plummeted for most Filipinos. This action resulted in intense political opposition which attacked the Marcos-owned luxury hotels throughout the country (Richter, 1992:44).

Similarly, in Goa, India, the government legislation which appeared to favour hoteliers over local people has led to numerous and well-publicised anti tourism demonstrations (Richter, 1992:45). In a recent case in Sarawak, East Malaysia, the indigenous Berawan tribe in Penan set fire to the electricity generator powering Mulu cave - a famed tourist attraction - opposing rapid development of the Baram River basin as a tourist attraction and as a result of ongoing negotiation over land ownership (Tsuruoka, 1994:34).

In Thailand, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Kenya, high levels of prostitution associated with tourism have made the industry a concern to church, youth, women's and health groups. They have focused attention on the selling of children for sex and the health crises surrounding prostitution.

2.2.3 Summary of Third World tourism development issues

Where economic developments are heavily influenced by fluctuations in international tourist demand, and dependent on foreign aid projects and foreign investment, there is little room for autonomous development. If Third World countries are to have a say in the direction taken by tourism in the future, it will be necessary to develop strategies for influencing decision-making, not only at the national level, but also decisions made by multinational corporations and international agencies. Parallel with this is a need for political stability in which tourism should be planned at an appropriate level, pace, and type congruent with endogenous resources, decision-making processes, and goals. Furthermore, Third World countries should have the ability to build appropriate planning processes, awareness of, and preparation for, any possible challenges to tourism from instability. Along with these various tourism development issues addressed above, Third World countries are also experiencing diverse impacts which are said to be brought on by tourism development. The more specific impacts of tourism on the host society's environment are discussed in the following sections.

2.3. TOURISM AND SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS

It is evident that tourism development may bring both benefits and costs to the destination communities' environment. From a positive perspective, tourism has been credited with bringing economic benefits, employment, and providing incentives for the conservation of natural and cultural resources. From a negative perspective, tourism has been criticised that it has inflated prices for land, labour, property and food, brought abrupt changes in local culture and a decline in environmental quality (such as deforestation, litter and garbage). However, to confirm the extent of any causal link between tourism and these impacts has been much more difficult due to the dynamic nature of the society and culture of the destination community. In addition, the destination community is also affected by other forms of modernising influences such as movies, magazines, technology, and other developments (De Kadt, 1979a; Lea, 1988). In this perspective,

it can be fairly stated that tourism is one of the agents of modernisation, and its most likely impact is to accelerate changes already under way (English, 1986, Harrison, 1992). These changes are discussed under four topics, namely economic impacts, social impacts, cultural impacts, and environmental impacts.

2.3.1 Economic impacts

Tourism indeed has many economic benefits. It provides employment, encourages local agricultural production of food stuffs, creates a larger local market, and raises the living standard of the hosting community. However, Belk (1993) argues that increases in local standards of living may be illusory as the tourist demand for food, fuel, and land causes inflation making them less affordable to the local population. In addition, in Third World rural areas, workers are drawn out of agriculture to work in the tourism industry. Depending on the seasonality and opportunity costs, this can depress existing industries such as farming. In some instances, when tourism is induced from outside, local people are not always equipped to handle the cash economy in which they find themselves.

According to Harrison (1992:20), tourism contributes to bring economically underdeveloped regions into the capitalist world system, extending the monied system of exchange by increasing wage employment, or cash payments for items valued by tourists, deep into the peripheral areas. However, the long-term outcomes of peripheral tourism do not always meet the expectations of these local governments (Keller, 1987), because the development of tourism in such economically marginal areas may still be controlled by metropolitan centres (Sinclair *et al.*, 1992; Hall, 1994,). Keller (1987:20) notes four main criticisms of tourism development in these situations. They are:

* the peripheries ultimately receive only a fraction of the money that is spent by the visitor;

* a high percentage of personnel employed by the tourism industry, and a high percentage of goods consumed by the tourists, are imported;

* of the capital and profit that is received from tourism, there is a considerable leakage back out of the peripheral economies; and

* the peripheries, through time, lose control over the decision-making process governing the industry's development.

It is said that the gains that do accrue in the local economy are likely to be to those who were already wealthy and those with political influence, further increasing the gap between the rich and the poor (Crick, 1989; Belk, 1993). For example, Karan and Mather (1985) argue that in Nepal the income from tourism and trekking rarely reaches the bulk of the local population. Although the tourism industry does generate 17 per cent of foreign exchange earnings and provides thousand of jobs, most of the wealth benefits a small minority of businessmen who own hotels and travel agencies, and in trekking areas the biggest profits are made by outsiders rather than the local people (Nepal Watch UK, 1993). Nepal Watch UK further criticises that "in fact tourism can actually increase the level of malnutrition as prices for basic foodstuffs such as milk, eggs and vegetables rise beyond the reach of the poorest families in response to the bulging wallets of the rich foreigners" (1993:5). If this is the case,

> tourism must achieve its greatest impact on the poor through the generation of surplus funds. It would appear that tourism can help provide some of the capital necessary to finance health services, education facilities and agricultural extension. If the state is unwilling to use revenue in this fashion, or will not invoke the policies necessary to extract this surplus, one must ask whether the blame rests with tourism or with the state (English,1986:37).

2.3.2 Social impacts

According to Fox (1977, cited in Mathieson and Wall, 1982:133) the social impacts of tourism are;

> the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in the value system, individual behaviour, family relationship, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organisation.

One of the most criticised impacts of tourism is the "demonstration effect" in which residents of tourist destinations reject their local culture in order to try to copy foreign culture (Belk, 1993). It is a form of acculturation which results from merely observing tourists rather than direct participation in the industry (English, 1986). International tourism is often associated with a level of luxury especially incongruous with the general poverty of Third World societies (Richter, 1992), and because of these differences most of the changes usually occur in the Least Developed Countries (Lovel and Feuerstein, 1992).

There are both positive and negative impacts of the demonstration effect. On the one hand, it may encourage locals to obtain the education and language skills needed to qualify for a job or

to acquire business skills (Belk, 1993). On the other hand, it may encourage further importation of foreign goods and adaptation to foreign habits (English, 1986). Tourists on holiday inevitably demonstrate a standard of living that is considerably higher than their average level of consumption during the rest of the year (De Kadt, 1979a; Simmons, 1992) and the perception of hosts is often that these tourists' behaviours are typical of their year-round lifestyles at home.

Young people are said to be particularly susceptible to the demonstration effect as they imitate the tourists' affluence. Gurung (1993) notes that many youths in Nepal use sunglasses, walkmans and drugs and emulate tourist recreational patterns such as rafting, hiking, tramping, and mountain biking which in reality are beyond their income levels. In Third world rural areas, tourism will a have a bigger influence, because people living on meagre agriculture and pastoralism will be less able to change their consumption patterns and the desire for more money and the relative deprivation may produce other negative repercussions (English, 1986).

Along with the demonstration effect, Harrison (1992) notes that tourism creates new opportunities in the formal and informal sectors of the economy, new criteria for social status and ramifies the traditional family organisations and status system of the community by removing the power of traditional elders. Because tourism often provides new job opportunities for young rather than old people (Belk, 1993), it gives them an independent status at least economically. For example, Brown (1992:362-368) reports that in Bakau, Gambia, the social structure has undergone major changes which have resulted in loss of the elders' power and prestige. The development of tourist hotels in and around Bakau attracted large numbers of Gambian youths from all parts of the country who gravitated to them both in search of work and also wanting to experience the high life in the luxurious European-style hotels. The elders complained that the youths increasingly demonstrated a lack of respect, and that social norms and values which were once respected in Bakau and which preserved their power and authority were ignored by the young. In other areas like in the Sagarmatha region of Nepal, the comparatively high wages in tourism have often lured younger people to become tourist guides, and as a result there is a higher drop-out rate in school classes or, even if school is completed, only a few enrol at universities. This also applies to the young monks of the monasteries.

It is also said that tourism has encouraged begging, particularly in Third World countries. Many "children learn to beg for money, before they even know what it means" (English, 1986:50). It

is not difficult to see such children, particularly in the tourist regions of Nepal, asking "Hello, one Rupee", "Namaste, chocolate, pen" and so on. In Bhutan, though only controlled numbers of tourists are allowed to visit, it is reported that they have generated materialism among the monks because of their thoughtless [but naive visitors may not see it as inappropriate] token gifts of money, candy, and pencils to young monks (Smith 1989:15).

Besides this, tourists are said to be often unaware of local norms and values. The tourists' attitudes, "the 'have-a good-time' ideology and the 'tomorrow-we-shall-be-gone again'" set the tone (Krippendorf, 1987:33), which is unusual even in their home country. For example, in many Third World countries, people often object to, and feel offended by, nude and topless bathing, kissing in public places, and wearing shorts when entering religious places (O' Grady, 1991: 25).

In addition, tourism's association with female prostitution, and homosexual and paedophiliac prostitution in Sri-Lanka, Senegal, and Thailand is also reported (English, 1886:51). However, Harrison argues that tourism has contributed, directly or indirectly, to prostitution of all kinds, but it has not caused prostitution (1992:25). For example, in South-East Asia, prostitution clearly existed before the arrival of tourists (Hall, 1992). In countries like India the indigenous forms of prostitution have long been established, where women are lured away from rural areas of Nepal for the dream of better city life, marriage and money, and sold to brothels causing serious social problems. However, in the case of Malaysia, tourism prostitution exists particularly in Penang and Kuala Lumpur (Hall, 1992:67). It is due to a combination of visitors' demand for sex and the readiness of local supply (most often for money) that have contributed to prostitution in many developing countries. Within the tourism industry of many countries, women and children are forced, often through adverse socio-economic circumstances, to sell both their labour and their sexuality. For example, in the Philippines, Claudio expresses:

> If it becomes easier for the tourist to rationalize the dehumanization under the guise of "cultural differences" that make Filipina "exotic", then so much the better. It is not after all her sex, her race and her poverty that forces her into servitude. He is not, after all, exploiting any one. He is merely engaged in a cross cultural exchange to enjoy "Philippine hospitality" as tourist (1992:405).

According to Lovel and Feuerstein (1992:347), local customs and social habits can become distorted, particularly in countries with strong religious codes, and there may be an increase in casual sex, prostitution, begging, criminal activities, drug taking, and alcoholism. There is a

tendency to attribute all negative impacts to tourism when large numbers of foreigners visit isolated communities (Harron and Weiler, 1992). Some forms of tourism, particularly beach holidays and business travel are often involved with drinking. This behaviour has consequences for Moslem countries, where alcohol is prohibited by religion but sometimes this taboo is ignored in practice (English, 1986:50). However, according to Lea (1988:60), the evidence that tourism is associated with crime, drugs and gambling is sparse.

2.3.3 Cultural impacts

In contrast to many of the negative effects reported above, tourism is credited with strengthening the pride of host country members due to the appreciation and revival of their scenery, foods, drinks, ceremonies, language, crafts, artifacts, and dress (De Kadt, 1979a; Lea, 1988; Belk, 1993). Examples include a revival of Balinese traditional dances, Tibetan Thanka in Nepal (Bentor, 1993) and bronzes and wood carving in Nepal. On the other hand, it is often claimed that tourism in the Third World not only commodifies relationships between hosts and guests but also affects the production and nature (more arguably the quality) of local art and culture forms, when they become a performance for tourists (Harrison, 1992; Belk, 1993). The tourists' quest for novelty induces tourist entrepreneurs to "stage" the authenticity of local people and their culture often in specially constructed tourist spaces (O' Grady, 1991). Such events may consequently lose their significance among people who once had spiritual and religious faith in such articles and culture. For example, one critic has argued that in the Khumbu region of Nepal, because of the presence of large numbers of tourists at the Mani Rimdu festival at Tengboche monastery, it is no longer regarded as significant by some Sherpa inhabitants (Image Nepal, 1994). Additionally, as tourism develops, tourists increasingly expect Western amenities, consequently the net effect may be what Lovel and Feuerstein call the "coca-colonisation" of tourist destinations with little variety to be found (1992:346).

2.3.4 Environmental impacts

Tourism's impacts are multifaceted. Tourism may provide an incentive for the conservation of the physical environment and preservation of wildlife. By the same token tourism may produce a variety of unwanted by-products (negative environmental externalities) or intensify existing impacts or even sometimes damage the very resources which have attracted tourists at the beginning (Belk, 1993). Despite these prevalent critiques, there has been recognition of the fact

that tourism can be a powerful force to encourage heritage and environmental preservation, especially in Third World countries (Butler, 1991).

One of the most important reasons for resulting environmental problems in tourist destinations is the number of conflicting interests in tourism development. These include, for example, the pressing development needs of local people, a hungry tourist industry which seeks to maximise its return from a virtually "free" product, and the need to enhance and protect fragile environmental and socio-cultural resources (Simmons, 1992:13). The growth of adventure tourism, for example, in Nepal means increasing numbers of tourists will visit ever more remote settings, and local social and environmental impacts are likely to be more pronounced. In other words, the most remote, adventurous and therefore more desirable areas are pushed further away, where indigenous people traditionally reside and who also represent resource frontiers for national development (Zurick, 1993). Therefore, the inevitable push from tourism developers for more permits, access and promotion must be balanced by responsible government to protect non-market natural and social resources (Simmons, 1992:13). In other words, visitor needs have to be reconciled with the requirements of the resident population (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Jamal and Getz, 1995) and the need for conservation, to ensure that development is sustainable. To meet this goal, destination community input is required in the planning process.

2.3.5 Summary of tourism impacts.

The positive and negative aspects of tourism (economic, social, and ecological) have their most profound impact in and on the host communities (Haywood, 1988:105) because they are the venues for most tourism activities. However, due to the evolving nature of community environments, the impacts of tourism are difficult to isolate from other modernising influences such as technology, mass media, and development. Despite this argument, one of the biggest criticisms of tourism development is that tourism is likely to benefit a few members rather than the receiving population at large, and it may further intensify existing inequalities between rich and poor or reconstitute the relationship in various ways. To understand tourism's benefits and costs and its distribution, and to examine these impacts in the wider context of the tourist receiving society, requires appropriate assessment processes. Furthermore, to minimise existing negative impacts and plan for future tourism development, community participation is also necessary because communities and their resources are increasingly seen as the locus of the tourism product. The need for community participation in tourism planning as one of the

measures in mitigating future negative impacts and to plan future tourism development are discussed in the following sections.

2.4 TOURISM PLANNING NEEDS AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION ISSUES AND CURRENT NEEDS

As noted earlier, tourism is both a social and an economic activity which contributes directly or indirectly to a diverse impact process. The most profound effect is on the destination community, because "the industry uses the community as a resource, sells it as a product, and in the process affects the lives of every one" (Murphy, 1985:165). In an attempt to improve the planning of tourism and to reduce its negative social and physical impacts on the host community, greater attention has been given by researchers to improving the nature of the planning process (Hall, 1994:167). Allen, Long, Purdue, and Kieselbach, (1988) have called for comprehensive tourism planning, which should attempt to optimize economic, social and environmental benefits of tourism while minimizing tourism's negative impacts. In addition, planners are now being sought,

> to ensure that the general objectives of each tourism business are synchronised with the community's objectives for tourism. If this can not (*sic*) be accomplished, then the behaviour of the individual decision makers within each business may not correspond to the desired community view. For this reason a participatory approach to tourism planning is of the utmost importance (Haywood 1988:117).

To achieve this goal, a framework for encouraging a participatory approach to tourism planning needs to be developed which can match community needs in different situations (Haywood, 1988). Engaging various decision makers and stakeholders in conversation, and getting everyone to listen to each other's concerns, can "...reflect the community's preferences, possibilities and probabilities" (Haywood 1988:117). There has been an increasing recognition of the need for integrated tourism and its planning to include mainstream community activities (Getz, 1987). According to Getz (1987:34) integrated tourism planning should be:

* Goal oriented- with clear recognition of the role to be played by tourism in achieving broad societal goals;

* Democratic- with full and meaningful citizen input from the community level up;

* Integrative- placing tourism planning issues into the mainstream of planning for parks, heritage, conservation, land use and economy;

* Systematic- drawing on research to provide conceptual and predictive support for planners, and drawing on the evaluation of planning efforts to develop theory.

As these factors play a role in successful and sustainable tourism management, effective community participation and meaningful input become prerequisites for tourism planning.

2.4.1 Rationale for community participation

In recent times, tourism has begun to be examined from economic, anthropological, and socio-cultural perspectives. Although all of these relate in some way to community development, the community dimension has not been their primary focus. Simmons (1994) suggests that, if tourism has to be developed as a tool for community development, it too must face the call for community scrutiny and involvement as in other sectors of development. In tourism, residents of destination areas are now being increasingly seen as the nucleus of the tourism product. To Murphy (1985), tourism is a "community industry" and community input is required because:

> The product and image that intermediaries package and sell is a destination experience, and as such creates an industry that is highly dependent on the goodwill and cooperation of host communities... . It is the citizen who must live with the cumulative outcome of such [tourism] development and needs to have greater input into how his community is packaged and sold as a tourist product (Murphy, 1985:16).

Murphy further suggests the need to consider the long-term interest of the host community on which the industry is so dependent. He notes:

> The host community is the destination in which individual, business and government goals become the tangible tourist products and image of the industry. A destination community provides the community assets (landscape and heritage), public goods (parks, museums and institutions), and hospitality (government promotion and welcoming smiles) that are the back bone of the industry (1983:181).

Tourism experiences are not created by just one provider but by a combination of public providers, private interests, and local residents. Therefore, a partnership between these entities is essential if quality tourism experiences are to be provided (Clements, Schultz, and Lime, 1994:79). There are many benefits of such a partnership. They include: an opportunity to

improve the management of the community's tourism cycle; an improved understanding of the relevant elements in the community and their impact on tourism; better anticipation of internal and external challenges to tourism; a chance to ameliorate detrimental impacts, such as congestion; and a superior opportunity to accommodate the full range of publics that may be affected by tourism (Haywood, 1988:107). Allen *et al.* (1988) therefore suggest that the residents must be informed and consulted about the scope of tourism development, and be willing partners in the tourism development process, if a tourism based economy is to sustain itself. In fact, local residents may have a better appreciation of the attraction and qualities of the environment in which they live. Their knowledge and experience in being hosts to visiting friends and relatives should also place them in a good position to recognize features in the immediate surroundings of interest to tourists. Therefore, consultation should proceed to the point where communities feel they 'own' the development and are in a position to monitor its evolution closely (Pigram, 1993). De Kadt (1979b) suggests that at the very least, local people have to be helped to grasp the issues from their point of view, through a process of education and increasing self-awareness. Local community members would then be mobilised in active defence of their interests, as they had come to see them. However, the community may currently have little influence in shaping tourism plans and development, although they are "the key to the hospitality atmosphere of the destination" (Murphy, 1985:102).

2.4.2 Issues of community participation in Third World countries

In many Third World countries the tourism plan, which should be established within the development strategy for the whole economy, is itself non-existent or not decisively implemented. The tourism planning undertaken in these countries has often been remedial, attempting to intervene after much development has already taken place. De Kadt (1979b:40) characterised it as "shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted." Part of these concerns arise due to limited planning capacity, that is lack of experts with appropriate training and, above all, due to lack of planning techniques and approaches that are appropriate to their problems. In these countries, constraints and possibilities for physical and social development may be much more difficult than in larger economies (De Kadt, 1979b). These issues are further elaborated below.

Third World countries obviously have different classes and different interests within the community. Articulation of the interests of the poor majority is weak, their voice being hardly heard at all in local politics. But even when all community members have certain interests in

common with regard to tourism development, they are frequently not clearly perceived, formulated or pursued (De Kadt, 1979b:40). In other cases, the community as such has little or no authority to deal with development, such powers being vested in central or provincial governments. Moreover, the experience of local people in the political decision-making in most of the countries of the Third World tends to be limited, not least because local or national dominant groups deliberately keep them in a subordinate position. Even in a fairly "open" political system, the knowledge is usually not available for locals to participate, in an informed and reasonably far-sighted manner, in the progress leading up to social, economic and political choices (De Kadt, 1979b:42).

At the conceptual level, many government policies may favour public involvement in the tourism development process. However, the operational level has not always included detailed involvement of the community. Planning by small groups of professionals has often been perceived as much easier and less costly. Many administrators are actually reluctant to allow "too much" public influence (Clements *et al.*, 1994). This reluctance is attributable to a belief that the public is not knowledgeable enough about the problems to make an intelligent decision; there will be loss of potential authority in decision making based on technical ability; involving the public is inefficient and time consuming; and decisions based on public involvement are likely to be contentious and subject to conflict (Clements *et al.*, 1994:79). Most often the style of public involvement manifests as a form of 'tokenism', in which decisions, or the directions of decisions have already been prescribed by government (Hall, 1994).

Despite the apparent reluctance of some administrators, one of the greatest challenges to tourism planning is to accept that the prevailing 'top-down' approach to planning needs to be informed from the 'bottom-up' (Pigram, 1993:171). Pigram further suggests that much more than lip-service to public participation is required if community-oriented development is to emerge.

2.4.3 Community based tourism planning and its potential

In tourism, all scales of planning (international, national, regional, and community) are important, but planning at the community level is vital if any region wishes to deliver tourism experiences which ensure both visitor satisfaction and ongoing benefits for the residents of destination areas (Simmons, 1994:99). It is directed at encouraging community control of the tourism development process. Community participation in tourism planning is a process of involving all relevant and

interested parties (local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners) in such a way that decision-making is shared (Haywood, 1988:106).

Virtually all writers come to the same conclusion that community participation is essential for successful tourism planning and development (Murphy, 1985; Gunn, 1988; Haywood, 1988; Allen *et al.*, 1988; Wilkinson, 1992; Pigram, 1993; Simmons 1994; Hall, 1994). Emphasis on community participation forms a fundamental component of Murphy's (1985) ecological model for community tourism planning which clearly asserts the need for local control over the tourism developmental process. Murphy (1985) emphasises the importance of participatory planning in balancing the needs of both locals and tourists for long-term tourism development. Murphy states that:

> The [tourism] industry possesses great potential for social and economic benefits if planning can be redirected from a pure business and development approach to a more open and community-oriented approach which views tourism as a local resource. The management of this resource for the common good and future generations should become the goal and criterion by which the industry is judged. This will involve focusing on the ecological and human qualities of a destination area in addition to business considerations (1985:37).

Murphy's (1985:36) "Community Approach" incorporates four major components which should be considered in the planning and management of tourism development. They are "environmental and accessibility considerations", "business and economic considerations", "social and cultural considerations", and "management considerations". Each of these components is interlinked to produce the final product called 'community tourism product' which the community as a whole wishes to present to the tourism market (see Figure 4, in page 31).

Murphy (1885) suggests that environmental and accessibility considerations should be assessed first, because the tourism industry is dependent on its resource base and connectivity with tourist generating areas. Second, economics and business considerations need to be taken into account, because the presence of a resource and a potential market do not necessarily make a viable industry. Third, social and cultural considerations must be included, because tourism is dependent on local hospitality which makes it mandatory that development proceeds in accordance with the desires and customs of local people. Finally, management considerations become vital in providing a quality community tourism product. This includes devising

appropriate goals of tourism development and using flexible methods for public participation in planning. However, the most important issues which stand out in this respect are a need for appropriate participation methods for community tourism planning and a suitable policy for the implementation of community proposed plans and measures which are still lacking both in the literature and in practice. This is particularly true in the case of Third World rural areas where tourism is increasingly accepted as an option for cash income generation.
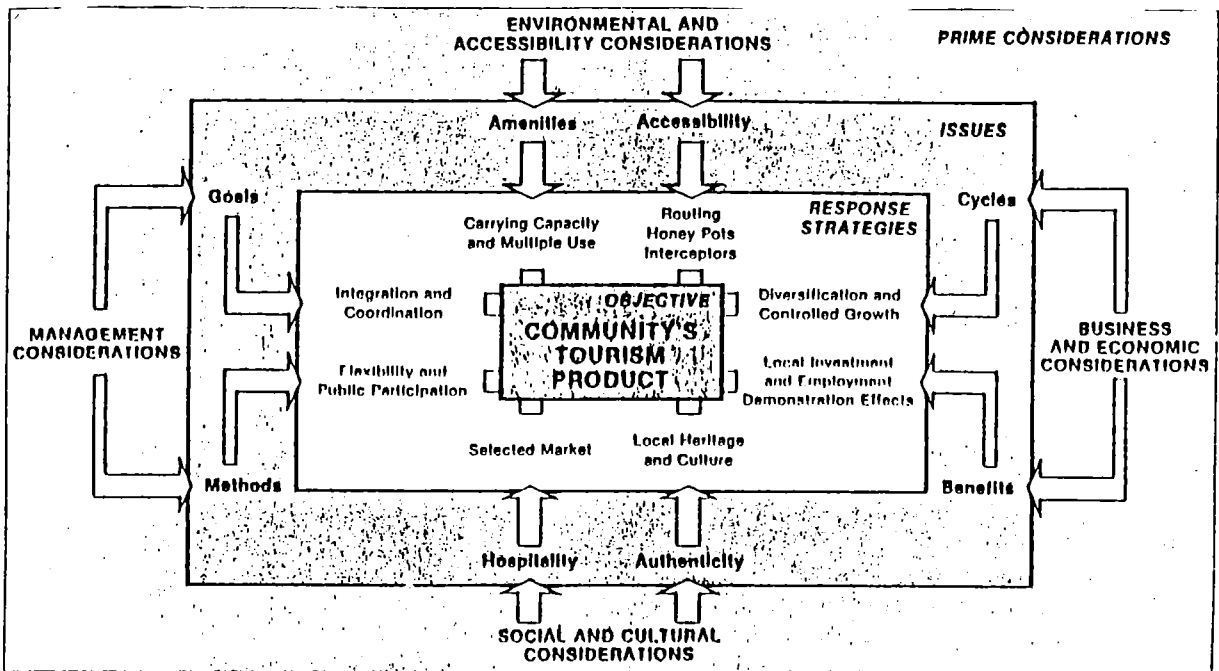
Figure 4. Major components for a community-oriented tourism strategy (Source: Murphy, 1985:37)

According to Butler "...the best way that planning can help achieve sustainability is by involving local people, extra-local government agencies and the private sector to establish a view on what is acceptable and appropriate in a particular place, to set limits and maybe rates of change, and then enforce it through controlling mechanisms" (Richard Butler interviewed by Bramwell, 1993:137). However, Jamal and Getz argue that "...the fragmented tourism domain, perceived interdependence, and key stakeholder involvement are not adequate for achieving success; methods must be devised for finding common grounds for facilitating consensus and for implementing the ... results (if required)" (1995:200). Beside this the objectives for participation should be devised before initiating any participation programmes.

2.4.4 Objectives for participation

Sewell and Phillips (1979) suggest that there are three parameters which are ideally desired in the public involvement programme: a high degree of citizen involvement; a high degree of equity among the public; and high cost efficiency. However they suggest that these three maxima cannot be attained simultaneously, therefore tradeoffs must be made (1979:354). These issues are discussed below:

1. A high degree of citizen involvement: In this objective two factors, the number of people, and the degree of individual commitment, are important. However, it is often difficult to attain both intensity of participation and involvement of large numbers of people because most techniques cannot facilitate both simultaneously. This issue has led to classification of techniques based on factors such as: degree of public contact; user sophistication; degree of two-way communication; level of public activity required; and agency costs (including staff and preparation) (Simmons, 1994:99).

2. A high degree of equity in participation: This is defined as a relative degree of representation or the extent to which all potential opinions and values were heard (Sewell and Phillips, 1979). Simmons (1994:99) notes that representation has been more forthcoming from interest groups than from the general public which tended to be conservative, often institutionalised, and representative of a socio-economic and environmental elite. However, he suggests that the central issue is to ensure a balance of differing view points.

3. A high cost efficiency: This third objective is defined as the amount of time, personnel and other agencies required to reach a given decision. The smaller the amount of such resources, the more efficient the programme (Sewell and Phillips, 1979:354).

Among these major objectives, high efficiency may not be compatible with the attainment of a high level of citizen involvement or equity. That is it may not be possible to achieve the three maxima simultaneously. Therefore, a trade off has to be made for each of these goals against others. For example, the experience of Canada shows that due to the high cost of public involvement programmes, lengthy delays in arriving at a decision, and adverse experience with some techniques of involvement have caused a move back towards the efficiency from initial emphasis on the higher degree of citizen involvement (Sewell and Phillips, 1979:354).

Although it is well recognised that greater public involvement is inherently important in community tourism planning (Murphy, 1985; Gunn, 1988; Simmons, 1989), "...few have tested or evaluated a method appropriate to secure local residents' interest and support for tourism planning" (Simmons, 1994:1). Simmons (1994:3) also suggests that "further research is required to examine and evaluate other methods of participation, and the structure that would insure the on-going support of the general public". Despite this, participation mechanisms must be chosen to match the needs of the particular community at different stages of planning. In Third World rural areas, the methods developed may not be suitable for many reasons (these are discussed in Chapter Three). Although, much has been said about the importance of public participation in tourism planning, it is not easy and no technique alone can fulfil all the requirements of participation (Simmons, 1994). He suggests that a 'staged approach' using a variety of techniques, will be required as planning moves from normative (policy) to an operational context. As an alternative to conventional methods, mostly practised today in the developed world, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) based on participatory approaches is proposed for encouraging community involvement in tourism planning. It is in this respect that the PRA is adapted, tested and evaluated in the Manang District, Nepal.

2.5 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

International tourism brings two or more contrasting sets of people with different economic status, ethnic background, languages, and religion, into a common ground called the tourist destination. Personal contacts and subsequent impacts are inevitable to both parties involved but more often accrue to the host society because the destination is the place where most of the tourism occurs and they are the ones who have to bear the cumulative effect of tourism impacts. These pressures are exacerbated in Third World countries when they are subjected to a type of tourism development which is overshadowed by economic arguments and an ignorance of the socio-cultural and community-related consequences. However, due to the lack of skilled manpower and investment capital, the net economic benefit may not be as great as thought by Third World countries. Moreover, the general growth of international tourism does not mean that any Third World destination has a secure future. Tourism is also vulnerable to political instability, and economic recession at the destination areas.

According to Haywood (1988:105), whenever tourism activity is concentrated in time and space, builds rapidly, dominates a local economy, disrupts community life, endangers the environment, and ignores community input, the seeds of discontent are sown. Therefore, community input in planning is necessary so that tourism development proceeds congruent with the host community's desires, customs, and within the limits of local resources. In addition, in many cases tourism sells community resources as tourism products which *per se* are external to the industry. Thus, a 'community approach' to tourism planning sees tourism as a community industry and emphasises the importance of participatory planning in tourism development to balance the needs of locals and tourists for long-term development. However, there is a lack of proper mechanisms for facilitating such community participation in tourism planning. To fulfil this requirement, a Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method is proposed. In the next chapter, the PRA approach, its relevance in the assessment of tourism and its potential role in community tourism planning are discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL (PRA) IN TOURISM

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the issues of tourism development in Third World countries were discussed. The search for appropriate methods for assessing tourism impacts in rural areas, and the need for suitable measures for the participation of the host community were identified as significant concerns. The application of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methodology to tourism and community tourism planning has not yet been developed, despite its extensive use in agriculture and forestry research and planning. This chapter considers the utility of PRA methodology in appraising tourism impacts in Third World rural areas and its possible applicability in facilitating community participation in the tourism planning process.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Before introducing the methodology itself a distinction has to be made between Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and PRA approaches. Therefore the first section reviews the development of RRA methodology and the current shift towards PRA. The second section describes PRAs' and RRAs' major methods and principles and discusses their strengths and weaknesses. The third section demonstrates the relevance of PRA approaches in assessing tourism development and the roles that PRA approaches can play in community tourism planning. It is argued that, given the paucity of suitable techniques for the assessment of tourism development in Third World rural areas and for community participation in community tourism planning, PRA methodologies with their basis in participatory approaches may serve these needs better than other conventional consultation and planning approaches. This is followed by some of the methodological issues that should be considered when conducting RRA and PRA. The final section is a summary of this chapter.

3.1 DEVELOPMENT OF RRA AND CURRENT SHIFT TO PRA

Over the past two decades, the dominant mode of conventional research, planning and development has increasingly shifted towards a more participatory mode, where the researchers'/planners' roles are also changing from elicitor or extractor of information to the facilitator or catalyst for actions. Such innovative changes are already accepted and adapted by

researchers and planners of resource management and the agricultural sector and in many cases they have been successful in mitigating past failures. Now the need also exists for the tourism researchers and planners to accept, adapt, apply, and evaluate these new modes of research and practice.

In a broader sense, the shift is away from extractive survey questionnaires towards new approaches and methods for participatory appraisal and analysis, in which most of the activities previously appropriated by outsiders are instead carried out by the local, rural or urban people themselves (Chambers, 1994a). One of the results of those shifts is the development of the PRA approach. Specifically, the shift is from conventional survey to RRA and then to PRA which is discussed in the following sections.

According to Chambers (1994a), there are three major reasons for the development of the RRA method. The first reason was the dissatisfaction with the biased information collection process of the "rural development tourist". Here, 'tourist' does not refer to the holiday maker, but the characteristics and behaviour of the researcher who makes a brief rural visit and brings inherent biases to their work. These biases include: spatial (neglection of peripheries); project (neglection of non-project area); person (meeting only elites, men, and users of services); and seasonal (visiting only in favourable season). All too often the isolated, powerless, and silent have their priorities and needs low on the agenda. The second reason was disappointment with the normal process of questionnaire surveys and their results. Chambers (1985, 1992, 1994a) argues that over many years and in many places, the experience of large scale questionnaire surveys tended to be drawn-out, tedious, difficult to administer, process and write up, inaccurate and unreliable in their data. All too often the social information obtained has been useless or misleading, and late or even out-of-date. The third reason was the search for more cost-effective methods of learning by outsiders. This was helped by the growing recognition by development professionals of the obvious fact that rural people were themselves knowledgeable on many subjects which have touched their lives. In the search of techniques to tap this indigenous knowledge more effectively by outsiders, RRA techniques were evolved.

RRA was first applied in agricultural research and development and resource management in the 1980s (Chambers, 1994a). RRA began as a better way for outsiders to understand and learn from rural people. However, this mode is mainly extractive in which the outsider goes to rural areas

and obtains data from the local people, brings it away and processes it, sometimes to see what the outsider thought would be good for the villager. In the above process, the outsider or the development worker still remains the central actor. The knowledge of rural people is counted but for the outsider's use (Chambers, 1992:5).

In the late 1980s, in an answer to the concern that outsiders are making decisions on behalf of rural people, a more participatory PRA evolved which allowed for more direct involvement of the community in research, planning, and development. The outsiders still go to rural areas, but more and more as learners, conveners, catalysts and facilitators rather than an elicitor in the research or the planning process. The goal is to enable rural people to do their own investigations, to share their knowledge and to do the analysis to plan and to own the outcome as a part of their empowerment process. PRA is, therefore, a new form of RRA which has more and more shifted the initiatives from the outsider to the local people. It also places special emphasis on the researchers' behaviour, attitude and their interaction with the participants. In practice, PRA has two major foundations. These are methods and sharing of information and behaviours and attitudes of outsiders (Chambers, 1992:6), each of which differentiates RRA and PRA.

A. Methods and sharing of information

Although, there is much overlap between RRA and PRA methods, RRA methods tend to pay more attention to secondary sources, verbal interaction through the use of semi-structured interviewing and observation. By contrast, the PRA methods emphasise group discussions and shared visual representation and analysis by local people. The shared visual representation and analysis techniques include problem and opportunity ranking exercises, seasonal calender drawing, institutional structures, spatial and social relationships, ecological history and flow and casual diagrams. These techniques have been evolved to elicit people's own criteria and judgement for checking and validation of data. Through visual sharing of the map, model, diagram or units used for quantification, ranking or scoring, all who are present can see, point to, discuss manipulate, and alter the physical representation or objects for checking and validation. Triangulation and cross checking is inherent in these approaches. For example, in participatory mapping and modelling, the villagers draw and model their village and resources, deciding what to include, and debating, adding and modifying detail (Chambers, 1992). These techniques have been important in enabling villagers' capabilities to be expressed. However, the

techniques in themselves will not work effectively if the approach is wrong, which depends on the attitude and behaviour of the researcher/planner and his/her ability to facilitate the participation of the villagers.

B. Behaviours and attitudes

The key to facilitating local peoples' participation is rapport which has been missing in past RRA research. Until the 1990s, the richness of the knowledge, creativity and analytical capacity of the villager was not well recognised by outsiders. Outsiders have been conditioned to believe and assume that villagers are ignorant, and have either lectured at them, holding sticks and waving fingers, or have interviewed them, asking rapid questions, interrupting and not listening beyond immediate replies (Chambers, 1992). However, the PRA approach developed and used in the 1990s realised the need for recognition of villagers' knowledge, creativity and analytical capacity and considered widespread beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of outsiders needed to be changed to understand the villagers, and to enable them to express, share and extend their knowledge. These differences are summarised in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Differences between RRA and PRA

	RRA	PRA
Major development	late 1970s, 1980s	Late 1980s, 1990s
Predominant mode	Elicitive, Extractive	Facilitating, Participatory
Key resource earlier undervalued	Local people's Knowledge	Local people's analytical capabilities
Ideal objectives	Learning by outsiders	Empowerment of local people
Main innovations	Methods Team management	Behaviours Experiential training
Long term outcome	Plans, project publications	Sustainable local action and institutions
Major innovators	Universities	NGOs
Main users	Aid agencies Universities	NGO Government field organisations

(Source: after Chambers, 1994a:958)

The PRA approach incorporates many of the RRA techniques. However they differ basically in the ownership of information and the nature of the process. As illustrated above, the major contrast between these two approaches is that in RRA, data collection techniques are more verbal, and data is elicited and extracted by outsiders, while in PRA data collection techniques are more visual, and data is shared, analysed and owned by local people, to encourage their participation and for their empowerment. However, these objectives cannot be achieved by the PRA method in itself unless dominant attitudes, behaviours and roles of outsiders are changed and brought into practice. In addition, practitioner of RRAs, and PRAs should understand its techniques, principles and their strengths and weaknesses to use them effectively in their fieldwork.

3.2 TECHNIQUES, PRINCIPLES, STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE RRA AND PRA APPROACHES

PRA, as a qualitative methodology, involves seeing the same phenomena from different perspectives using the added dimension and insight of a multidisciplinary group. Broadly, the PRA process first includes a review of secondary data, followed by semi-structured interviewing and direct observation and finally workshops directed at interpreting and validating data. It also includes other supporting techniques such as participatory mapping, matrix scoring, pair-wise ranking, and seasonal calendar drawing, all undertaken by local people. In these techniques, modes of investigation, sharing, and analysis are open-ended, often visual, undertaken by a group of people (Chambers, 1994a) which makes it possible to cross-check the data and increase the accuracy of analysis (PRA Handbook, 1991). To obtain valid and reliable data and share it with rural people, a range of methods and techniques have been developed and applied. These are briefly described below.

3.2.1 PRA techniques
Since the RRA and PRA methods and sequences overlap, they are listed together and summarised using the categories and terms in common use.

1) Secondary data review:- A review of published and unpublished sources of materials and maps to obtain a quick overview of the study area and discover what data have been gathered already.

2) Direct observation and shortcut to insights:- Personal visits and participant observations which allow insights and prompt the volunteering of information that would otherwise not be accessible about rural social conditions and change, particularly when suggested by rural people themselves.

3) Semi-structured interviews:- Informal interviews with key informants (local people with useful specialist knowledge) and individual informants, using checklists (but without questionnaires) which permit probing and following up on the unexpected, without the requirement that all the checklist points must be covered in any one interview.

4) Group interview or focused group discussion:- Interviews and discussions with groups, whether casually encountered such as tea shop groups; specialised or focused groups of homogenous people; or structured groups with an organised composition to represent different points of view, capabilities, or knowledge, and community groups. To ensure local participation PRA uses other supporting techniques such as seasonal calendars to identify time related data, and ranking problems and opportunities (matrix ranking, pair wise ranking) to form the basis of future actions.

3.2.2 Principles of PRA

RRA and PRA share similar basic principles but some have been additionally evolved and emphasized in PRA (Chambers, 1985:522; 1994b:1254). They are briefly paraphrased in the following sections.

A: Principles shared by RRA and PRA

* **A reversal of learning:** to learn directly from local people's physical, technical, and social knowledge on the site (Chambers, 1994b).

* **Learning rapidly and progressively:** with conscious exploration, flexible use of methods, opportunity, improvisation, iteration and cross-checking. The focus here is on making judgements and decisions about what to do next on the basis of what has been discovered so far, not according to a blueprint, but as an adaptive learning process (Chambers, 1994b).

* **Offsetting biases:** a deliberate attempt to offset biases by listening, proving and gaining representative views to see and learn what is usually out of sight or not mentioned (Chambers, 1985).

* **Optimising trade-offs:** this is the cost of collection and learning as a trade-off between the quantity, relevance, accuracy, timeliness, and beneficial use of information. The paradoxical

principle here is "optimal ignorance". A corollary of optimal ignorance is appropriate imprecision, or avoiding measurements or precision that are not needed (Chambers, 1985:522; 1994a).

* **Triangulating:** using more than one method or source for the same information. This process involves assessing and comparing findings from several other sources, different techniques and informants to obtain the "same" (valid) data (Chambers, 1985).

* **Seeking diversity:** this can involve purposive sampling in a non-statistical sense. It goes beyond triangulation, for it deliberately looks for, notices and investigates contradictions, anomalies, and differences (Chambers, 1985).

B. Principles additionally stressed in PRA

PRA puts special stress on offsetting biases, and associated changes in outsiders' behaviour. According to Chambers (1994b:1254-55), PRA in practice manifests four further principles:

* **Local people participate:** facilitating investigation, analysis, presentation and learning by local people themselves, so that they generate and own the outcomes.

* **Self critical awareness:** meaning that facilitators consciously examine their behaviour, and roles in group dynamics.

* **Personal responsibility:** PRA practitioners tend to take personal responsibility for what is done rather than relying on the authority of manuals or of a rigid set of rules.

* **Sharing:** of information and ideas between local people, between them and outsider facilitators, and between different practitioners. The RRA and PRA practitioner however needs to understand RRA and PRA strengths and weaknesses before committing it to field work.

3.2.3 Strengths and weaknesses of RRA and PRA

A. Strengths
Use of flexible methods: RRA and PRA are not based on a single standardised methodology and they could be easily adjusted to local conditions, available resources, and specific research objectives.

Use of existing information: The RRA and PRA approach uses existing data such as studies, reports, field maps, statistics, articles and books, both before and during appraisal.

Appreciates local knowledge: Local technological solutions may be more appropriate and relevant to the situation. Local terminology and measurement should be understood and used.

Escapes spatial, personal, project and seasonal biases: The RRA and PRA researchers reach peripheries, talk to women, the young or old, and the non-members or the non-project participants. They also appreciate seasonal bias especially what happens during the wettest and driest periods, the peak labour demand times and the peak water demand periods.

Use of multiple approaches: The researcher tries to obtain valid data and encourage local people's participation in as many different ways as possible - individual and group interviews with men and women; local leaders and the underprivileged; old and young people; formal and informal sources and visual problems and opportunities ranking exercise. Although RRA and PRA are useful research tools, several pitfalls must be avoided.

B. Weaknesses

Much of the RRA and PRA literature defines RRA and PRA are systematic but semi-structured studies carried out in the field by a multidisciplinary team (Chambers, 1985; Beebe, 1987; Potten, Harvey and Schoppman, 1987). However, Ison and Ampt (1992) define them as interdisciplinary team activities conducted over a short period of time. Webber and Ison (1995) argue that meaningful distinctions are rarely made between multi- and interdisciplinary activity. The intentions of PRA in being a problem identification or formulation exercise or the teams' role in relation to this, is often not explicit. They are also concerned that a multidisciplinary perspective is often limited because disciplinary 'experts' often experience what they see and experience through their particular lens of the world. This had resulted in conflict and often a narrow interpretation of the issue in the given context.

The weaknesses include over-reliance on the initial findings, too much focus on RRA as an end in itself, insufficient time and effort resulting in "development tourism" (the brief rural visit by an urban based professional), failure to recognise the difference between RRA and a baseline study, and lack of agreement on what constitutes RRA, resulting in serious questions about the confidence that can be placed in the data (Beebe, 1987:63). Each of these potential weaknesses are presented briefly in the following sections.

The first potential weakness is that, briefly done, RRA at the outset of a project may not provide a sufficiently valid understanding of the situation and to reserve it as a basis for all future interventions is dangerous. Beebe (1987) suggests that RRA is best used as a heuristic device to initiate additional formal studies and interventions.

The second is that investing too much time and effort in RRA can delay a project and cause participants to view the RRA as an end in itself rather than a development tool. The practitioner of RRA should understand that the objective of RRA is not to produce a good report but to produce timely information for better decisions (Beebe, 1987).

The third weakness identified is that, since RRA collects only limited quantifiable data, and since the sample is an opportunity sample purposely chosen, its future use for project evaluation is limited (Hildebrand, 1982; cited in Beebe 1987:64). Even though RRA cannot replace a base line survey, it provides an important first step for considering difficult questions of evaluation on impacts, trends and causality (Chambers, 1980; cited in Beebe, 1987:64).

The fourth is lack of agreement on what constitutes RRA, and lack of discussion on methodology in most RRA reports make it difficult to estimate the degree of confidence that can be placed in the data (Hondle, 1979; cited in Beebe 1987:64).

Since RRA and PRA approaches have mainly focused on the doing dimension, a question arises how results obtained during interviews in RRA can be effectively synthesised. Moreover, it does not sufficiently take account of future research and monitoring and evaluation project being undertaken.

Finally, PRA and RRA, when carried out with insufficient understanding of underlying principles and inadequate planning, could easily lead the research into one of those done by the 'rural development tourist' (a brief rural visit undertaken by the urban based professional). Therefore, the practitioner of PRA and RRA should have a clear understanding of its principles, strengths, weaknesses and planning before undertaking fieldwork. The researchers and practitioners must change their dominant attitudes, behaviour and roles to encourage people to participate, share knowledge, and to empower rural people themselves. The PRA approach could then also be used in the context of tourism research and planning. The following sections therefore discuss the rationale for the adaptation of PRA techniques in tourism problem assessment and community tourism planning.

3.3 RATIONALE FOR ADAPTATION OF PRA APPROACHES IN TOURISM RESEARCH AND ITS ROLE IN COMMUNITY TOURISM PLANNING

Towner and France (1992) suggest that the rapid growth of tourism in remote areas clearly calls for the use of new research approaches if its impacts are to be more clearly understood in as short a time as possible. In addition, long-term new strategies for relevant data gathering and a participation process are urgently needed to understand the past and the existing tourism phenomenon and for planning future social action. This is especially crucial for Third World rural areas where the constraints of time and resources apply strongly. Against these backdrop issues, the ultimate challenge for tourism researchers is to develop and spread approaches and methods to gain accurate social information for tourism development programmes, making them more cost-effective for the outsider to undertake and more participatory for rural people. With this in mind, the following sections review the rationale for the adaptation of PRA approaches in tourism research and the potential role of participatory methods in community tourism planning.

Traditionally, various quantitative methods such as questionnaire and mail surveys are applied in social science research, including tourism, in the developed Western countries. However, these conventional Western-based methods have many limitations and may not be the most appropriate in the case of Third World countries. They may not be reliable in Third World rural circumstances, where the target population is scattered over a wide area and access may be difficult spatially and culturally, where people are often illiterate and of heterogenous cultural origin. These are further elaborated below.

Berno (1995) argues that tourism often occurs in an intercultural context but that cross-cultural applicability of research methodology is often overlooked by tourism researchers. That is "much cross-cultural research in tourism (as well as other social science disciplines) places primary focus on the content of the research objectives rather than the cultural context in which tourism occurs" (Berno,1995:105). It is in this respect that Jain & Misra (1991, cited in Berno, 1995:107) suggest that the method of investigation in cross-cultural research should be developed within the framework of the socio-cultural system in the context of the culture in which the research is being undertaken.

For example, a questionnaire survey will not be appropriate for illiterate people and without a large sample may not represent heterogenous groups. Therefore, much time could be wasted in clarifying the questionnaire with each person, and in the process the neutrality of the instrument may be affected. Beebe (1987) argues that a questionnaire cannot identify unanticipated site-specific problems and is limited to validating problems articulated by outsiders. In addition, Chambers (1992) argues that with a questionnaire survey, information is transferred from words of the person interviewed to the paper of the questionnaire schedule where it becomes the possession of the interviewer. The way the outsider interprets the information supplied is not presented to the villagers. Similarly, in a field situation the idea of a random sample is likely to be unattainable and some purposive selection is required. The PRA method can eliminate sampling errors by reducing and stratifying the sample size to that which is considered to be the minimum requirement for an acceptable level of sampling.

Beebe (1987) further argues that a questionnaire survey cannot be a substitute for PRA and RRA at the beginning point of understanding a local situation, because it assumes that the problem is already sufficiently known to articulate questions. Survey research has a role but also has limitations, particularly when the researcher tries to determine what questions should be asked. Subsequently, a strong sense of local condition is required for interpreting data generated because it does not consider data context and relies only on the prepared question for data gathering. That is, units are sampled and weighed, context is not (Beebe, 1987; Chambers, 1985; Ison and Ampt, 1992). By contrast, RRA and PRA assume that it is impossible to identify relevant questions in advance. RRA and PRA based on intensive qualitative field work provide a better starting point for research because of their attention to the local context (Beebe, 1987).

Many past field researchers suggest that PRA methods are appropriate for the Third World context. It is suggested that PRA is a method for the assessment of rural areas, it is "quick and clean", and it can be a process of local empowerment and awareness (Chambers, 1985, 1992, 1994a, 1994b and 1994c; Ford and Lelo, 1991; Mascarenhas, 1992; Cabarle and Zazueta, 1992; Towner and France, 1992).

A. Method for remote areas

PRA is an appropriate methodology for remote and rural areas, where field work conditions are difficult both in terms of infrastructure and data collection. Fieldwork conditions range on a

spectrum from favourable to unfavourable in terms of the extent to which areas facilitate fieldwork (Towner and France, 1992). On one extreme of the spectrum is the developed world. Here the basic infrastructure for undertaking social research is relatively sophisticated and the tourism system is supported by an array of public and private institutions with their attendant sources of data. The other extreme of the spectrum is the developing world where the overall research environment may make data collection difficult, both in terms of basic infrastructure and providing sources of data related to tourism. Towner and France (1992) argue that it is in these latter areas where there is an urgent need for more studies of the impact of tourism on physical and social resources. Recognising this growing need for tourism research in remote areas, tourism researchers are faced with the problem of which research methodology and technique to apply. As a partial solution to these problems, Towner and France (1992) and Eber (1992), suggest the possibility of using (RRA) techniques for tourism research in areas where related data are relatively scarce.

B. Cost effectiveness and timeliness

Chambers (1994a) argues that conventional methods of social investigation have often not been cost-effective (in terms of time spent, money spent and personnel used). Towner and France (1992) suggest that the increasing pace of tourism development, particularly in Third World countries, now requires adaptation of special rapid research methods which can feed quickly into the policy and decision-making processes.

According to Chambers (1985), there are two main approaches in conventional research methods which are still practised today. These are "quick and dirty", and "long and dirty" methods (here "dirty" means not cost-effective in terms of money and time spent and subsequent data generated).

The "quick and dirty" approach is a brief rural visit by urban based professionals, which masks the perception of rural poverty, underestimates its prevalence, and prevents an understanding of its nature. At the other extreme, the "long and dirty" approach is academic research, a costly investigation that often collects a massive volume of data for a long period. Examples Chambers (1985) cites here include social and anthropological research. Although this kind of research is academically excellent and makes a long term contribution to understanding and action, it often results in excessive delays in producing useful recommendations. However, Carruthers and

Chambers (1980) noted that techniques for RRA are neither put forward as substitutes for scholarly works nor for long term studies, but as complementary to existing methods of inquiry.

Instead of two dirty approaches, a number of researchers have suggested that RRA and PRA are "quick and clean" (cost-effective) approaches, suitable for a rural Third World situation (Chambers, 1980, 1985, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c; Carruthers and Chambers, 1981; Gabriel, 1991; Towner and France, 1992). Today, PRA is increasingly being utilised in the analysis of agrosystems; forestry; irrigation; health and nutrition; farming systems and research; marketing; organisations; and social, cultural, and economic conditions (Chambers, 1994b). All of these subjects are directly or indirectly related to tourism development. For this additional reason alone the RRA and PRA approaches might provide a fresh start for tourism development and research.

C. Local participation awareness and empowerment

The issues of sustainability through to participation and empowerment have also encouraged a rethinking of the research design and implementation. In traditional social science research methods (as practised by both positivists and interpretivists alike), the authority of the research design resides with the researcher (Glesne and Peskin, 1992:10). However, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methodology has shifted the authority to the people who are researched, recognising that "it matters who generates and "owns" knowledge and whose capacity to learn and analyze is enhanced" (Chambers, 1985:517).

A Chinese proverb urges us to "teach people how to catch fish rather than giving them fish", but in terms of tourism development, I believe that they must be "taught" to "restock" and to set the limits to catch, and not just to fish more successfully. Part of this process could be met by applying PRA techniques as a learning tool for local environmental awareness (Mascarenhas, 1992), since PRA's intention is not only to formulate and identify problems but also to stimulate community awareness (Chambers, 1992). Webber and Ison (1995), however, argue that involvement of local people only has the potential to trigger change, not to determine outcome. They believe that by triggering community awareness, people may follow with enthusiasm for taking action on the issues that emerge during conversation.

PRA has been extensively used in natural resource management (soil and water conservation, forestry, fisheries, wildlife, community planning, etc), programmes for women and the poor, agriculture, health and food security (Chambers, 1994b). However, PRA approaches have not yet been evaluated in terms of their suitability for tourism research. Therefore, the major goal of this research is to adapt and apply and evaluate PRA approaches for the assessment of tourism and community tourism planning on the basis of specified research objectives. In the following section, PRA methodology and its potential role in community tourism planning is discussed.

3.3.1 PRA's potential role in community tourism planning

Passive instruments, particularly a questionnaire survey which enables the quantitative treatment of data, have been a common feature of the process of problem/issue identification in Nepali tourism research. As already mentioned above, such survey results carry significant concerns. Given the complexity of tourism problems and the varying perceptions of them, an increasingly essential component of the tourism assessment process is the formulation of the problem, what Ison and Ampt (1992) calls "by those involved in the problem - the actors". Their active participation and joint decision-making is essential in the planning process to yield useful results. Runyan and Wu believe that:

> In a community setting, multiple opinions, based on a range of experiences and perceptions, help assure that no impacts are overlooked or are not sufficiently discussed. Such an approach to estimating impacts also helps identify the distribution of impacts among various groups or areas in the community, particularly if the involvement in the assessment process is at least somehow representative of the affected community. The various interests in the community can generally be expected to state their case if given a chance (1979:451).

The participatory concept which underpins PRA, and the range and richness of outcomes, may make it a relevant tool for the formulation of problems and to identify opportunities for tourism research, planning, and development by those involved in the problem.

Murphy (1994) believes that the public has considerable tourism experience, both as host and as visitor, providing a reservoir of information and enthusiasm if properly tapped. In each of the PRA steps, information is generated, filtered and focused in participatory ways to achieve valid data. Runyan and Wu also note that:

Increased involvement in estimating complex impacts contributes to the reliability of the estimates. Such involvement also serves as a constructive vehicle for (sic) appraisal of impacts by individuals and groups other than those which are "expert", a body of interests most all (sic) planners feel should be included in a planning process (1979:451).

In tourism planning and development, greater emphasis has been given to the destination community participation as they are the main locus of the tourism product (Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994). Yet one of the persistent problems of such a participation concept is the lack of suitable participation methods and mechanisms for tourism planning and development, particularly in Third World rural areas. In addition, Simmons (1994) suggests that a participation process is required that is ongoing and educational for all parties involved. PRA, based on an informal approach to the household survey, may facilitate the need for the host community to participate fully in the development process by allowing them to generate and articulate data in more participatory ways. This process also may provide educational opportunities for both researcher/planner and the researched/participants.

In tourism, a comprehensive planning concept with emphasis on greater public participation is advocated. However, many planners neither have considered the progress of public participation techniques employed in other aspects of planning nor have they tested or evaluated methods appropriate to secure local residents' interest and support for tourism planning (Simmons 1994). PRA, the method commonly applied in agricultural development and community forestry, is identified as one of the approaches which considers that the community's participation at the local level is important in sustainable development. Since PRA methods are cost-effective and reliable, it is being increasingly utilised in Third World situations (Chambers, 1994b) for achieving public participation and subsequently planning and action as evidenced by a number of researchers (Ford and Lelo, 1991; Ison and Ampt, 1992; Megni, 1992). It also enables local people to express, enhance, share and analyse their knowledge of life conditions and to plan and act (Chambers, 1994b, 1994c). For example, in Kenya and India the use of PRA methods has encouraged rural people to present and analyse what they know and has generated commitment to sustainable action. Increasingly, in many developing and developed countries, NGOs are adopting the PRA approach and methods as part of a process of identifying development action by and with villagers in domains that include watershed management, social forestry, horticulture, marketing and cooperative development (Chambers, 1992:8). Therefore, PRA methods could also be adapted and evaluated in the tourism context.

PRA is rooted in the conviction that peoples' participation is an essential ingredient in sustainable development. The main thrust is to reverse the centralised tendencies by emphasising farmers'/ pastoralists' participation in most rural development programmes (Mgeni, 1992:427). PRA also provides a structure which brings residents, and leaders from the area, and concerned legislative authority to the common ground (Ford and Lelo, 1993). It uses the theme of natural resources management to integrate the development sector including water, livestock, health, wildlife, agriculture, forestry, and community development. The integration is defined by the community and can thus serve their needs (Ford and Lelo, 1993). Therefore, it could also serve the need for integration of tourism development with other objectives.

PRA is also a tool which may help communities mobilise their human and natural resources to define problems, consider previous successes, evaluate local institutional capacities, decide future opportunities, and prepare a systematic and site-specific plan of action for a community to implement.

Tourism research and planning also suffers from a lack of effective communication between researchers/planners and researched/participants. As a result, the problems remain with the researched and the solutions remain within researchers' reports and articles and they are never implemented. The PRA process could facilitate the bridging of this communication gap between, researcher and researched.

Having these strengths, PRA could also be applied to community tourism planning, development and management. However, the successful application of the PRA approach in community tourism planning relies on the attitudes and behaviours of researchers and planners. They should also acknowledge indigenous knowledge and recognise the analytical capabilities of the destination community. Runyan and Wu (1979) believe that, although resident involvement can significantly increase the time and effort required by professionals to complete a project, the pay off is impact information of increased reliability and usefulness.

Although PRA may play a significant role in facilitating community participation in tourism planning, the review of literature of approximately 25 years of RRA and PRA experience has failed to provide a general framework on which to build their work for those who wish to adapt the approach. It is also argued that most of the literature on RRA and PRA has focused on the

'doing' dimension with limited attention to the theoretical or conceptual underpinnings to process design (Webber and Ison 1995). It thus is necessary to consider a special set of methodological techniques to suit the context of community participation and involvement in tourism planning processes. The following sections focus on designing a framework for both data collection and its refinement, and the participation process.

3.3.2 PRA data collection and participation process

As tourism assessment and tourism planning are the main focus of this research, the following four methodological steps could facilitate the objectives of community participation and involvement in the community tourism planning process. As described earlier, PRA is a qualitative methodology used to produce quick and more accurate data with participation and co-ordination of rural people and a multidisciplinary team. In a multidisciplinary team, both social and biological scientists can be included depending on the subject of the study. At the end the result could form the basis for future community action and ongoing analysis. The steps include: first, a secondary data review; second, semi-structured interviews with key informants and individuals; third, group interviews and discussion, together with field observations and finally an interactive workshop. Each of these methods can facilitate the data filtering and focusing process to obtain valid and reliable data as shown in Figure 6 in page 52. This process is described below.

After selection of a research site, the first step in a PRA approach is a review of secondary data of available materials about the site, to identify general information about the study area, people and their lifestyle, and existing tourism conditions. These include maps, published and unpublished sources of research and project reports, and the population census etc.

A preliminary visit to the study area, which includes informal talks with "key informants" such as village leaders, extension workers, monks of the local Ghompa (Buddhist temple) and school teachers will be helpful to build rapport and to avoid mistrust and to win the goodwill of respondents. To gain local leaders' cooperation they should know why the research is being conducted. This preliminary visit to the research site and informal talks with key informants will also be helpful to identify the key questions and issues enabling the researcher to proceed to the next research step.
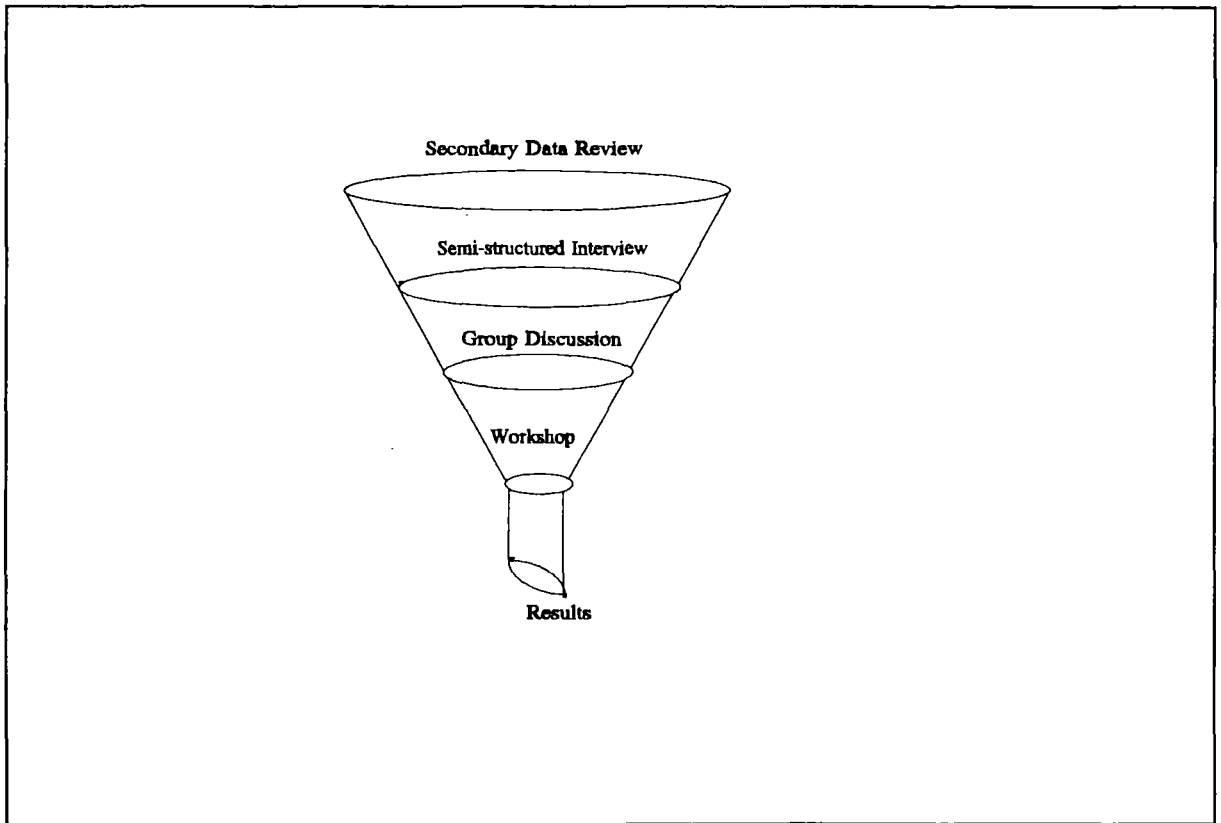
Figure 6. PRA data refinement steps

The second step of PRA is semi-structured interviews with key informants and other individuals. In this step the line of enquiry is still broad-based and exploratory leading the PRA team to focus on the most relevant aspects of the situation to be followed by subsequent individual interviews. In this step the information generated from key informants is further validated by cross-checking it with other individuals.

The third step is group discussion and interviews. The semi-structured interviews with individuals and groups covers a similar topic area to both cross-check data generated from key informants and to confirm the issues explored and follow new lines of inquiry in depth. This step also includes formal recording of problems and opportunities. These are then ranked by scoring or by pair-wise matrix.

The final stage of data refinement is a workshop with a group of participants. The structured group includes people chosen to represent different points of view, capabilities or knowledge and community groups (for example, local leaders, lodge owners, and the general public). By drawing such a group together, the full range of issues and perspectives can be identified by

discussing, analysing and developing the findings of PRA. In this process, the problems raised from other interviews and group discussions will be the key theme for discussion. The researcher's role will be to facilitate the discussion and observe the situation rather than taking part. The intention of presenting analysed semi-structured interview data is to trigger ideas by local people about their issues and concerns. The potential creative dimension lies in an invitation for participants to reconceptualise their perspective on local issues. This is a key step in initiating a process of taking action. By the end of this stage, the filtering and focusing of information will hopefully have led to the identification, analysis and assessment of the crucial issues. The successive refinement process with focus on concomitant motivation to implementation is illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7. PRA data refinement and participation process

Theme	Method	Source
1. Background information to establish context	Secondary data review	Census reports, field reports, maps, articles
2. Issue exploration	Semi-structured interviews	Key informants and individuals
3. Issue confirmation -Establishing priorities	Semi-structured interviews and group discussion Ranking exercise	Individuals and groups Group of people
4. Search for solutions -Issue confirmation -Plan of action -Future research/monitoring and evaluation needs	Community workshop	Community representatives, opinion leaders from No 2, 3, and 4

3.3.3 Methodological issues

According to Beebe (1987), the semi-structured interview is the most important methodology used by RRA and PRA. In the interview process, the following six related methodological issues should be carefully considered.

1. Selection of respondents

In PRA, interviews are often conducted with an opportunity sample of purposively selected individuals who are likely to be beneficiaries of any programme being planned or implemented, and with those who are likely to be non-beneficiaries of the programme or people who disagree with all decisions, generally promote trouble and never cooperate with development programmes. They should be chosen because they represent a cross section of the expected target population (Beebe,1987:57). In terms of tourism, the purposively selected sample may include local leaders, direct and indirect beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of tourism. However, the bias of interviewing only males must be avoided. In PRA, different types of respondents are interviewed to cross-check the data generated from one source with another. "Individual respondents" can tell about what they actually do, with special attention to their role in the system being investigated (Beebe, 1987). "Key informants", with their more extensive knowledge (Rhodes, 1987), can talk about the system beyond their limited participation (Beebe, 1987).

Key informants, like village leaders, extension workers, school teachers and monks are likely to answer questions about the knowledge and behaviours of others and especially about the operation of the broader system. Rhoades (1987:118) suggests: "Do not believe everything key informants say but do not pass up the old-timer who enjoys talking" . In many parts of Asia and Africa one must go through the local headman or village leader to gain cooperation. Short-cutting the local chain of command can only cause difficulties later (Rhoades 1987). However, it must be realised that the local leaders will often selectively introduce the researchers to people who will support their biases.

2. Interviewing individuals and groups

Beebe (1987) suggests that a group interview can be extremely useful in gathering information such as 1) natural resource information, 2) local histories and 3) depending on culture, certain sensitive information (existing economic system). Group interviews are also helpful to collect information on topics where an individual can be penalized if he or she replies untruthfully (Chambers, 1980). Often, similar topics are taken up in an interview with groups and key informants where individuals are free to correct each other and discuss issues. This can identify variability within a community and prevent any atypical situation from being confused with the average (Beebe, 1987).

In a group interview, the presence of others often influences an individual's answer. Therefore, the topics covered in a group interview should also be used for individual interviews. For example, questions like; What do people generally do ? or What do you do ? can be used. Similarly, the presence of project staff may influence the general public's comment about a project and its activities.

It is suggested that a relatively homogenous population requires fewer interviews than a highly heterogenous population (Beebe, 1987). Therefore, respondents should be stratified on the basis of variables such as economic status, occupation, ethnic caste and age. Chambers (1980) suggests that housing is an indicator of poverty and prosperity. For example, in rural communities, the type of brick, plaster and roof and the availability and type of toilet can be used as key indicators of poverty and prosperity in rural Nepal. Similarly, on the basis of occupation, farmers and lodge owners can be grouped and interviewed.

All these interviews should be conducted, using a checklist to ensure that all the topics are covered. The number and length of interviews are assumed to be determined using commonsense and the local situation. However, the number of interviews also depends on the information collected from interviewees. If information from a new interviewee is repetitious and the researcher believes that no more new information could be collected, then the interview can be brought to an end.

3. Scheduling the interview and location

The timing and location of interviews can be extremely important and the interviewer has to be aware of daily work schedules, seasonal activity, work habits, climate and their effect on the respondents' willingness to talk (Beebe, 1987; Rhoades 1987). Therefore, a time and a location for the interview should be arranged which suits respondents, to ensure that the interview does not hamper daily work.

4. Strategy for getting better information and executing the interviews

Before starting the interviews, it is important for the researcher to pay attention to local custom. In the case of rural Nepal, directly jumping into an interview may create suspicion. So, the respondents need to be greeted (using local language would be desirable) according to local custom and treated with courtesy and respect, and conversation should be initiated politely.

Instead of seeking a direct answer, the interviewer should get people to talk on a subject. The interview should be in the form of a dialogue process where important information develops out of casual conversation (Beebe, 1987). The following points should be considered (Rhoades 1982; cited in Beebe 1987:59):

"Don't pull out an official-looking questionnaire"
"Do not go in large numbers"
"Be sensitive to the fact that people may be suspicious of you"

To get respondents to talk instead of just responding to questions, they can be asked to tell their life histories. Rural people are often happy to tell their folklore, from which the interviewer can stimulate the dialogue process (my personal field experience). Other techniques for increasing dialogue include the use of rating and ranking where the respondents are asked to group or rank a series of occupations, problems or other lists of items.

Care should be taken when closing an interview or discussion. After all the relevant topics have been covered or if the respondents seem exhausted or if the weather is unfavourable, the conversation should be brought to an end and participants should be thanked for their time and given a proper local farewell.

5. Recording and taking notes
Some believe that writing down the information during an interview restricts the spontaneity of the respondents' reactions. Others recommend writing down everything and keeping a complete record of the field work. However, the applicability of recording information during or after an interview should be decided according to field conditions. The main point is the researcher should be sensitive to the reactions to his recording techniques. In the case of tape recording the interviews the researcher must ask interviewees if they are comfortable with being recorded.

3.4 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

RRA began in the 1970s in response to the biased perceptions derived from rural development tourism (the brief rural visit by the urban-based professional), its many defects, and the high cost of large-scale questionnaire surveys and their results. During the past few years, a great deal of emphasis has been put into finding ways to make these methods more participatory. As a result, PRA methods have evolved with outcomes focused on the empowerment of local people.

Participatory Rural Appraisal (RRA) methodology has gained a presence in agriculture and forestry for achieving public participation and subsequently planning and implementation. Since the method is cost-effective (in terms of personnel, finance and time) and provides valid data, it is being increasingly utilised in Third World situations. However, the success of this method in research and planning depends highly on the researchers' roles rather than the methodology itself, and the danger still exists that the PRA process will be extractive rather than participatory if researchers' behaviours and attitudes are still dominant, top-down and unchanged. In tourism, a comprehensive planning concept with emphasis on greater public participation is advocated. However, in terms of Third World countries, these goals may not be achieved without suitable measures for gaining community participation. Therefore, the main goal of this research is to test and evaluate the potential of PRA methods in assessing tourism and in achieving public participation in (community) tourism planning. Four major techniques of PRA methods are adopted here for this research in an effort to refine data in each successive stage. The stages include secondary data review, semi-structured interviews with key informants and individuals, group interviews, a discussion and ranking exercise and an interactive workshop. These techniques will be evaluated both as a research methodology and as a participation technique on the basis of their capacity to satisfy the specified research goals. Therefore, the next chapter describes and discusses the adapted PRA techniques as they have been used in this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY IN THE FIELD

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has defined PRA approaches and discussed potential applications in tourism research and planning. The emphasis of the discussion was the need for methods suitable for Third World rural tourist destinations, in understanding their past and existing social phenomenon, tourism impacts, and to plan future social action accordingly. A first attempt was made to apply Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approaches to tourism research in the Manang district of Nepal. This chapter describes the techniques that were adapted from PRA in this research. The research was aimed at evaluating the potential of adapted PRA techniques in encouraging and facilitating community participation in community tourism planning and to collect the data required for this purpose.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, the four major PRA techniques adopted are presented, and the way in which each one was applied is discussed. The major problems encountered in the field are also presented. In the second section, a summary of chapter is presented.

4.1 PRA IN PRACTICE

As mentioned in the previous chapter, four major techniques of PRA were adopted and applied in the Manang District of Nepal. This includes a review of secondary data, followed by semi-structured interviews with key informants and other individuals, group interviews and discussion (pair-wise ranking exercise) and finally a workshop. The PRA methodology was used not only to gather data but also to test the methodology itself in terms of its suitability for tourism research and development. It was intended that the data gathering process would encourage community residents to think systematically about their problems and possible solutions to address them. The research was conducted during the autumn of 1994 (July 23 - Sept 22) in two regions of the Manang District. Residents of two regions, Nyishang and Nar-Phu, were selected for comparative study. The former is a popular tourist destination on the Annapurna circuit, the latter is a potential tourist destination which is currently closed to foreign visitors.

The field research took approximately two months. The research was conducted by a research team comprising of two members. One was myself and the other was a local resident. The local resident was a knowledgeable young man from Manang village. Overall, forty-three individuals were interviewed. One group discussion was conducted during the research in Manang village for a problem-ranking exercise. Finally, one workshop was also conducted in Manang village. The data collection involved four phases as outlined in Figure 8. Each step is discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

Figure 8. PRA working framework in the field

Stage	Process	Time/ Weeks	Place	Schedule
One	Secondary data review	2	Kathmandu	July 23-Aug 7
Two	Primary data collection: Semi-structured interviews with key informants, and home visits and interviews with individuals.	3	Nyishang Nar-Phu	Aug 10-15
Three	Group interviews and discussion	2	Nyishang Nar-Phu	Aug 16- 27 Aug 28- Sept 12
	Analysis of information	1	Manang	Sept 13-21
Four	Community workshop	1 day	Manang	Sept. 22

4.1.1 Secondary data review

While frequently overlooked, the first step to data collection is reading and reviewing existing information sources before entering into the field (Gabriel, 1991). Available secondary sources of information include published and unpublished literature and reports, population statistics, project documents and reports, tourism statistics and maps. However, due to the lack of previous research records, limited data and reports specific to the Manang study area were available. Other important background information was more generally available.

The purpose of the secondary data collection was to understand the local socio-cultural and economic conditions of the study area. General information on agricultural and pastoralism

production patterns, vegetation, land use, population changes, and topography of the Manang District were reviewed in Kathmandu and where appropriate will be incorporated into Chapter Four (The Research Area).

Next, a preliminary visit to the study area was conducted. In this preliminary visit key informants with detailed local knowledge were identified. The researcher talked informally with key informants and individuals such as village leaders, extension workers, conservation officers of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) in Manang, and other Government officials from the district headquarters in Chame. The objective of this informal talk was to build rapport, avoid mistrust and win the goodwill of respondents as well as to access further secondary data available only within the study area. This exploratory study was helpful to establish key research questions in order to proceed to the next step of the research.

Most of the PRA literature suggests a multidisciplinary team for PRA studies. This study however did not include a multidisciplinary team for the following reasons: First, rural people in Manang may not feel comfortable with research teams of more than two members, particularly in individual interviews. Second, given the remoteness and size of the study area and the objectives of this study, the research team was kept as small as possible. It was believed a larger team would not necessarily improve the efficiency of PRA and may arouse suspicion among interviewees. Third, budget constraints meant it was not possible to hire such specialists for university funded academic research like this. I argue that if the PRA approach requires a multidisciplinary team to carry out in the research, this could be a major drawback of the PRA approach, particularly in the case of academic research and small projects in such remote areas. It could certainly curtail the claim that PRA is 'cost-effective'. The large, well-financed projects are likely to be the only ones able to support multi-disciplinary teams. Moreover, creation of such a team is not, in itself, the answer to the problem of complexity. Dudley (1993:10) argues that a 'multi-disciplinary team' can easily become a paper-term which screens the reality of a disparate set of individuals working, as they always did, in isolated professional pigeon holes.

Although the other specialists were not included as suggested by the PRA literature, during the preliminary visit the researcher, being an outsider, felt a need to have the assistance of a person with the knowledge of local customs and able to interpret the local language. Therefore, a local research assistant from Manang village was hired. The research assistant had a keen knowledge

of local culture and customs and could also interpret both the Manange and the Tibetan dialects. The inclusion of a local person in the research team served four major purposes. First, it acknowledged the importance of local knowledge and expertise. Second, it served as access to wider communities. Third, it served in discovering the local issues that needed to be understood quickly before starting research. Finally, it helped in facilitating the interview process. During the research period, conservation officers (agriculturalist and wildlife biologist) of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) in Manang were also consulted from time to time as they were approachable at the research site.

4.1.2 Primary data collection

Armed with a tentative checklist (set of research topics) and available secondary materials, field research (primary data collection) was commenced using four simple techniques: observation, informal conversations, recording and writing, and analysing and summarising completed field notes. These techniques are discussed in the following sections.

Once secondary data had been gathered, researchers using PRA techniques seek to gain first hand experience and knowledge of the research site. The Manang region was reached on foot. Along the route, the researcher observed the general condition of the natural resource system, and sanitary conditions. A similar low key approach was adopted when the researcher first arrived in the research community.

Semi-structured interviewing, the second tool of the PRA method was used in early contact with locals. This is a relatively quick way of tapping the experience of workers involved in day-to-day activities in the area under investigation (Tower and France, 1992). To initiate a semi-structured interview, some key guide questions established beforehand were used. New questions or lines of questioning arose during the interview in response to the answers of interviewees.

The ideal 'field work' research aims to minimise sampling error and measurement error and yet achieve a maximum breadth of coverage. This may require a large amount of time, and concomitant high costs. With limited resources, a compromise has to be made where a target population is scattered over a wide area (and the sample population is heterogenous). Interviews were therefore conducted with purposively selected individuals. This included both beneficiaries of tourism such as lodge, hotel, and teashop owners; small craft traders; tourist guides; pony

renters, and those who have only indirect linkages to tourism such as farmers and traders, monks, school teachers and the general public. Most of the interviewees' family and children were also present at the time of interview. This 'giving space' allowed family dynamics to be expressed. In some instances, women and their children tended to lead conversations, whilst men added their comments.

Different study foci (eg agriculture and forestry) necessitate informants of different backgrounds and experience. Semi-structured interviews were therefore undertaken with three interview formats; interviews with the key informants, interviews with individuals, and group interviews. Key informants provide information about others, specific situations or conditions existing in the area. The key informants are essentially knowledgeable individuals who are in a position to provide relevant information, ideas and insights on a particular subject, whereas individual interviewees primarily give information about themselves. The group interviewees provided general information about village life by correcting each other through discussion processes within the group.

Tourism was the focus of this study. Key informants were recruited carefully from various occupational groups, socioeconomic strata and organisations to reflect diverse viewpoints and concerns. Key informants included local leaders, teachers, and local government officials. The use of key informants is a major research instrument in any kind of field research (Gabriel, 1991). Usually, key informants are identified on the basis of their leading role or skills in an activity. Enquiries must be made to determine which person or group is most knowledgable with regard to a particular activity. An opportunity is then sought to work with them. As a consequence of their leading roles, key informants often tend to have the most power, have higher incomes, or are more informed and literate individuals. Their interview answers were therefore crosschecked with other informants to asses the validity of their views.

In engaging interviewees, four key factors were relevant. These were the use of local knowledge, the timing of the interview, the initial contact, and the organisation of the questions. Use of local knowledge is an important aspect of the PRA method. In my case a person familiar with the local area and language was hired both as an interpreter and PRA team member. He also acted as a gatekeeper in getting access to the community, which otherwise would have been more difficult.

Like with any other research methods, the timing of an interview can be extremely important. The interviewer must be aware of daily work schedules, seasonal activities, work habits, climate and its effects, and the interviewees' willingness to talk (Beebe, 1987; Rhoades, 1987). The interviews were therefore conducted at a time suitable to the interviewee, usually in the morning or in the evening so that daily work patterns would not be disrupted.

Similarly, the initial contact with respondents is very important in any type of interview. This is especially so in qualitative interviews, where establishing a basis for easy communication with the interviewees is necessary to encourage interviewees to state their concerns, perceptions and views frankly (Casely and Kumar, 1988). The appearance of the researcher was kept simple and appropriate to the rural setting to reduce respondents' awareness of status difference. Before starting each interview, the research assistant introduced the researcher and gave a brief statement of the main purpose and scope of inquiry to the interviewees together with promises of confidentiality in a Manange dialect (local dialect). The researcher then greeted the interviewees according to local custom. The interview was initiated in a dialogue process. The interviews were recorded using a tape recorder. Most of the interviewees, particularly key informants, were familiar with the recording process and felt comfortable with it. However, a few interviewees did appear to be uncomfortable. Therefore, some interviews, particularly individual interviews, were not recorded but were written up immediately following the interview. In some instances, the flow of the interview was interrupted particularly at the time of loading a new cassette in the recorder. The research questions were not predetermined for three reasons: First, to encourage respondents to express themselves fully rather than responding to a predetermined list of options, second, to allow the researcher to exercise discretion in controlling the course of the interview and third, to ask additional questions if interesting leads needed to be pursued.

In the PRA interview process, directly jumping into a research question may arouse suspicion among respondents. Accordingly, the interview began with a general conversation such as asking about children if they were around or other subjects which might be of interest to the respondents. It is equally important to volunteer researchers' personal information such as family background and other experience to help the respondents place them in a familiar social category. The preliminary conversation helped overcome any initial reservations of the respondents.

After this introductory conversation, the interview began with simple questions, for example about local institutions which require neither interpretation nor lengthy recall on the part of interviewees. Questions concerned with present issues were asked before questions about future issues and finally past issues were discussed. However, questions about the future are speculative and caused many interviewees to be hesitant. In order to make abstract questions concrete and thus facilitate empathy and communication, the interviewees were asked to assume themselves to be in a specific role. For example, interviewees were asked "suppose you are appointed as a member of a Tourism Management Committee, what would you do under the present circumstances?" Most of the key informants felt comfortable with such questions, however, many individual interviewees felt that they were being teased by being asked to assume ambitious roles which they thought were beyond their ability and so hesitated to answer the questions. Key informants, having developed greater confidence in other roles, were found to be more talkative and responsive in comparison with individual interviewees who seemed to have less confidence. After checking that all relevant topics had been covered, the conversation was brought to an end and the interviewees were thanked for their time.

The checklist of topics included for the semi-structured interviews were tourism product and product development, and tourism impacts and their solution and opportunities for future tourism development (see Appendix B for detail). Similar topics were used for both individual and group interviewees. Individuals were interviewed both to cross check the key informants' responses and to gain their own views and concerns.

4.1.3 Group interviews and discussions.

Group interviews, sometimes referred to as 'community interviews', may also be conducted where there is a need for community resource information. Although group interviews do not provide the same depth of information as individual interviews, they have been found to be helpful particularly when seeking information about natural resources or community resource management, local histories, and local institutions. Gabriel (1991) suggests that information provided by the group may be more accurate than that gathered during individual interviews, because interviewees are always open to correction by fellow participants. In Manang, topics covered in key informant interviews and in individual interview were also represented in the group interviews, where participants were free to correct each other as they discussed the issues.

In some places, the group interviews were the first to be carried out. The presence of others in group interviews may influence individual answers. Therefore, the topics covered in group interviews were used later in individual interviews. All these interviews were conducted using a checklist to ensure that all the topics were covered. The length of the interview was limited to one hour or the interest of respondents. One other major data generating and filtering technique, the ranking of problems and opportunities, was also used in the interviews.

Ranking of problems and opportunities can be used either directly or can be combined with other methods to collect data from group respondents. This technique was applied for assessing existing as well as future impacts of tourism development on a variety of groups in the host society, and to determine viable options to solve identified problems. Once the impacts of tourism as reported by the participants have been listed, ranking begins. The ranking exercise is an important technique as it enables participants to discuss and agree upon priorities. Ranking problems and opportunities also achieves a second important goal. It creates community awareness of an information base which is oriented towards them, their needs and concerns (PRA Hand Book, 1991).

A group of six people with different occupational backgrounds were invited to the local tea shop in the Manang village. They included a farmer, a pastoralist, an hotelier, a craft seller, and a member of the general public. Firstly, the tourism problems pre-identified in the key informants and individual interviews were listed and presented to the group for further discussion. After the discussion and further refinement of the problems, they were presented in a matrix in the way that each problem could be compared with another. Then the group was asked to select the most important problem compared with the other one. The process was continued until each of the listed problems was matched and compared with another one. The selection of important problems was based on group judgement. The group members discussed and selected the problems using a pair-wise matrix. The selected problems were listed in a blank space provided in the matrix sheet. Later on, the problems selected by the participants were counted, to identify how many times each was preferred as the important one. Then they were ranked in the order of highest score to lowest score.

4.1.4 Community workshop

At the final stage of data refinement, structured group interviews and discussions were conducted. The structured group included people chosen to represent different points of view, capabilities and knowledge, such as government officials, local leaders, extension staff, lodge owners and the general public.

The workshop was conducted on the 22nd of September, 1994, in the Regional Headquarters of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project, Manang. The participants were selected during the individual interviews as those who were likely to make some contribution to the workshop. The participants came from a variety of backgrounds and different villages. Included were local leaders, local government officials, project staff, lodge owners and the general public.

One of the problems in selecting participants is the decision whether to mix different categories of participants or run separate groups for each category (Morgan, 1988). The problem arises because of the need to maintain a reasonable amount of homogeneity within the group in order to foster discussion. However, in a heterogenous and highly stratified rural society such as that researched here, it is neither possible to get a homogenous group nor to conduct separate groups. Also, to run separate groups of similar background or social role increases the cost as it requires more groups and resources. Therefore, a certain minimum number of people within each category or background were necessary to observe the range of responses to a topic in this workshop.

This final session of the community workshop was an invitation to people to conceptualise their situation and articulate their ideas through discussion. An agenda was prepared based on an analysis of previous interviews and discussions. The agenda for the workshop was tourism development impacts, and to discuss and identify the opportunities in order to solve them. Tourism product development and institutional development were also put forward for discussion.

The main goal of the workshop was to reach consensus on the above topic areas. To fulfil this goal, the following objectives were proposed:
- to verify the accuracy of data collected from individual interviews;
- to discuss tourism development problems and opportunities, with a view to planning for future tourism development.

Altogether 14 participants from six different villages (Ngawal, Ghyaru, Braga, Manang, Tenki Manang, and Khangsar) and some ACAP and government staff were present in the workshop (see Appendix A for the list of participants). All participants were provided with money for lodging and food to participate in the workshop. To facilitate maximum interaction among participants, the chairs were arranged in a circle. The formal workshop began after the introduction of the moderator (researcher) to the participants. Introduction among participants was not required because in the Nepali rural communities people tend to be known to each other even if they have not actually met. The moderator explained the purpose and the scope of the workshop. The introduction of topics was accompanied by a few ground rules: only one person was to speak at a time, no side conversation among participants was allowed and no one was to leave or enter the hall during the session. Every participant was given equal opportunity to express their views and concerns. The workshop lasted three hours. At the end of the workshop the main problems of tourism identified in the discussion were summarised and some product development opportunities were presented by the ACAP Senior Conservation Officer. Finally, the researcher thanked all the participants for their participation.

The research was conducted in the Nepali language. Research data were later translated and transcribed into the English language by the researcher. These data were coded, indexed and analysed using Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorising (NUDIST) software. This is a computer package for handling non-numerical and unstructured data in qualitative analysis. It has served as a computerised filing cabinet.

4.2 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

The research was undertaken in the fall of 1994 in the two regions (Nyishang and Nar-Phu) of Manang District using adapted Participatory Rural appraisal (PRA) methods. This methodology has most often been applied in agricultural, forestry and rural development research. Four methodological techniques of PRA were adapted and tested for usefulness in the study of tourism research and development. First, secondary data about the research area was collected which helped in the formulation of provisional research questions. Second, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants and individuals (to generate site and topic specific data). Third, group interviews were carried out to rank tourism development problems and

opportunities. Finally, a workshop was conducted. Fourteen people took part in the workshop. The Community workshop was conducted to verify data generated from interviews and to draw consensus on the issues of tourism development, tourism product development and institutional development. In the next chapter, the research site, Manang District's setting, its people and society and existing problems are reviewed as the first step of the PRA methodology in light of the available secondary data resources and materials studied.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH SITE

Manang District, Nepal

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The landlocked country of Nepal is bordered to the North by China and to the East, West and South by India as shown in Figure 9. It extends 885 km, East to West and 193 km North to South. Nepal covers an area of 147,181 km², with a population of 20.5 million.

CHINA

Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP)

INDIA
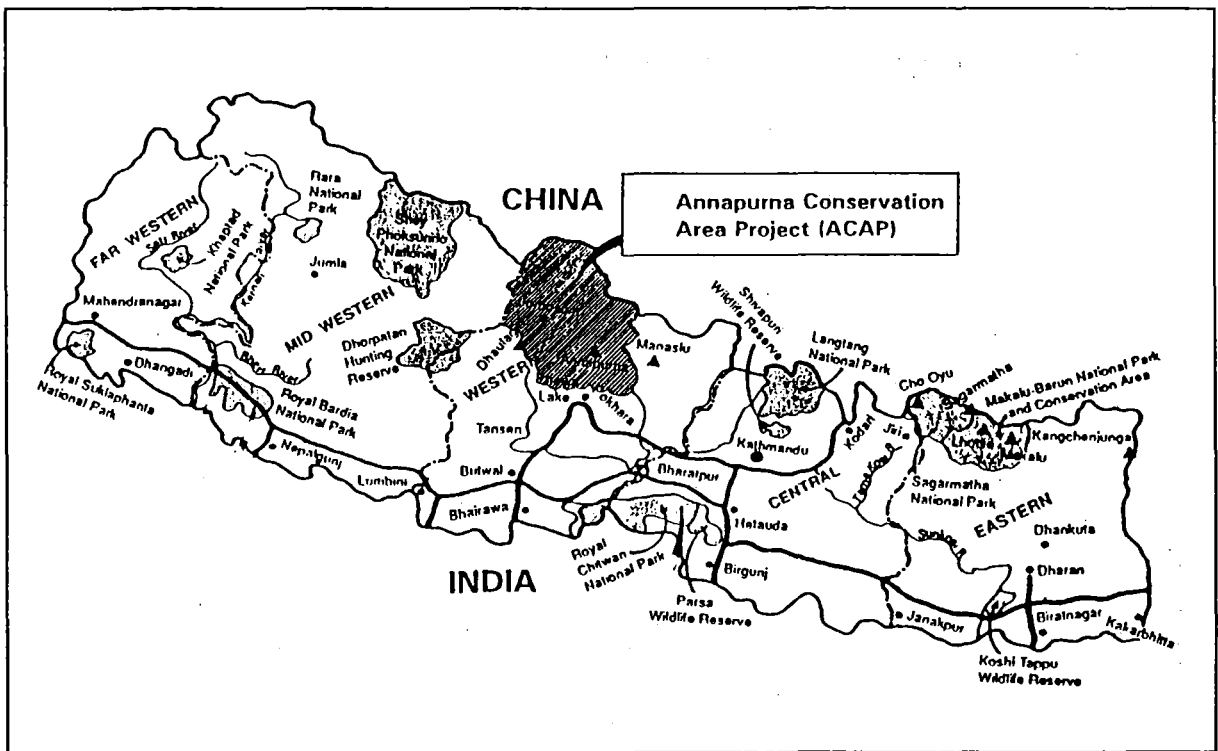
Figure 9. Location of Nepal (Source: Gurung, 1995:38)

This chapter serves the dual purpose of introducing the research area and as a necessary first step in the PRA methodology. The first section describes the general characteristics of the Manang District followed by reasons for selection of this area. The second section describes socio-cultural aspects of the people living in Nyishang and Nar-Phu, the chosen research areas. The third section describes the development of tourism in the Nyishang region and its potential in the Nar-Phu region. The final section is a summary of this chapter.

5.1 THE DISTRICT SETTING

The Manang District, in the Annapurna trekking circuit of Nepal, was selected for this study. The Manang district comes under the jurisdiction of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP). The District itself lies in the North Central part of the Western Development Region, rising from 1600 m at Tal to 4200 m at Nar village. It covers an area of 2,168 km². and with a population of 5,244 is one of the least densely populated areas of Nepal (about 2.41 persons per km²). To the East it is bounded by the Gorkha District, to the West by Mustang and Magdi, to the North by Tibet and to the South by Kaski District as shown in Figure 10.
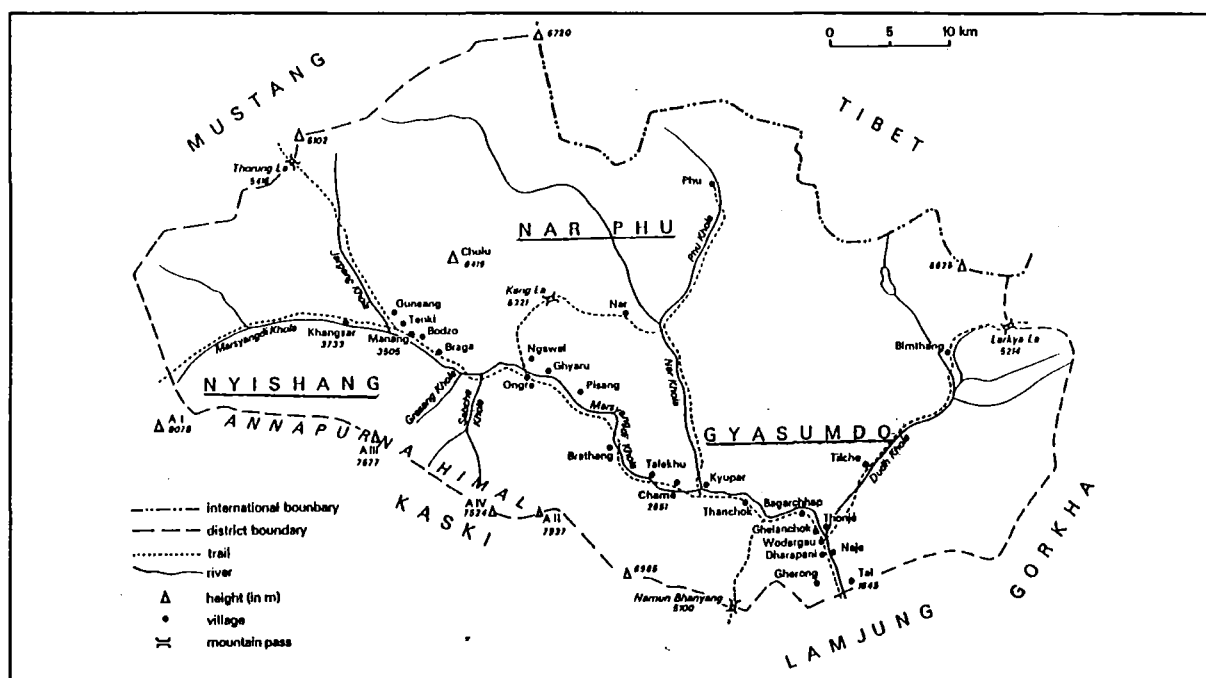
Figure 10. Manang District showing three micro-ecological zones, (Source: van Spengen, 1987:151)

The Manang District is rich in its cultural and ecological heritage. Buddhist monasteries dating back to the 14th century and numerous old forts of Ghale king are to be found in this district. The local oral history also confirms that one of the important figures in Tibetan Buddhism, Milarepa, visited this area around the 14th century. Lamaism as a sector of Buddhism is the main religion for the people of this district. Culturally and traditionally, three major social groups of people can be identified; Nyisangba and Narphooba; Gurung; and Tibetan immigrants (Gurung, 1994).

The climate of the Manang District ranges from temperate to arctic. The district also consists of many peaks and high altitude passes like Thorung La (5461 m), Kang La (5421 m), Mesokanto pass (5200 m) and one of the biggest and highest altitude lakes, Tilicho (5000 m and about 4 km² area) in the world. The Manang District harbours different wild animals and medicinal herbs. Notable among them are the snow leopard and the musk deer.

Agriculture and pastoralism play a major role in the economy of the Manang District. According to the Local Resource Management Plan (LRMP, 1985, cited in Gurung, 1994), the total cultivatable land is only 654 hectares and there is no more optional land for agriculture. Each household owns approximately 0.5 hectare of land. Maize, beans, wheat, buckwheat, barley and naked barley are the major crops. Other minor crops include oilseed mustard, vegetables and some apple farming.

Administratively, the district is divided into twelve Village Development Committees (VDC). However, according to varying altitude, amount of rainfall, and to a certain extent cultural identity, three micro-ecological zones may be distinguished within the Manang District (see Figure 10); Gyasumdo, Nyishang, and Nar-Phu (Gurung, 1976, cited in van Spengen, 1987:148). The household number (HH), and the population (PPn) of each region is illustrated in Table 1.

1. **Gyasumdo**, the South-East region, is a relatively attractive ecological zone for human settlement in the district with a population (PPn) of 2903. Gyasumdo consists of four administrative Village Development Committees (VDC); Dharapani, Tache Bagarchap, Thonche, and Chame. The altitude ranges from Tal (1600 m) to Chame (2750 m) and is inhabited by Gurung and Tibetan immigrants. In Gyasumdo, the amount of precipitation and relatively high temperature allows two crops a year. Corn, barley, wheat, buckwheat and potato are grown in Gyasumdo. Gyasumdo was once highly dependent on trade with Tibet. Since the disruption of this trade in 1959, herding, agriculture and hotel businesses have assumed a greater importance. The Tibetan immigrants now refer to themselves as Lama (a clan of Gurung). Most of them have now acquired Nepali citizenship, have relatively small landholdings and are highly involved in the hotel business along the trekking route. The Gurungs, however, are only involved in agriculture and livestock. Some of them supplement their income by serving in the army in Britain and India.

Table 1. Village Development Committees (VDCs) of the Manang District and its population

Regions	VDC's	HH. No	Male	Female	Total
Ghyasumdo	Dharapani	76	494	445	939
PPn=2903	Tache Bagarchap	114	284	246	530
	Thonche	82	128	179	307
No. of HH=502	Chame	230	718	409	1127
Nyishang	Pisang	96	138	170	308
PPn=1849	Ghyaru	123	135	197	332
	Braga	65	119	123	242
No. of HH=567	Manang	120	209	182	391
	Tenki Manang	93	128	179	307
	Khangsar	70	133	136	269
Nar-Phu	Nar	60	145	160	305
PPn=492 No. of HH=103	Phu	43	85	102	187
	Total	1172	2716	2528	5244

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1991)

2. Nyishang, the East-West region, lies in the upper valley of the Marshyandi river. The Nyishang region, covering 561 km², comprises of 1849 people (seasonally fluctuating), with an average of 4.47 people per household (HH). It extends from Pisang (3100 m) to Khangsar (3600 m) village. The Nyishang region consists of six VDCs; Pisang, Ghayru, Braga, Manang, Tenki Manang and Khangsar. The people living in the Nyishang valley are known as "Nyishangba" or "Manangba" or more literally Manange.

The Nyishang region is much drier than the Gyasumdo region down the valley. There is only a small amount of rainfall here during the monsoon because the Annapurna range to the South alters the climate significantly from that of the rest of Nepal (South of the Himalayas). The people of Nyishang raise wheat, barley, buckwheat, potato and beans during March-November, but the cold, almost arid climate limits them to a single crop annually. Rice, maize and other requirements are met from the neighbouring districts, Lamjung and Gorkha. The people of Nyishang region keep herds of yak, goats, and cows. Horses, mules and yak are an important

means of transportation in the upper Manang valley and are used as pack animals to cross the high passes like Thorung La (5416 m) between Manang and Jomsom.

3. Nar-phu, the Northern region is the remotest part of Manang District. It is situated above the timber line and borders Tibet. It is the home of 492 people who have a tradition and heritage different from other parts of the country. Nar-Phu consists of two VDCs, Nar and Phu. Both the villages are inhabited by people of Tibetan ethnic origin. The Nar-Phu valley may be reached either through the Nar Khola gorge or by the Khang La, a high pass (c 5421m) near the village of Ngawal in Nyishang.

Animal husbandry such as keeping herds of yak, sheep, and goats, and agriculture are the major economic activities in these villages. However, due to the high elevation (over 3800 metres) and a lack of arable land, the agricultural products can only sustain local food requirements for about four months in a year. Seasonal migration of Nar-phu people down to the middle hills, and the animal husbandry components in these villages provide necessary products for barter, but the net result is a bare subsistence level (van Spengen, 1987). Restricted area regulations prohibit foreigners from the entire Nar-Phu valley. The police checkpost in Kyupar (2590 m) below Chame, the district headquarters of Manang District, controls access to this region.

Among the above three regions of the Manang district, the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions were selected for this study for four main reasons. First, these regions are relatively distinct and important in terms of history, culture and ecology from other parts of Nepal. Second, the Nyishang region is one where trekking and mountaineering tourism has occurred since 1977 while the Nar-phu region is still untouched by tourism. Third, these areas are among the most remote parts of Nepal, and tourism-related data and research are sparse. Finally, these two areas were selected for characteristics which facilitate comparative study. The Nyishang region, an area which does not presently have extensive tourism developments, was selected because tourists stop here to acclimatise before crossing Thorung La pass. The Nar-phu region, which is currently restricted to foreign travellers, was selected as a future potential tourist destination. The socio-cultural aspects of these two regions are described in the following sections.

5.1.1 NYISHANG REGION, PEOPLE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

The Nyishang region is populated by 'Manange' people. Originally, the Manange are said to have migrated from Tengar in Tibet (Gurung, 1980). They speak a Tibeto-Burmese language closely related to the Gurung language but, in many other respects, their material culture such as their clothing, food and religion, has a strong Tibetan influence (van Spengen, 1987:137). Khe and Phalma are the main descent groups although some of them refer to themselves as Gurung (Gurung, 1980), or at least refer to a recently adopted Gurung surname, as do the people of Barahgaon in the neighbouring Mustang District (van Spengen, 1987). Gurung (1980), however, believes that the population of Nyishang definitely includes many Gurung and Ghale people. Old traditions of Ghale kings and past battles were enhanced during the Badde festival, held every three years. However, according to the local people, this tradition is not practised today (discussed in Chapter Seven).

In the past, Nar and Manang were the main bastions of Gurung and Ghale rule in the Lamjung area (Gurung, 1980). Where Gurung were mainly high altitude pastoralist and shifting cultivators at lower altitudes, the Ghale showed it was possible to establish sedentary agriculture on the alluvial river terrace along the Marshyandi river (van Spengen, 1987). The agricultural practices guaranteed food in a high altitude environment for about seven to eight months out of twelve, depending on the weather circumstances and the amount of labour available (van Spengen, 1987:138).

In the Nyishang region, seven major villages (Pisang, Ghyaru, Ngawal, Braga, Tenki Manang, Manang, Khangsar) may be distinguished as being of Tibetan origin. These differ from each other with respect to age and number of households, but less so in outward appearance which clearly shows their common ancestral (Tibetan) cultural identity. Manang, Braga, Ngawal and Pisang are older settlements (Gurung, 1980; van Spengen, 1987). Manang is an enlarged development of an earlier site, Bodzo, on a nearby hilltop North of the present day location, while Ghyaru is an off-shoot of Ngawal and Tenki Manang is an extended village of Manang. Khangsar in the Western side of the valley may have originally started as a monastic community (Gurung, 1980).

When the Manangbas crossed the high Himalayan pass due North at Nar La (5700 m) from Tibet, some of them stayed in Manang and were influenced by Buddhists while the others migrated to the Southern side of the Annapurna range and Manaslu-Himchuli, and were influenced by Hindus (Gurung, 1980). Gurung (1980) suggests that there might be some validity in the statement of the Braga Lama in terms of cultural differences between the Northern Gurungs and Southern side Gurungs.

> Long ago, the people in our northern valley were being harassed by invaders who came from the southern mountain. At that time there was a lama in our northern valley, who by some device made it impossible for the invaders to cross the mountains. By the same token, we are unable to get out. Hence though we were all Gurungs, our customs differ on the opposite side of the mountain. Gurung Lama of Braga, (Cited in Gurung, 1980:223).

5.1.1.1 Settlements

In a broad sense the settlement pattern of Nyishang is affected by site specific characteristics such as semi-aridity, a short growing season and other micro climatic factors (van Spengen, 1988; Pohle, 1990). The availability of water and sunshine and the absence of landslide susceptibility are further determining factors in the choice of settlement. The outcome, therefore, is that most of the villages are located on the relatively steep and sunny slopes, leaving the low-lying alluvial terraces for cultivation (Jackson, Ahlborn, Ale, Gurung and Yadav, 1994). Houses are built out of mud, stone and wood. They are usually double-storied and are attached against the slopes of hills. The lower part of the house is used as shelter for domestic animals such as cows, horses, sheep and goats. The upper floor can be reached by a notched tree trunk, ascending from a partly open courtyard and giving access to the living quarters upstairs, above the ground-floor stables. Firewood is stockpiled for the winter season and the logs for cooking are also kept upstairs. The roof is relatively flat made of mud and wooden planks. Some people now use it as a camping site for tourists during the tourist season.

5.1.1.2 Agriculture, pastoralism, and vegetation

Like in other Himalayan regions, Nyishang inhabitants have adopted mixed agriculture and pastoralism. Cultivation takes place on a number of old riverine terraces and small alluvial fans spilling from the lower Northern slopes of Annapurna Himal and on the Southern valley of Chulu on the North. Wheat, buckwheat and barley are successfully grown under irrigation. Ploughing takes place from early March to the middle of April, when snow melts, and is carried out by two

jyupa (a crossbreed of yak and cow), handled by a man. Harrowing is the task of women. Manuring is carried out in the preceding November. From the third week of April to the end of May, the sowing of the main crops takes place. First comes wheat, followed by barley shortly afterwards. Potatoes are planted in late April, while buckwheat is sown in the second half of May. After the sowing, a first cycle of irrigation takes place followed by additional irrigation in the subsequent weeks. The weeding is done mostly by women. The barley is usually ready by early October and the wheat one week later. The reaping of buckwheat may extend until the beginning of November (van Spengen, 1987:162-163).

Complementary to the agricultural practice is the breeding of stock which sustains the local community, providing not only milk, meat, skins and occasional transport, but above all manure for the fields. Herds of the Nyishang region consist of yak (*Bos grunniens*), jyupa (*Bos taurus*), a goat of the *Sinal*-variety and some sheep of *baruwal* stock (van Spengen, 1987). In addition, horses are the pride of the richer households, and are considered indispensable for quick and easy commuting between villages in the relatively flat upper valley (van Spengen, 1987). The high altitude pasture is essential for a balanced agro-pastoral complex in the upper Marshyandi basin (van Spengen, 1987). The importance of the yak, however has been lost since the 1920s as a result of the development of Southward-bound trade relations (van Spengen, 1987:166).

Vegetational characteristics also vary considerably according to altitude, exposure to sunshine and amount of rainfall (van Spengen, 1987). The Northern slopes of the Annapurna Himal carry a forest of *Abes spectabilis* and *Betula utilis* interspersed with patches of *Rhododendron campanulatum*. With altitude and associated reduction in temperature, the trees give way to Himalayan pasture. This is often highly productive due to moisture added by frequent mists and cloud. The lower slopes of the Marshyandi valley carry stands of *Pinus excelsa* and *Juniperus indica*, the later being extensively used for religious purposes. This tree's leaves and young stems are burned to produce fragrant fumes when a new baby is born or in the funeral ceremony and in other religious ceremonies. The lower Southward-facing slopes and the valley floor in the most Western part of Nyishang receive very little rainfall (less than 350 mm). The result is a steppe-like landscape dotted with *Caragana brevispina* and *Lunicera spinos* (van Spengen, 1987:153).

The Manang District is also rich in wild medicinal plants, an important product for trade in the past. The medicinal plants were not only sold but were also used to cure various diseases in the villages. Knowledge of wild plants and their uses was an essential part of life for the inhabitants of the Manang District until a few generations ago. At present, the knowledge accumulated through experience is being lost as a result of the increasing distribution of chemical-based medicines (by local health posts), the opening of the local market to the products of "Western civilization" (aluminium and plastic ware etc.) and the improvement of the general economic situation (Pohle, 1990:9). In addition, due to more profitable trading ventures, the interest in herbs and their exchange value has been lost, particularly within the younger generation (Pohle, 1990:47).

5.1.1.3 Local governing institutions

Historically, Nyishang has been governed by a traditional local village council called Dhawa Sherpa. All village affairs except panchakhat (murder) or other major crimes were managed by Dhawa Sherpa (Gurung, 1980). Even in 1973, after more than a decade of the Panchyat system of administration (one party system introduced in Nepal by the late King Shri Panch Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev in 1960), there were no village Panchyats in Nyihsang. The number of members of Dhawa councils varied according to the size of the village, and the councils were composed of elected members whose terms varied from one to two years (Gurung, 1980). The members of Dhawa Sherpa discuss and decide on matters of agricultural and pastoral schedules, pass judgement on customary issues and impose financial penalties for crimes.

5.1.1.4 Trade

In Nepal, most of the Himalayan inhabitants in the vicinity of the Tibetan border were involved in traditional barter and trade with Tibet. Unlike other Himalayans, the Manangbas trade is directed mainly towards neighbouring countries, in the South mainly in Eastern India (Assam, Bengal) and Burma, and later overseas such as to Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, and South Korea. The overseas trading practice, however, has not grown suddenly. Regional barter and exchange of locally produced goods such as live dogs, sheep skins, yak tails, herbs and musk has expanded into the large scale import of electronic goods, cameras, watches, silk, clothing, gems and other high value items since the trading journeys were extended over the entire Asian continent (Gurung, 1980; Pohle, 1990). These trading privileges were provided only to the Nyishangba until 1966. Later in 1966, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce promulgated a

'Foreign Exchange Scheme' with the rise of the 'Gift Parcel System' and passports were granted to the entire inhabitants of the Manang District (van Spengen, 1987:208). This extension and dilution of Manangba's special facilities for passport and foreign exchange facilities to the people of the entire Manang District later led to the undoing of their long trade privilege and these were curtailed in 1976 (Gurung, 1980:228).

5.1.1.5 The population migration and its impacts

Seasonal migration to lower altitude neighbouring villages in the winter season (November-March) is a normal phenomenon in the district. Seasonal migration takes place not only to escape from the severe cold climate but also to sell local products so as to buy daily necessities. However, from the early Fifties onwards, permanent out-migration became a dominant feature of Nyishangba district life (van Spengen, 1987:233). With the growing long-term absence of the men for trade, rising family incomes and increasing permanent out-migration, several other changes have occurred as well. Abandoned fields are a common sight in Nyishang and herd size is said to be declining; irrigation systems are in need of repair and local trade is breaking down (van Spengen, 1987).

There has been a sharp decline in population numbers between 1971 and 1991 in the Manang District. According to the population census, the total population of the Manang District was 7,436 in 1971 (Cited in van Spengen, 1987:154) and 5244 in 1991 (Department of Statistics, 1991), with a population growth rate of -1.47 per cent per annum. Twenty per cent of the Nyishang population had left the village by 1983 and about 200 houses have been abandoned in the area (Pohle, 1984, cited in Jackson *et al.*, 1994).

The population of Nyishang and the Nar-Phu valley has declined to almost half within twenty years. The population of Nyishang and Nar-Phu was 5000 and 850 respectively in 1971, and 1849 and 492 respectively in 1991 (Department of Statistics, 1991). By contrast, the population of the Gyasumdo region has increased from 1626 in 1971 to 2903 in 1991 (see Table 2. and Figure 11 in Page 79). Population decline is primarily due to seasonal trading, emigration and permanent migration to the urban centres (Jackson *et al.*, 1994). Most of the wealthier families now own homes either in Kathmandu, Pokhara, or in some other urban area.

International trade ventures acquired an all-season character in the late 1920s which led to the exclusion of the male members' participation in agriculture activities (van Spengen, 1987). Even in summertime, people aged between 15 and 45 are conspicuously absent from the population pyramid, with the exception of women within the (biologically) reproductive age brackets. Women, being responsible for tilling the land and looking after the livestock, work long hours. To solve the labour problem, many of the richer households have been hiring labour for many years from neighbouring areas. In addition, the opening of tourism in the middle hills in the 1960s particularly in the Gandaki valley, has resulted in a decline in the labour supply from across Thorung La (van Spengen, 1987:246).

Table 2. Population decrease in the Manang District

Year	Nyishang	Nar-phu	Ghyasumdo	Total
1971	5000	850	1568	7436
1981	3700	551	2770	7021
1991	1849	492	2903	5244

(Source: ACAP Information Centre Manang, 1994)
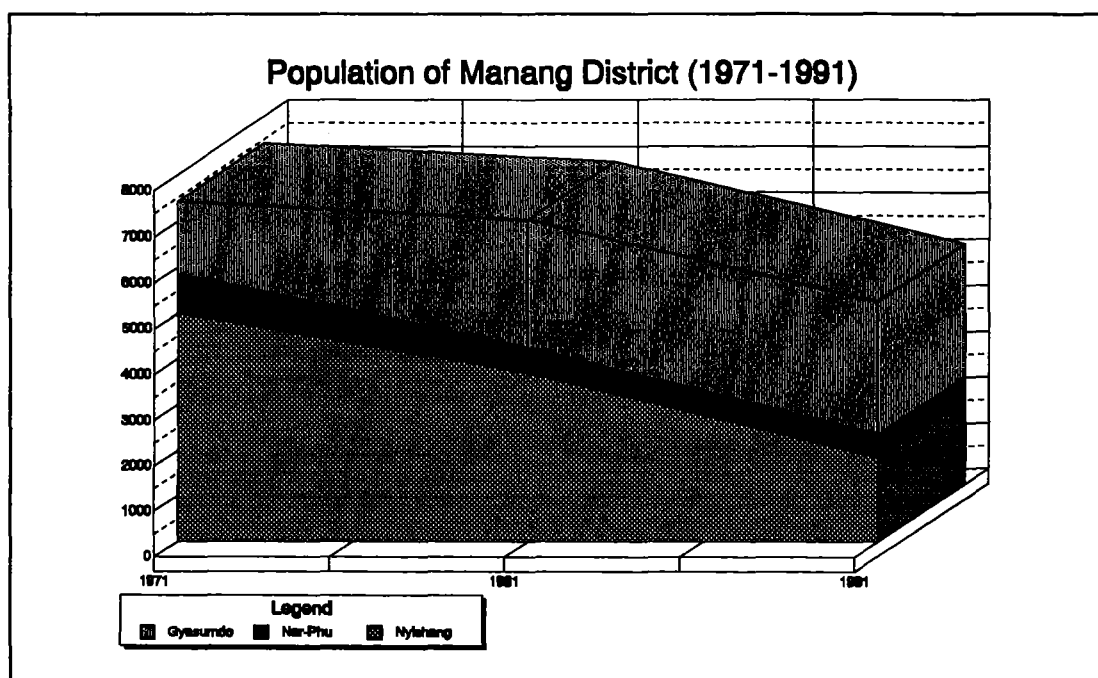
Figure 11. Population decline in Manang District

The labour supply has been filled by an increasing number of Gorkha labourers coming into the Nyishang region over the last 14 to 15 years. Many families no longer farm without the help of waged workers from Gorkha and Lamjung. Similarly, Tibetan refugee families are employed for the herding of goats, sheep, cattle, and yak. But the removal of most Tibetans from the district in 1975 had also added to the problem of labour, resulting in a steady decline in herd size, particularly of yak (van Spengen, 1987). Many rich families, particularly hoteliers, now hire people from Gorkha and Lamjung as hotel cooks, agricultural labour and to collect firewood.

Another impact of the present labour shortage is the decreased maintenance of irrigation channels (van Spengen, 1987). Previously, all the villagers have given five days of free labour a year for the common purpose of the irrigation channel maintenance. This is increasingly dodged by the absentee landowners. The irrigation system now shows signs of exhaustion which will eventually lead to the exclusion of land farthest from the main channels, regardless of the quality of land (van Spengen, 1987). As a result of migration, many fields have fallen into disuse and are now being used for winter or spring pasture (Jackson et al, 1994).

According to van Spengen (1979), Nyishangba life is decaying and losing its social cohesion. Since the 1930s, money increasingly influenced the everyday life of Nyishangba. Formerly, a person's social status was measured by descent or acquired religious merit, but by the late 1950s the amount of capital owned by a person was counted as a sure sign of influence for the generation below 45 years of age (van Spengen, 1987:204). International trade ventures became highly capitalised in nature by the 1960s. In the course of the process, socio-economic stratification, for example in terms of land ownership or cattle, became more pronounced, but soon lost its local expression in favour of real property in Pokhara or the Kathmandu Valley (van Spengen, 1987:204). The young rejoice in their relative freedom, but lack the security of traditional village life while the older men complain about their loss of ascribed status and the neglect of traditional religion by the young (van Spengen, 1987).

5.1.2 NAR-PHU REGION, PEOPLE, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Nar village (4240 m) is located at the Northern extremity of Manang District, North-East of the Annapurna Himal. Nar village consists of 61 households with 305 inhabitants. Phu village is situated on the bank of Phu Khola at an altitude of 3940 m, inhabited by 187 people. The access

to the Nar-Phu region is difficult. In summer, Nar can be reached from Manang, passing Khang La. During the rest of the year, the access is easier from Chame, the headquarters of the Manang District. Both villages are inhibited by people of Tibetan origin, although they prefer to be called Gurung. Their language is almost similar to that of the Manangbas, but unlike them they can speak Tibetan fluently, and many of them read and write Tibetan as well.

5.1.2.1 Agriculture, pastoralism and vegetation

As in other Himalayan regions, the people of Nar and Phu practice agriculture and animal husbandry. Although agriculture and animal husbandry are the major economic activities in both villages, the agricultural products only meets the food requirements for four months in a year. Agriculture in this area is largely limited by the lack of arable land, low rainfall, poor soil quality and short growing season (Sherpa and Oli, 1988). As the Nar and Phu valleys lies in the rain shadow of the Annapurna range, they receive low amounts of precipitation and this is in the form of snow until May /June. These areas have a dry alpine climate with a very low temperature and high average wind speed. However, the available large stretches of pasture lands mean pastoral activities play a major role in the local economy. The agricultural products are Karu (a high altitude variety of barley), potato, and a little wheat and buckwheat. Agricultural activities are limited to May - June for cropping, July for weeding and August-September for harvesting.

Unlike Nyishangbas, the people of the Nar-Phu region are involved in herding, farming and trading and have hardly changed their way of life or economic activities. The majority of people do not reside in the village throughout the year. Economic necessity compels them to move from one place to another in the pursuit of their herding activities, in the interest of trading opportunities and under the pressure of climatic conditions (von Furer Haimendorf, 1983:70). In the winter season (January - March), Nar and most of the surrounding areas are covered with snow. Only a few people remain in the village, mostly old people. All the herds are kept in the lower-lying settlements of Chaku, Metta and Namya situated below the timber line. The herds kept in this lowlying area are brought to Nar in April. The yak are used for ploughing at this time. At the end of May and in early June most of the yak are taken to the high settlement. Most of the women remain in Nar to irrigate the fields and occupy themselves with weaving woollen cloth and pherpa (blanket made of yak hair). During August, the herdsmen remain in the high settlements. In September, the yak and sheep, tended by men, stay in high settlements and women cut grass and dry it to use as fodder in the coming winter. In early October, most

of the people move to lower settlements and there reap barely, buckwheat and dig potatoes. Only a few men stay with their yak in the higher settlements. In late September and early October, the crops grown at Nar are harvested. In early November, yak and horses are brought to Nar to graze on the stubble of the harvested fields. By the end of November, all the work on the fields has been completed and the herds are again taken to lower settlements at Chaku, Meta or to Namya (von Furer Haimendorf, 1983;72).

In the winter, Phu villagers settle in Kyang, a few hours walk downstream from Phu, with yak, sheep and goats. The herds are looked after by elderly people while the young and active people spend the winter touring the lowlands to sell blankets, sacks and ropes, produced in Phu. In April and May, when the agricultural season begins, most of the Phu people return to their village. Some stay with the their flocks of sheep and goats for a few more weeks at Kyang. Yak are brought to Phu for ploughing, but thereafter are taken to higher pasture. Yak are shorn in the warm season, usually in July or August (von Furer Haimendorf, 1983:74).

The vegetation of this area is essentially representative of the vegetation of the dry alpine climate. Forest is scarce and limited to the lower part of the valley, below Kyang and a small patch near the village, on the banks of the river. In these areas, two types of forest prevail; subtropical deciduous forest, dominated by *Betula utilus* and coniferous forest composed of *Abies spectabilis, Juniper indica, J. recurva* and Pinus species.

5.1.2.2 Trade

The people of Na-Phu depend on trade to supplement their income from farming and herding. Since the closing of the border to Tibet in 1959, a limited amount of Tibetan salt reaches Phu. Nar did not rely on this trading route but received salt from the Mustang people. They transported salt on the back of sheep not only to their village but as far as Lamjung, where they bartered it for rice and other grain (von Furer Haimendorf, 1983:87).

Nowadays, Nar people go to Mustang only to purchase yak and occasionally small quantities of Tibetan salt and wool for domestic use. The Tibetan salt is required to feed the yak. Indian salt is unsuitable for yak and hence not bought although it is cheaper. The main trade of Nar-Phu is with Manang and Lamjung and the lowlands as far as Dumre. Most of the items were sold or bartered with trade partners in Manang, Pisang and Braga. The villagers are involved in trade,

mostly related to livestock by-products, during the winter season. Milk and milk byproducts, wool and yak's hair, are sold and cattle dung is used for manure as well as a source of fuel. Yak are sold to Manangbas to acquire cash.

Jimbu, *Allium hispida* (a wild plant used as flavour enhancer in soup and curry) forms one of the important trading items for the people of this area. Phu village has community-owned Jimbu kharka (ground) in Pangre, where grazing is strictly prohibited. However for Nar village there is no separate Jimbu kharka but they also collect Jimbu from Phu kharka. The villagers collect Jimbu in the month of August and sell it in neighbouring districts and occasionally in Kathmandu and Pokhara.

5.1.2.3 Wildlife and human conflict

Livestock predation by the snow leopard has become a major problem in both the Nyishang and the Nar-Phu areas. About 10 cows and yak calves, 25 domestic sheep and goats and three to four horses and donkeys are killed annually by snow leopards in each of the villages (Sherpa and Oli, 1988). These have a joint value of about 40,000 Rupees (Rs). It is likely the financial damage caused by the snow leopard has exceeded the limit of tolerance for local people (Sherpa and Oli, 1988). On the other hand, illegal hunting was one of the major threats to the blue sheep population. However, this trend is said to have been controlled after the establishment of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project in 1993. In Phu, the resident lama of Tashi Ghompa has strictly prohibited hunting or slaughtering of any kind for the last 21 years. It is reported that the blue sheep population has increased at least threefold since then (Sherpa and Oli, 1988:25).

5.1.2.4 Local governing institutions

The traditional local governing institution is called Ghamba Lenzing (also called Ngyarpa). It consists of seven members, a representative of every clan from the village. The four senior members are called Ghamba and the three junior members are called Chau, Lenzing or Ngyarpa. The members are selected from registered eligible individuals from each clan for one year. Selection is rotated until each person on the list has served a term. The Ghamba functions as an advisory and policy-making body and Ngyarpa or the Chau implements the policy, rules and regulations, which are made by the Ghamba. The main responsibilities of Ghamba Ngyarpa are as follows:

- Collection of land revenue from the villagers annually and payment to the district treasury.

- Administration of the village fund for religious functions in the village.

- To buy commodities such as rice, wheat and salt in bulk from the community fund and distribute among the villagers for a small profit.

- Settlement of small disputes, or to refer these to the district authority.

- To determine movement of livestock to a particular pasture site and to set times for ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting crops, and collection of fodder and animal dung for burning.

- Sets fines for various infractions.

In Phu, there are only five members in Ghamba Ngyarpa. Two of them act as Ghamba while the other three work as Chau or Ngyarpa. These traditional local institutions still exist in both the Nyishang and the Nar-Phu regions. According to the local people of the Manang District, responsibilities of these traditional institutions have been diluted slowly since the introduction of the Panchyat administration in the 1960s.

5.2 TOURISM IN THE NYISHANG REGION, AND ITS POTENTIAL IN THE NAR-PHU REGION

Tourism is a major source of foreign exchange in Nepal. The government encourages tourists to visit Nepal because they increase government revenue and spend money in the country. Similarly, various new areas were opened and are being opened for tourists. Within these, Manang is one which was opened nearly 20 years after the opening of the Khumbu area. The people in this mountainous region accept tourists to gain cash income and supplement the subsistence agropastoralism. In the following section, tourism development in the Nyishang region and its potential in the Nar-Phu region is described and discussed.

5.2.1 Tourism in the Nyishang region

Tilman, an anthropologist, visited Nyishang in 1950. Although few expedition and scientific parties visited the region in the 1950's, Nepal officially opened Manang to trekker's in April 1977. Before the first trekker came to Manang in 1977, the region saw few outsiders. The only traders were the people of Manang themselves, and the population was intolerant to outsiders.

In response to the influx of tourists, some households began providing meals to passers-by. The more enterprising among them started real country hotels, especially in Manang (Armington, 1994). The improving infrastructure for tourism development and management are presented in the following sections.

With the advent of tourism, there have been many hotel and some campsite constructions. There are approximately 45 tourist lodges in the Nyishang valley along the trekking route. The number of new lodges is expected to grow in the near future. Although agriculture is by far the most important occupation of people in the Manang District, since the opening of the area to tourism in 1977, tourism has contributed substantial benefits to the district economy. Agriculture cannot sustain the local population, which depends heavily upon trading and increasingly upon tourism (Jackson, *et al.*, 1994). In the year 1991/1992, 5323 trekkers visited the Manang District (Gurung, 1994), about the same number as the total population of the Manang District. However, the available data of tourist arrivals in Manang indicates that the tourist numbers have fluctuated between the year 1987 and 1992 as shown in Figure 12.

Tourist arrival in Manang District
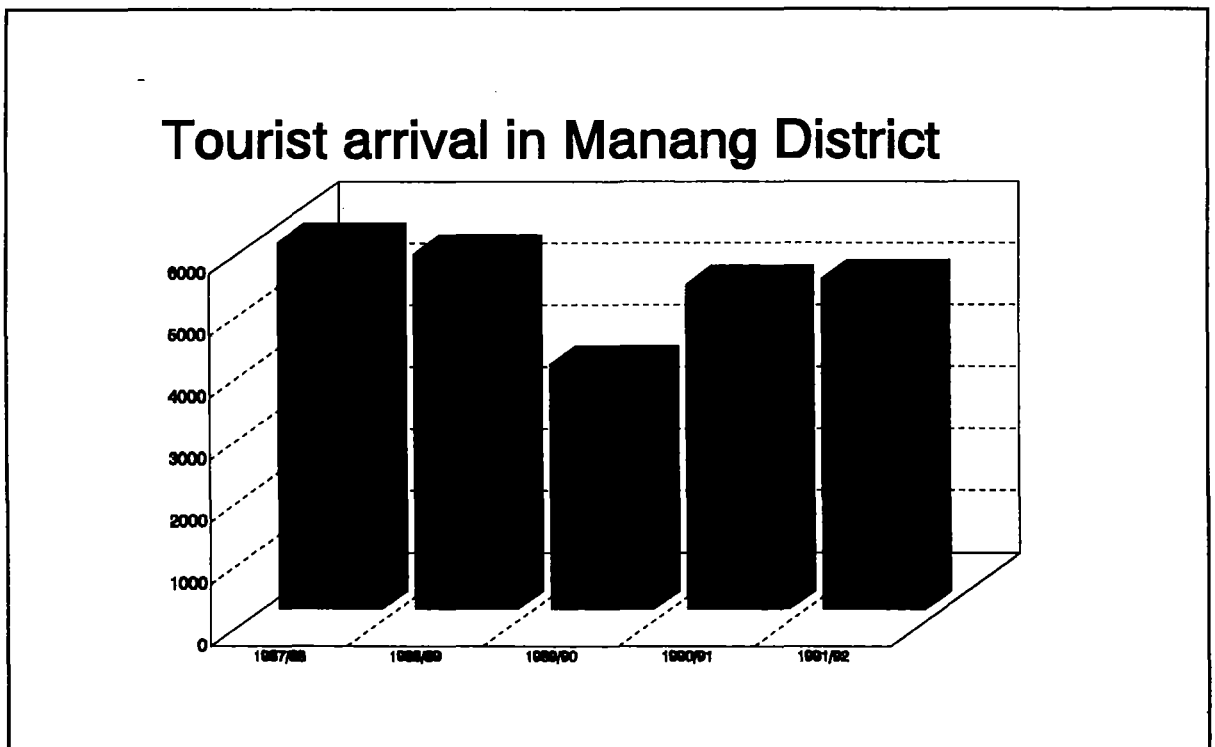
Figure 12. Tourist arrival in Manang District (Source: ACAP Information Centre Manang, 1994)

In the year 1987/88, the tourist numbers were 5918. In 1988/89, the number of tourists had decreased by approx 3.1 per cent to 5735. In 1989/90, the tourist numbers in the Manang District had severely decreased by 31.5 per cent to a total of 3931. Tourist numbers are said to have declined due to the trade embargo between Nepal and India as well as the peoples' movement for democracy. The political instability and its impact on tourist arrival patterns are reflected in the tourist arrivals to the Manang district during 1989/90. However, tourist numbers rose by 33.12 per cent for the years 1990/91 and 1991/92. Generally, tourist numbers have declined by an average of 13 per cent between the year 1987/88 and the year 1991/92.

Since the district was opened to foreigners in 1977, growing numbers of tourists have come to visit the magnificent upper valley, with many of them staying on for one or two days before attempting to cross Thorung La to Muktinath and Jomsom. Manang village has an aid post run by the Himalayan Rescue Association (HRS). It provides general health facilities, information on high altitude sickness and first aid instructions for tourists particularly in the tourist season (from the middle of September to November). A mountaineering school established in 1979 is nearby Humde Airstrip. It offers a six week course for climbers from Nepal and neighbouring countries. However, like other Himalayan areas, the Nyishang region is also facing environmental threats such as wildlife habitat destruction, illegal poaching and deforestation. Therefore, the Regional Headquarters of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) was established in Manang village in 1993. ACAP has started developing programmes in the Manang District. They are:

1. Natural forest and wildlife conservation: This includes afforestation, nursery and seedling production, preparation and implementation of scientific natural forest management plans and conservation of wildlife.
2. Alternative energy programmes include efficient fuel wood utilisation, promotion of back boiler, use of solar energy, and use of kerosene.
3. Community development programmes include irrigation projects, agriculture, assistance in schools, trails, bridges, health, drinking water and income generating and distributing activities.
4. Tourism development programmes include information to trekkers, training of lodge owners, sanitation programmes and development of controlled tourism.

5. Conservation education and extension programmes at schools, including adult literacy programmes, tour of the village leaders, training of the villager and extension campaigns.

Before the development of tourism, most of the people were involved in agriculture, pastoralism and international trade. In the course of overseas trade, most of the middle-aged people and younger generation have visited India, Burma, Hong Kong, Thailand, Singapore and South Korea. Some of the families have satellite discs, so they have direct access to Western media. Some of the families own VCR and TV sets, which are hired for public showings. Mostly, Hindi movies and occasionally Western movies are shown.

Most of the hotels in the Nyishang region are run by family members. All the hotels and lodges are owned by the residents of the Manang district. Some of the hotels have hired cooks from other areas (Gorhka, Lamjung). Their main jobs are working as a cook in the tourist season and collecting fire wood and helping with agriculture in the slack season. However, hotel business is assumed to be a lucrative enterprise for cash income to the people of Nyishang due to the uncertainty of agriculture and pastoralism. Thus, numbers of hotels and lodges may increase further in the future.

Much of the Manang valley used to be a virgin forest of pine and fir. Construction of new hotels and increasing demands for firewood are, however, causing people to cut down these trees. On the trail to Manang, there is much evidence of this cutting (Pisang to Humde). People have stacked huge piles of firewood alongside the path and have hauled great quantities of timber to their home sites (Armington, 1994, Pers Comm). Some new hotels were being constructed during my visit in these areas. The timber for construction of houses and the major energy needs for cooking, heating, and lighting are met by forests in the vicinity of the villages. Gurung (1993) notes that approximately five tons of fuel wood is burned by each hotel in Manang per year. In some villages like Humde, Ngawal, Braga, Manang, and Khangsar, electricity is provided only for lighting purposes powered by small 80 kw. hydroelectricity plant in Sabje Khola.

In a field visit Gurung (1993) observed that hotels were contributing to the effluent problem in the Nyishang region. Human waste and other litter is disposed of inappropriately into the Marshyandi river. Gurung (1993) states that trekking tourism has mostly benefited the lodge

owners and it is contributing to an unequal distribution of income. He also notes some other costs of tourism development to the people not involved in the tourism business in the Manang district:

1. Inflation of the price of essential commodities which are becoming out of reach for locals.
2. Sanitation problems.
3. Depletion of natural resources through intensive utilisation by few beneficiaries, eg deforestation and forests thus becoming scarce for the general villagers.
4. Depletion in culture and tradition.

5.2.2 Tourism in the Nar-Phu region

Until now, the Nar-Phu region has remained unaffected by foreign visitors. The restricted area regulation prohibits foreigners from the entire Nar-Phu valley. This is partly due to the remoteness of the village, too difficult access and politically sensitive international frontiers (von Furer Haimendorf, 1983:63). However, a few foreigners, for example some researchers and expedition teams bound for Kangaru and Himlung Himal have visited this area through the provision of special permits from the Government. In 1960, the British Tibetiologist David Snellgrove passed briefly through Nar and Phu (von Furer Haimendorf, 1983). Similarly, Christoph von Furer Haimendorf, an anthropologist and his colleague Charlot Hardman, spent some time with the Nar-Phu people studying ethnography.

The Nar-Phu region is culturally and naturally (particularly the landscape) very rich compared to other regions in the Manang District. This region has been designated an anthropological and biotic zone by the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP). The decision of the Government not to expose such regions to the increasing floods of tourists has had the great advantage of shielding at least a small percentage of the mountain dwellers from the commercialism of a tourist trade which has already transformed the social and cultural pattern of such communities as the Sherpa of Khumbu area (von Furer Haimendorf, 1983:63). However, Gurung (1994:1) argues that the "...protection of culture and tradition is costing the development of the area". He further argues that besides the restriction of foreigners to this region for the protection of culture and nature, few developmental activities have been launched by the government. Those programmes which have been implemented have had negligible effects on the economy of the people due to a lack of follow-up programmes.

Unlike Nyshangbas, Nar phu people are economically backward. The people of this region are neither involved in international trade nor host tourists as the Nyishangba do. Moreover, the limited arable land, harsh climate, and an unexploitable landscape have restricted them from other economic opportunities. Within the Nar-Phu area, there is no alternative source of energy. This region is one of the less populated regions in the Manang District and the forest resource is scarce due to the arid climate and high altitude. It takes almost a day to collect a Bhari (basket) of firewood. People of these villages use animal dung for cooking purposes. The Nar-Phu region consists of two small tea shops. They provide food (rice, noodles, eggs, buck wheat breads) and accommodation in their homes for passers-by. But some expedition groups to Kangaru Himal have also stopped here in the past, as said by one teashop owner. The camping sites are normally provided free of charge.

A large part (80 per cent) of the district is covered by rocks and snow-capped mountains, which limit the economic activities of the people of this region. These resources are unexploitable, unless tourism is developed (Gurung, 1994). Furthermore, Gurung (1994) suggests the development of community-controlled tourism in the Nar-Phu region will promote conservation of nature and culture and sustainable development of the area. Gurung (1994) believes that culture and nature are community resources, which could be exploited for the benefit of the community. However, Gurung (1994) warns that in any case protection of culture should not hamper the development of the area but neither should development hamper protection of culture.

However, no tourism-related study has taken place until this research was conducted. In my observation, the Nar-phu region has very limited resources and economic base and consequently a limited capacity to sustain future tourism development. Until appropriate management measures are placed in this area, the tourism development may raise further pressure on the scarce forest resource and fragile ecology.

5.3 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

The study area of the Manang District lies in the Northern central part of Nepal. Two regions of the Manang District, Nyishang and Nar-Phu were selected for this research. The former is one of the established tourist destinations, while the latter is a potential area for future tourism development. Both regions are inhabited by people of Tibetan origin. The people of both

Nyishang and Nar-Phu subsist economically on a combination of agriculture, animal husbandry and trade. However, the economic activities of each region have developed along separate lines as a result of the respective natural conditions and decisions rooted in politics and history. In the case of Nyishang, international trading and tourism opportunities and consequently higher incomes have transformed their economic activities. Younger families in particular have found new lives in Kathmandu, Pokhara and other cities. Families who have remained in the village continue farming and herding but cannot do so without the help of wage workers from the neighbouring district. In comparison, the people of Nar-Phu have hardly changed their way of life or economic activities as being herdsmen and farmers in the summer and traders in the winter. Both of these regions have local governing institutions called Dhawa Sherpa and Ghamba Lenzing. In the past, these village councils were responsible for all village matters such as settlements of local disputes, development activities, organisation of traditional rituals and local resource management, for example, forest, planting, harvesting of crops and fodder and herding cycles. However, after the establishment of a formal village council by the government in the 1970s most of the responsibilities of the traditional village council were diluted. Although, these traditional institutions still exist, they have little to do with the above responsibilities. These secondary data, however, suggest that the Nyishang and Nar-Phu peoples' lifestyles, social structure and economic activity have already been transformed into a new social structure and economic activities. Having established the context of the research area, the next chapter presents the results of the primary data collected during field research.

CHAPTER SIX
RESULTS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has reviewed the available secondary data about the study area as a first step of a Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) approach. The other three major techniques namely: interviews of key informants and individuals; home visits and group interviews (pair wise matrix ranking); and a workshop adapted from the PRA approach were applied to generate primary data. These consecutive steps were designed to meet the dual goals of data validation and participation. Much of the data presented here is generated from semi-structured interviews with key informants and individuals and it is further elaborated and verified by adding the data generated from the group interview and the workshop.

The results are presented in five major themes. First, the current major challenges facing the Nyishang and Nar-Phu study areas as identified by the interviewees, are presented. Their appraisal of tourism's role and its acceptability in addressing these challenges are also considered. Second, the interviewees' perceptions of, and attitudes towards tourists, the tourism industry and the tourism product are identified. In this section, their expectations from tourists and tourism development are also presented. Third, the costs and benefits of tourism development and opportunities for local income generation through tourism development are explored. Fourth, the need for tourism planning and requirements for residents' involvement are identified which leads to a co-ordination of the opportunities for developing a 'community tourism product'. Fifth, the summary of the results is presented, and adapted PRA techniques are evaluated in light of this case study.

6.1 TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

As mentioned earlier, two areas of the Manang District, the Nyishang and Nar-Phu areas, were selected for a comparative study. The Nyishang region was opened for tourism in 1978 while the Nar-Phu region still has not been opened for tourism, since the Government of Nepal has restricted this area for foreign visitors. Altogether 43 individuals have participated in this research. Among them 30, (25 male, and five female) interviewees were from the Nyishang

region, eight (five male and three female) interviewees were from the Nar-Phu region, and five were district level government officials. Among the Nyishang interviewees, 10 were farmers, 15 were hotelier who were also dependent on agriculture, pastoralism and some trade, one was a craft seller, two were monks, and two were teachers. Among the Nar-Phu interviewees, six were pastoral farmers, one was a teashop owner, and one was a monk. Because of the seasonality of tourism, people can pursue both agriculture and a tourism business.

The interviewees of the Nyishang region who have already experienced tourism for more than a decade are interested in further tourism development. Similarly, interviewees of the Nar-Phu region, although not having experienced tourism, are also highly enthusiastic to have tourism development. Their enthusiasm for tourism development is not only based on a desire for economic benefits, but also so that their region will become developed in terms of basic infrastructure such as drinking water, health facilities, electricity, and trail conditions, which they expect that tourism would bring. To clarify the above context, the challenges facing these two regions are first explored. Following are the major factors compelling the interest into tourism development in the respective areas.

6.1.1 Major challenges facing the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions

The major challenges identified by residents of the study areas are the uncertainty of agriculture and pastoralism production, a population shift, an increasing need for infrastructure and services, and deforestation and energy needs. These issues are discussed separately below, however, their interrelatedness is implicitly acknowledged.

1. Uncertainty of agriculture and pastoralism

The uncertainty of agriculture and pastoralism is one of the major challenges for the people of the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions. They struggle to grow one crop a year because of the harsh geographical and topographical location. In addition, the crops are sometimes damaged by natural calamities such as early snow falls and frost. For example, in September 1993 most of the crops were damaged by an early snowfall. Furthermore, the farmers say that the agricultural yield is decreasing. Although geography, poor soil quality and climate (aridity and snowfall) of the area are major limiting factors influencing the yield of agricultural products, there are other factors involved as well. According to the district Assistant Agriculture Officer, one of these factors is that local people are conservative and are not very enthusiastic to adopt new farming

methods. However, the local residents' explanation is different from those of the officials. Local farmers said that the lack of a proper irrigation facility is the major constraint for good agricultural production. In some villages, irrigation canals exist but they are in need of repair. One of the interviewees said:

> *We are hardly able to grow one crop a year which is also very dependent on the rainfall. Sometimes the early snowfall damages all the crops. Our land is pakhabari [barren field], so irrigation is necessary.*

A similar problem exists in the more remote Nar-Phu region. An old man of the Nar village expressed his concern in this way:

> *Our agricultural production is decreasing each year. One day we may not have food to eat. Our village is big, but we have very little land for farming. This land does not yield enough food for us to eat. Only one fourth part of our food requirement can be met by crops produced from our fields. The other three parts need to be brought from Beshisahar. Everything from rice, millet, maize, oil, soap, beans, clothes to salt, has to be brought in from other areas. Now time has changed trade to the opposite way around. In the past, when the border of Tibet was open, we brought salt from Tibet and exchanged it for rice in Beshisahar, but now we have to buy salt in Beshisahar as well.*

A key informant of the Phu village reports three major problems. The first is scarcity of fuel wood, the second is lack of proper irrigation facilities, and the third is livestock predation by snow leopards. He further said that the most immediate need is irrigation. Because of these problems, many interviewees now see tourism development as an alternative option for cash income generation. The problem of livestock predation by snow leopards is not a new problem and it exists both in the Nyishang and the Nar-Phu regions. Considering the livestock predation problem, one of the key informants of the Phu village comments:

> *Pangje [snow leopard] kills Yak, Chauri [female yak], sheep and horse. In one month, people lose 100,000 Rs equivalent of domestic animals. People have told me that Pangje hunts in group of three and kills the animal whilst it is in the Goth [animal shed]. Some people may follow the government rule, to not kill Pangje, but some people may not, if it happens continuously. I think the government should compensate us for our animal loss. Otherwise we cannot improve our living standard. Since the past five years the snow leopard is killing more animals. One horse costs a minimum of 20,000 Rs. Pangje is not like a goat that we can frighten away and our religion prohibits us from killing any animal. We should not kill any animal.*

However, some interviewees of Nyishang seem to relate this above problem to tourism development, when the problem existed before tourism development. This problem is discussed further in the benefits and costs of tourism development below (Section, 6.3.0).

2. Population migration

Although seasonal migration of people in the lower region is a normal phenomenon in the Manang district, permanent out-migration is one of the major problems in both the Nyishang and the Nar-Phu regions. The major reasons for the permanent out-migration are uncertainty of agriculture and pastoralism, unemployment, and the opportunity for international trade ventures. People tend to buy land and houses outside of the district as soon as they become well off. Some of them own houses, businesses and land in the cities like Pokhara and Kathmandu. After migrating, only a few of them come to visit their home village to see their family members which they left behind. One of the interviewees involved in the hotel business said that many people have migrated to the city and as a result some places feel as if nobody lives there. Many interviewees believe that tourism development may help to stabilize the decreasing population.

3. Infrastructure, goods and service needs

The third major problem facing the district is the lack of basic infrastructure, goods, and services. Territorial isolation, distance from major cities and poor communication facilities result in high cost or even non-availability of access to goods and services and to markets as well as to other opportunities for diversifying their economies. Most of the interviewees have commented that basic commodities such as salt, oil, rice and sugar have to be brought in from outside the region which necessitates transport and trail facilities. The interviewees of Nyishang, having a relatively good trail, still need transportation facilities. For example, one interviewee said that "it costs 600 Rupees for 500 Rupees worth of rice to bring it up by porter. If a road is planned and built we can have food at a cheaper price".

The Nar-Phu region, being located in a more remote area, also needs a good trail facility. One interviewee from the Nar-Phu region said local crop yield is not sufficient even for three months. yak, chauri (female yak), goat, and a few of their products such as pherpa (blanket made of yak and chauri hair), butter, cheese, churpi (milk product) as well as the jimbu are sold or exchanged in other neighbouring areas in order to get essential commodities. However, the poor and extremely dangerous condition of the trail has constrained local people's movement. People

reported that many porters have died by falling into the river. A few years ago, the people of Nar-Phu had to cross more than 20 bridges to get to their village. Now the government is blasting the steep rocks to open the track where it is most dangerous. As well as transportation facilities, other services such as medical facilities, drinking water, irrigation and a fair price shop are also in demand. However, the natural environment of the Manang District is prone to rapid degradation in the face of intensive use and improper planning and development of roads and other physical infrastructure.

4. Ecologically fragile region

A key informant, the Conservation Officer (wildlife biologist) of ACAP in Manang, believes that due to the relatively fragile ecology, the Manang district has a higher potential for ecological damage than other areas of Nepal. For example, juniper species take more than 50 years to grow to their full size, and natural regeneration of this plant is very low. In both the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions energy needs are met by fuel wood and the villagers have stripped the trees on the hillsides near to the village for fuel wood resulting in soil erosion and landslides. Similarly, wildlife habitat destruction is slowly causing a loss of the few remaining endangered species such as snow leopard and musk deer. If these are depleted, it will be difficult to restock them. Therefore, the protection and enhancement of plant communities are of the utmost importance both for a reduction of erosion and as habitat for wildlife.

The other reason for vegetation depletion and soil erosion in the Annapurna region has been the proliferation of mules. The number of mules has been said to have increased after the development of tourism in the area, as mules are being increasingly used as pack animals. Commodities for tourists such as drinks (mineral water, soft drinks, and alcohol), foods (canned foods, rice, lentils, vegetables, instant noodles, milk powder) and toiletries are brought in by mule from Pokhara or Beshisahar. They are also used to carry empty bottles back to Pokhara for recycling, particularly for beer, and soft drinks. For some families, mule trading has been a major cash income-generating activity and their dependency on it may increase in future. If the numbers of mules continue to rise at the same rate as now, it may further worsen the problem of vegetation depletion and soil erosion.

Most of the interviewees admit that forest depletion is currently a major problem for both the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions. An interviewee of the Manang village said "as we are getting

older, we have to go further to collect a bhari (basket) of firewood". Nowadays it is difficult to find firewood near to the village. It is estimated to take one whole day to collect a bhari of fuel wood. The District Forest Officer also reiterated the fact that tourism is putting further pressure on the forest. He believes that the pressure on the forest doubles during the tourist season as locals cater to the higher energy needs of their visitors.

Comparatively, the Nar-Phu region has fewer forest resources than the Nyishang region. Consequently, the Nar-Phu people also use animal dung as fuel for cooking and heating purposes. Within the Nar-Phu region, there is little forest in the Phu area and thus villagers have to rely on the Nar forest. However, interpersonal conflict between the people of Nar and Phu has affected the traditional sharing of forest products. A key informant of Phu village said:

> *We do not have our own forest. We used to have a good relationship with Nar People. We used to get firewood and as much trees as required for building our houses from Nar village. In return, Nar people were allowed to collect jimbu from our area. Once they blamed us that our people stole one of their peoples' necklace when they were collecting jimbu. After that, our relationship soured. Even though we used to get a few trees from our relatives in Nar but it is more difficult now. The Forest Division has given the authority to Nar people to manage their forest themselves. Nowadays we cannot take any wood from Nar. They tell us that they will fine us 1,000 Rs. for each tree we take.*

6.1.2 Tourism as a growth option and solution to the problems

Although tourism may help to meet some of the above challenges, it also offers the potential for further conflict, for example, in forest and wildlife management. Many interviewees believe that tourism development brings economic benefit to the people of this area and that it could stabilise the declining population through employment generation and economic benefit. For example, a hotelier of Manang village said:

> *One crop a year is not sufficient for even four months so people have been involved in trade since the past. Due to the tourists our village is developing. People stay for the tourism business. I would be somewhere else in a city if the tourism business was not here.*

On the other hand, people are also concerned that tourism development may further intensify pressure on firewood which is already scarce in the area. A school teacher of the Pisang village believes that all these problems cannot be solved by tourism development alone, due to the fact that not everyone is involved in the tourism business. He said:

People involved in tourism do the hotel business and they are the ones who benefit the most from tourism development. The situation is quite different for other people. There are many people involved in farming activities who have to make the most out of farming for between five to seven months of the summer season and they would probably make about five to seven thousand Rupees. From this money they buy foods and other required goods from outside of their village.

The local teacher also said that tourism needs to be developed to generate employment opportunities for the locals. At this stage, most of the hotels have employed 'outsiders' as helpers or cooks. The teacher said this is partly due to local people being unskilled and partly, because they are hesitant to work as cooks.

Similarly, most of the Nar-Phu interviewees also know that tourism brings economic benefit even though they have not experienced their region being a tourist destination. They are enthusiastic to develop tourism in their area as an alternative income source because agropastoralism cannot generate all of their income requirements. A key informant of Nar-Phu said:

Life is very difficult here. We cannot grow much in this rocky and steep land. We cannot leave this land because our parents and grandfathers have spent their lives here. We crossed our age [adolescence] therefore, we cannot move down to the city now because we cannot speak Nepali very well and cannot adapt to city life. Therefore we have to stay here. If philing [tourists] are allowed to come here then our people will benefit from it.

The people of the Nar-Phu region, having no alternative source of cash income, believe that they will benefit from tourism development. Most of the interviewees of this region were interested in involving themselves in tourism by establishing small businesses like hotels, lodges, and teashops. Others believed that the route to Tibet could be opened from the Phu village, which could be beneficial both for the tourist and for the villager. For example, a woman interviewee of the Phu village commented:

Tourists do not come to our village. A few come in groups and a few individuals have come to study our culture and traditions. If tourists come here, it is very good. They can go to Tibet if the trail is maintained and if our village is linked with Tibet. Now Manang people are very rich because their village is on the route to Thorung Pass. If the Tibet route is opened, we can benefit a lot from it. Within three days we can reach Tibet along with yak. In two days we can reach Ngoruk, on the next day we will be in Tibet in a place called Kengche.

The key informant and individual interviews show that interviewees of both regions are clear about the challenges facing their area and are also clear about the solution - the attraction of more industry. Having established the general context for such developments, it is also important to understand the interviewees' perceptions and attitudes towards, and expectations of tourists and tourism.

6.2 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT, ATTITUDE TOWARDS, AND EXPECTATIONS FROM, TOURISM

Central to an understanding of the effect of tourism on a tourist destination is an understanding of what "tourism" and "tourists" mean to the people living there (Berno, 1995). In the case of Manang, the interviewees of Nyishang and Nar-Phu have perceived these terms variously. These varying perceptions may have shaped many individual interviewees' attitudes towards, and expectations from, the tourists and tourism development.

6.2.1 Perceptions about tourists

Most of the interviewees of the Nyishang region, having been exposed to tourists, believe that the philing (tourist), is anyone who comes from a foreign country to visit their place with most of them being rich, educated, intelligent and more hygienic than them. However, they have different perceptions regarding tourists and expect different things from them. The interviewees of the tourist area, the Nyishang region, particularly hoteliers, perceive that tourists are rich and they come to visit and spend money. They think therefore that they must reap as much benefit from the tourists as possible, whereas the interviewees of the non-tourist area of Nar-Phu perceive that "tourists are rich and they come to help poor people". However, some people think that "tourists are intelligent and have big [modern] machines" and are suspicious that "they may take valuable goods (stones, eg. ammonites)" from their area. For example, an old interviewee of Nar village said:

> We are not sure. Some tourists may come to collect stones from the Himal. We cannot ask why they come and they may not tell us what they have collected. We may not know whether they have a pass (permit) to do this. We need to know why they come here. If they want to see the Himalayas and the village it is alright by us. They have big machines and may collect good things from the Himalayas.

In general, the interviewees directly involved in the tourism business see tourists as customers of the tourism industry, while interviewees who are not directly involved in the tourism sector do not see the consumer nature of the tourist and they also lack a clear understanding of tourists and tourism.

6.2.2 Attitude towards tourists

Most of the Nyishang interviewees have seen tourists at a distance, but actual face to face contact is said to be minimal. Most often, face to face contact occurs with hoteliers, their employees and craft sellers. However, their conversation is limited to business or if the guide is present, most of the deals are made with the guide. According to the villagers, even though they are interested in talking and interacting with tourists, language is said to be the main barrier for communication. Most of the interviewees of the Nyishang region are happy with most of the tourists. However, many hoteliers comment that "Israeli tourists are cheaters and bad mannered". One hotelier said that "these tourist do not pay the price fixed in the menu, they bargain a lot, even for a cup of tea, sometimes they leave without paying the hotel bills and sometimes they steal". This behaviour of Israeli tourists has created a bad image of the tourists themselves among hoteliers throughout the Annapurna circuit. These days, most of the hoteliers easily recognise Israeli tourists and are not interested in dealing with them. Some of them do not allow them to stay in their hotels. On the other hand, some villagers comment that some tourists have spoiled their childrens' behaviour by giving them sweets, biscuits, pencils, plastic watches and money. One of them commented that "we do not want our children to be beggars". He further added, "if the tourist wants to give these things, and money, why don't they donate to the community fund from which lots of people can have a stomach full of food". One of the hoteliers commented that tourists also do not care about the forest. He said that "many tourists say why do you cut green trees?, but they need hot water anyway, whatever source is used to heat it".

Similarly, a women hotelier said that some tourists do not care about their religious faith and practices. Local people believe that the fireplace is sacred for them because it is said to be the residence of some gods and so should be kept clean and pure at all times. She comments that some tourists come and drys their dirty socks and boots on the Chulo (fire hearth) and hang clothes around the fire place. This is not good according to our religion.

In addition, a monk said that

tourists walk around the village and take photographs of the Ghompa and people which is alright by me. Sometimes local people ask for money to take a photograph, but some people resent if tourists take their photograph.

In the more remote Nar-Phu area, people have different beliefs. A young interviewee who was a graduate student in Kathmandu, believes that their culture is different from other areas and the old people of the village are still very conservative and do not feel at ease when seeing body parts, particularly legs, thighs, and tops exposed. He said that "our elders do not feel good even if we wear shorts". He said that if tourists are allowed to visit their area they should not be allowed to reveal body parts and bathe nudely in open places which could be offensive to the villagers. In terms of taking photographs of people, many interviewees said that tourists must first ask for permission before taking it. A woman of the Phu village said that "people think that tourists take their photograph and sell it to other people". A teacher of the Nar village said that "tourists often take photo of untidy and dirty places and children and poor people" which he believes encourages misconceptions about their place and their people amongst other visitors. Most of the interviewees of the Nar-Phu region said that tourists should not take any stones (ammonites) from their place and should not harm any animals. A head lama (monk) of Phu Ghompa said that "whoever comes to this area, whether they are porters, tourist, guides or Sherpa, should not harm blue sheep, birds or other wild animals". Although the above comments on tourists highlight inappropriate behaviour, it may simply be that naive tourists in such an area may not understand local cultural rules and sensitivities. Therefore, tourist awareness about local cultural norms and beliefs must come first. In particular, tourist education has a great role to play. Furthermore, tourists in such culturally sensitive areas should be accompanied by trained guides drawn from local youths trained for such a job.

Despite the above comments, generally Nyishang people have a good attitude towards tourists and the tourism industry. Most of the people I interviewed have said that they would be genuinely interested in becoming involved in the tourism business if they got an opportunity. A government official also believes that "... people have a good response to tourists and show good behaviour [tolerance] because they know that they are benefiting from tourism". This data suggests that most of the residents are positive about tourists and tourism development at the early stage of tourism development (Doxey, 1976; Butler, 1980). However, such attitudes are prone to change as residents face the realities of increasing numbers of visitors (Simmons, 1989).

Simmons suggests that "an educational and planning challenge lies in creating such an awareness early on in planning and development" (1989:115).

6.2.3 Perception of the tourism product of the Manang District

A discussion of the reasons for tourist visitation in the Manang District was intended to identify and generate local knowledge of 'tourism products' of the Manang District from the interviewees of both the Nyishang region and the Nar-Phu region. The identified tourism products are presented in the following sections.

6.2.3.1 Nyishang interviewees

Many interviewees mentioned a number of reasons for tourist visitation. I have categorised these into three broader categories, namely bio-physical, cultural and other activities (see Table 3. for the list of tourism products of Manang District identified by the interviewees). The reason for tourist visitation in the Manang district mentioned by most of the interviewees are to view the bio-physical environment. This includes views of mountains and peaks such as Annapurna II, Namga and Kangaru Himal, Pisang peak, Julu peak, in the Annapurna circuit and to cross the Thorung La pass, views of the lake (Tilicho Lake), rivers, waterfalls and views of forests and wildlife (snow leopard, blue sheep, birds, and yak). Second were cultural aspects such as to see and experience Tibetan customs (traditional rituals such as horse racing and archery called Yartung), Ngungne (fasting), people, village life, dress, foods, and to visit the Ghompa as pilgrims. In addition, activities such as photography, expeditions, or small group trekking, and the study of culture as pursued by tourists are also mentioned. For example, a key informant said:

> *Tourists come to see the Himalayas, particularly for the Annapurna Circuit. Some would come to experience the Tibetan culture and see traditional rituals performed by the Manange people like archery and horse races. Forty years ago we were like real Tibetan and our dance and songs were in Tibetan.*

By contrast, some interviewees believe that "tourist comes to buy old goods" and "to collect rocks". For example, one of the old interviewees who had experience of travelling around South Asia in the course of trading stones said:

...before people used to live in their own country. Now they come to see our land and study Lamas' Bhed [Buddhist holy book]. Americans come to see and collect old Tibetan goods made of gold, silver, copper, brass alloy, because other people cannot make these goods. Tourists also come to experience our country, village, do religious works. They are richer and more intelligent than us...

Another interviewee told that the "tourist comes to see poor and dirty people, and how these undeveloped people are living in such an isolated harsh place". A similar view is expressed by another interviewee. He said:

[Tourists] come to see us as a people from the jungle and to take photographs of undeveloped people of the remote area, which [they] cannot see in other countries.

Finally, some have mentioned that the "tourist comes to see the country itself". One interviewee mentioned that "Manang has no problems like theft and it is a good and safe place for tourists because people show a good behaviour towards tourists".

6.2.3.2 Nar-Phu interviewees

Tourists are officially not allowed to visit the Nar-Phu region. However, the 'tourism product' of the district as discussed with the residents of Nyishang was also discussed with the residents of the Nar-Phu region. Similar types of responses as noted earlier were given by the residents of Nar-Phu. Most of the interviewees said that tourists would come to view mountains (Kangaru Himal), to cross the Thorung La pass, to see Tilicho Lake, the forest and wildlife, the cultural aspects of village life and its people. Some of them said that tourists would come to collect rocks and for trekking and expeditions. Officials interviewed offered similar views reporting that tourists come to view mountains and lakes, and to experience Tibetan customs and rituals as well as to go trekking. One of the informants of Nar-Phu said "I don't know why they come here but they may come to climb mountains and see our place". The tourism product identified by the interviewees are listed in Table 3, in page 103.

Table 3. Purpose of tourists visiting the Manang District (n=43 - Do not know 10=33)

Tourism product	NS n=23	NP n=7	GO n=3	Total n=33
A: Bio-physical				
1:View Himalayas	15	4	3	22
2:Cross Thorung La Pass	2	-	1	3
2:View Lake, rivers, and waterfalls	4	1	3	8
3:Watch, study, and collect plants and wildlife specimens				
-Forest	2	-	-	2
-Snow Leopard	4	1	-	5
-Blue sheep	1	1	-	2
-Birds	2	1	-	3
-yak	1	-	-	1
-Butterflies	2	-	-	2
-Plants	2	-	-	2
-Herding practices	2	-	-	2
B: Cultural				
1:See and experience culture				
-traditional rituals	5	2	-	7
-village	8	4	-	12
-people	5	1	-	6
-dress	2	-	-	2
-foods	2	-	-	2
-religion	1	-	-	1
-house	1	-	-	1
-see and worship Ghompa	6	-	-	6
2:Study traditions				
-Marriage and death	1	-	-	1
-Religion	1	-	-	1
C: Others				
1:Activities				
-Expeditions	1	4	-	5
-Trekking	3	-	1	4
-Photography	5	-	-	5
2:See,buy and collect				
-Old goods	1	1	-	2
-Rocks	-	3	-	3
3:Country	2	1	-	3

Nyishang =(NS), Nar-Phu =(NP), Government Officials =(GO)

By comparison, the interviewees of Nyishang, having had seventeen years of tourism, are found to be better able to generate ideas of tourism products than are the interviewees of Nar-Phu. Among the residents of Nyishang, the hotel and lodge owners and the key informants are comparatively more knowledgeable. Generally, most of the interviewees had a considerable amount of knowledge regarding the reasons for tourist visitation in their area.

6.2.4 Expectations from tourists and tourism development

Different people may have different expectations from tourism development and tourism may mean different things to different people. Some people expect to see their community thrive and reap benefits from tourism development, whereas some just see it as a means to gain cash and meet their financial needs, and as a way to alleviate poverty. These expectations would have been shaped by their personal experience with tourism, whether from direct involvement or just from vicarious experience. For example, a key informant of Nyishang expects that tourism development would also maintain the irrigation scheme and provide electricity on a cheap and regular basis. He also expects that tourism development will upgrade the health service. For example, an X-ray machine could be installed so that both the villager and the tourists need not have to rush to Pokhara or Kathmandu for minor injuries. It indicates that at least some interviewees are concerned about health and security of tourists, but more importantly the current meagre health facility in the village.

Most of the interviewees are happy to see tourists in their area, home, Ghompa or any other religious ceremony. One of the local school teachers believes that "everyone in the village likes tourists to stay in their home and they treat tourists as a guest even though they take money from them". However, they accept tourists and tourist developments for different reasons. These expectations would have been shaped by their beliefs and perceptions. Some accept tourists and extend their hospitality to tourists expecting that tourists will help them to send their child to study in the city or to take them overseas. For example, a woman interviewee of the Phu village expressed her expectations in this way:

> *...they may give money to construct trails, bridge and Ghompa. If they are told about our problems they may help us. In the Manang village people are rich like the Sherpa of Solukhumbu. Their children have got opportunities to study in foreign countries. Some tourists may help our children as well.*

Some see the tourist as a pilgrim. For example, an old interviewee of Nyishang said that "tourists are like pilgrims, they come to our Ghompa to worship gods". Similarly, a monk from Nyishang said that "tourists offer Khata (scarf) to the Ghompa". He expects that tourists would also donate money for the Ghompa and light the lamps.

Others believe that tourists come to help poor people. For example, an old interviewee of the Nar-Phu region expects that some tourists may help poor and old people after seeing the hardship of their lives. He said:

> *Some tourists may be very rich, some of them may be poor. The rich tourists may help the village. They may help poor people, who have nothing. In the winter season only old people stay in the village and tourist may help seeing their hardship. Others may just take a photograph and leave.*

He further comments,

> *Nobody expects to see a village in this remote place. If you see up there is steep rocks, and if you see down there is river. If tourists help to make trails, drinking water and help old people everybody will be happy. If tourist comes and goes it does not make any difference.*

Some monks of the Phu village expect that tourists may sponsor them to study Buddhism. They said that "some tourists have sponsored Sherpa people to study Buddhism in Kathmandu. If they come to Phu they may give money to study Buddhism".

Taken together the above data demonstrates that most of the interviewees' general understanding of tourists is poor. This is particularly evident from those interviewees who are not directly involved in tourism and most of the interviewees of Nar-phu region who are still not exposed to tourism. Therefore, education about tourists and tourism is necessary to remedy people's misconceptions of, and false expectations from, the tourists that "they are rich and come to help poor people", "they come to collect old goods and rocks", "they will give money for village development", and "they will sponsor children to study in the city". While in general the interviewees of the Nyishang region, particularly hoteliers and some key informants, are more knowledgeable, having had a wider exposure to tourism, they tend to see tourists more as consumers who pay for the goods and services provided. To a certain extent, they also see tourists and their relationship in monetary terms where tourists come for fun and to spend money and they must make as much benefit from the tourists as possible. In the broadest sense interviewees of both regions lack a critical understanding of tourists and tourism and their pros and cons. Aside from a discussion of perceived tourism products and expectations, a critical step in the assessment of tourism is to obtain an understanding of the advantages and disadvantages

of tourism for the receiving community which would shape future tourism development in their area.

6.3 BENEFITS AND COSTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

It is a widely accepted fact that tourism has benefits as well as costs. In terms of this research site, most of the interviewees, whether they are from Nyishang (tourist area) or Nar-Phu (non-tourist area), were able to identify the benefits of tourism like economic benefits and employment generation, whereas the costs of tourism development were less pronounced. The benefits and costs of tourism development identified by the interviewees of Nyishang and Nar-Phu are listed in Table 4.

Table 4. List of present tourism impacts (n=43-Do not know 14=29)

Impacts	NS n=19	NP n=6	GO n=4	Total n=29
Economic				
Benefits:				
-cash income	19	3	4	26
-employment	13	2	6	21
Costs:				
-unequal income distribution	2	-	-	2
-rise in price of goods and porters	4	-	-	4
-livestock predation by snow leopard	2	-	-	2
Social and cultural				
Benefits:				
-population stabilisation	4	-	-	4
-health facilities	1	-	-	1
-donation to ghompa and renovation	2	1	-	3
-health and sanitation awareness	2	-	-	2
-rise in living standard	-	-	1	1
Costs:				
-spoiled children's behaviour	2	-	-	2
-imitation of tourist dresses and eating habit	1	-	4	5
-some tourist guides drink alcohol and make noise	1	-	-	1
Environmental				
Benefits:				
-conservation awareness	1	-	1	2
Cost:				
-deforestation	7	-	4	11
-litter and effluent	3	-	3	6
-change in the behaviour of snow leopard	1	-	-	1
-change in physical structure of lake	1	-	-	1
-illegal collection of medicinal plants and wild life species	1	-	-	1

Nyishang=(NS), Nar-Phu=(NP), Government Official=(GO)

The listed benefits and costs identified by the interviewees of Nyishang and Nar-Phu are discussed separately for the purpose of comparison.

6.3.1 Benefits and costs of tourism in the Nyishang region

Most of the Nyishang interviewees have identified the economic benefits from tourists coming into their area. The costs of tourism development such as unequal income distribution, forest degradation and the rise in the price of local goods and porters were also identified. Many interviewees believed that hoteliers are reaping most of the economic benefit out of tourism development. However, others believed that other people who were not directly involved in tourism were benefiting from selling potatoes, buck wheat flour, vegetables, raksi (locally brewed alcohol) and firewood to hoteliers and porters. Surprisingly, some interviewees saw the problem of livestock predation by the snow leopard as a problem of tourism development although it has existed since before the occurrence of tourism. The benefits and costs as identified by the interviewees of the Nyishang region are further discussed in the following sections.

6.3.1.1 Benefits

The major benefits identified by the interviewees are cash income and employment generation which consequently helps in retaining the population from migration. A few interviewees have mentioned the benefits of tourism such as provision of a health facility, rise in the standard of living, health, sanitation, education, and conservation awareness (see Table 4).

1. Income and employment generation

One of the government officials said that the people of the Nyishang do not have other cash income sources. He believes that "tourism provides a reasonable amount of cash income to the local people and it has been a main source of cash income for the people of this region". He also believes that "if this area had not been opened up for tourism, the migration rate would have been much higher than now". Many people are staying here only for the tourist business. Similarly, a craft seller of Nyishang said:

> *Before people were dependent on animal husbandry and farming. We can grow only one crop a year, which is not enough. If this place had not been opened for tourism, probably, most of the Manang people would be in Kathmandu. Now we have tourism and people are benefiting from it. The difference is big hotels can benefit more and small hotels benefit less.*

A young woman of Nyishang, although she did not have a hotel or lodging facility, said:

I do not have a hotel but in one year about nine tourist groups come to my camping place on the roof of my house. There is a sixteen tent capacity on my roof but generally only 8-9 places are filled by tents. We sell firewood at 90 Rs for a Bhari (approx. 25-30 kg). We buy potatoes at 60 Rs per Tin (four pathi) (approx 14.8 kg) and sell it at 80 Rs to the tourist groups. Buckwheat is sold at 75 Rs. per pathi (3.7 kg). We sell Dhindo at 25 Rs per plate. Ten plates of Dhindo can be made from a pathi of buckwheat. A Tin of boiled potato can be sold for 100 Rs.

A hotelier estimates that out of 100 Rs of tourist spending, villagers get about 15 Rs The other 85 Rs go to the hoteliers. Most of the hoteliers earn from a minimum of 30,000 Rs to a maximum of 150,000 Rs in one tourist season. Unfortunately, the earnings from tourism do not stay in the local economy. As soon as people get rich they tend to send their children to study, and buy land and houses in cities like Kathmandu or Pokhara or extend their hotels to a bigger capacity. This has been a common practice in most of the rural tourist destinations of Nepal.

2. Provision of health services

The other benefit of tourism development is the provision of a health facility. With the advent of tourism, a small first aid post has been established in Manang village by the Himalayan Rescue Association to inform tourists about altitude sickness and its treatment. It primarily serves tourists and operates in the tourist season (mid Sept-Nov). An interviewee sees this as a benefit of tourism development in their region. He said:

This rescue hospital is for the tourists. Some foreign doctors come in the tourist season for 2-3 months. This rescue post is also most helpful to the people of this area. We can get good and fresh medicine at a cheap price. They charge 200-300 Rs for tourist but only 10-20 for us. From the tourist money they buy medicine and distribute it free of charge to the local people. Most of the medicine must be very expensive but for poor people who have no money and if they need to go to Kathmandu for further treatment they help to send such sick people for treatment.

He further said:

Last year 10-15 American students came to visit our village and they helped to build a school by carrying stones in their bags. We also participated in that work. All these are the benefits to the local people from tourism development.

3. Agricultural product stimulation

Similarly, peoples' increasing interest in producing vegetables within the village is also seen as a positive impact of tourism development. One key informant said:

> *Nowadays due to tourism, people are benefiting from farming as well. They sell vegetables to the tourist. Before we did not grow vegetables like cauliflower and cabbage. The Tibetan immigrants first started vegetable gardening in our district and the people of this region also learnt these skills from them. The vegetable gardening practice grew particularly after tourism development. People have realised the tourists' demand for vegetables. It is also cheaper to grow vegetables in the village than to buy from other places.*

A key informant, farmer, from Nyishang region said:

> *It is alright. Kuire [white people] come to spend money. It has given employment to people. People have opened hotels for tourists and they are benefiting from it. Before we did not grow vegetables such as cauliflower, cabbage but now many people grow these and people do not have to go outside to sell these products.*

4. Rise in the standard of living and Ghompa restoration and maintenance

Similarly, the teacher of the Pisang village believes that tourism has provided economic and employment opportunities and raised the standard of living. A key informant of the Braga village said that from tourist donation money, they are maintaining the Ghompa and providing an allowance for the lama. He said:

> *From tourist donation in the Ghompa we collect about 40,000 Rs per year. From this money 11,000 is used for thulo lama (chief monk), 5,000 for sano lama (junior monk) and another 3,000 for other monks, the other money is spent for Ghompa renovation, and carpet washing. We are telling people that this benefit is from the tourists. We should do the same in other villages too.*

Despite the above identified benefits tourism development in the Manang district is not without its costs since tourism requires that community residents share their resources with outsiders.

6.3.1.2 Costs

Although most of the interviewees were unable to identify the costs of tourism development, a few interviewees, particularly some key informants and hoteliers identified deforestation, rise in price of local foods and porters, effect on costumes and traditions, and litter and effluent as costs of tourism development. However, some interviewees link the problem of livestock predation

by snow leopard, and illegal collection of medicinal plants and wildlife species with tourism development, although they were preexisting problems of the study area. The identified costs of tourism development are further discussed below.

1. Deforestation

Many interviewees do not see any cost of tourism development at present or in the future, in their area. However, for many interviewees, forest degradation is a major concern that tourism development may further aggravate in the future. Firewood is a major source of energy for the people and the District Forest Officer of the Manang District believes that the firewood consumption doubles in the tourist season. He said that the forest consumption rate has increased particularly after the development of tourism in the area. In addition, many new hotels have been built during the last decade and are continuing to be built along the route to Thorung La pass. An old interviewee comments:

> *Hoteliers are the major users of firewood. They have finished our jungle. As we are growing older we have to go further to collect a bhari of firewood. Nowadays we are having more difficulties finding firewood nearby.*

A key informant, the hotelier of Braga village, estimates and comments as follows:

> *Young and good trees (120-200 per year) are being chopped to make sticks for tourists. One hotel approximately uses 40 trees per season for heating and cooking. Sukpa (juniper species) is used particularly for puja (religious ceremony). The hotels above Manang village are using a tree called tombay or chatara as fuel wood. They set fire in the green trees and use it in the consecutive year when it is dry. Nowadays it is difficult to get. If it is used in the same way it may disappear within ten years.*

However, the Regional Headquarters of the Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP), established in 1993 in Manang Village, is currently helping local people, and lodge owners to reduce firewood consumption by installing different alternative technologies such as solar water heaters, back boiler technologies, and low watt electric cookers. Some of the hotels and households have already adopted such alternatives which is very encouraging. ACAP is also encouraging people to establish tree plantations. A nursery of this project provides tree saplings to the local people free of charge. In addition, ACAP is also preparing a forest management plan for the Manang District based on traditional forest management practices.

Although no scientific study has taken place, some believe that as a consequence of deforestation, the shape of the Gangapurna lake is changing. An interviewee (hotelier) said that its structure has changed drastically within approximately 40 years. He believes that it is the due to deforestation on the contrary to some old peoples' belief that it is due to tourists. He said:

> *When I was about six years old (in 1955) the Gangapurna lake was small (almost half of its existing size) and the glacier was flowing up to the neck of the lake. Both hills at the side of lake were covered by trees. Now the hills are barren, the glacier does not flow up to the lake and the lake is much bigger than before. The old people of the village say that "lots of foreigners come to our village, they brought different diseases and it does not rain as much as before and the lake is bigger now".*

The interviewee further argues that "actually [old people] should think that it is not due to foreigners but due to the forest depletion". He believes that because of deforestation the rainfall might have decreased and the temperature would have increased and the glacier would have melted which consequently has made the lake bigger.

2. Rise in the price of local foods and porters

Secondly, the belief that "tourists are beneficial to a few rich people" and "tourists have raised the price of local goods" are strongly held among the interviewees particularly those who are not involved in tourism. For example, a key informant, a farmer-pastoralist of Nyishang, comments:

> *Actually tourists are good for the rich people. People who are able, who have money to open a hotel and who have horses and ponies are getting rich. For example within 100 people only 10 people have hotels and they are benefiting the most and it has raised the price for the rest of the (90) people.*

He further comments:

> *From tourism rich people get richer and poor people get poorer. Before, the price of one tin (approx 14.8 kg) of potato was 10 Rs. Nowadays tourists come to our village and it is risen up to 100 Rs. per tin. Therefore I do not think that tourists are good for poor people. Anyway tourists come to our area, and it makes food scarce for the poor.*

He also said:

> *...for us transportation facility is important and we are not concerned with the tourists, whether they come or not. The tourist has also increased the wages of porters. Porters normally get paid 50 Rs. for a day's labour but the tourist pays them 100 Rs. The tourists have big money, their one dollar is worth many of our Rs. Poor people are killed by the rising price. To benefit poor people the*

government should open a fair price shop in the village and should provide rice,
cooking oil, kerosene, salt, and sugar at a fair price.

Similarly, a female hotel owner was also concerned about the rise in the price of local goods. She said that "it is difficult for us to buy things if we do not produce them ourselves. We have a very low income, we cannot afford to send our children to study in the city like other people can".

3. Effect on costumes and traditions

In addition, some interviewees believe that tourism has effects on the local culture, and that people are losing their culture by imitating tourists' dress and eating habits. However, a government interviewee comments that "we cannot stop tourism to conserve our culture, because people live 'hand to mouth' which is more important than their culture at present". He believes that culture and development both come only after the basic needs of people are met. A similar comment is made by one of the key informants. He believes that "in anything there is both positive and negative aspects and tourism is no exception". For example, he said "on the one hand tourists have made people aware that forest resources are important for tourism. On the other hand, they have also added pressure on the forest". He believes that people will do anything to have a stomach full of food. He comments:

> *...when people have work and enough food and something to cover their body, at that time it may come in their mind that it is our tradition [culture] and it is our forest [environment] and we need to conserve it. At present money is more important than their culture.*

Another interviewee believes that the imitation of dress is not due to tourism but to their increased social mobility outside of their village for international trade. For example, he said:

> *Before, men used to wear bhakhu (Tibetan dress) and dhocha (Tibetan shoes) made by hand and hair was kept long like those of women but now we are like this (shirt, pants, and sport shoes). This is because people go to Kathmandu, India, and Hongkong for business and learn to wear the new fashions of the city.*

Others believe that people are loosing their interest in the traditional ceremonies. For example, traditional ceremonies like Badde and some rituals performed after crop harvesting are said to be no longer practised these days. An interviewee said:

> *Badde is celebrated once every three years. In this ceremony men and women dance in a group singing a song and other rituals are carried out by the lama (monk). People have lost interest to carry out such ceremonies because these days they think only for individual benefit and are more oriented towards money.*

There are many reasons for not performing these rituals. For example, one interviewee said:

> *In one way it is expensive to maintain such traditions. Secondly there is a scarcity of people to manage it. Because most of the people have migrated permanently to Pokhara and Kathmandu. People who stay here are poor and are busy in their own household work. That is why we are losing our traditions. Thirdly, the Badde is carried out by particular sub tribe of monks. The lama is dead and now we do not have such lama to lead the Badde rituals.*

However, some interviewees are aware that they should not leave their tradition, and should maintain it. For example, a key informant, a farmer said:

> *Tourists come to see the old Ghompa so it should be conserved and maintained for tourists. Some tourists come to see our ritithiti (traditional customs). We need to keep our tradition, what our ancestors taught us.*

The Manange community living in Kathmandu raises funds to perform some rituals. They raise about 130,000 Rs. per year to carry out some of the rituals every year. Finally, one of the teachers is concerned that "local artifacts may be illegally taken from the village".

4. Litter and effluent

Litter and effluent are other major problems in the Nyishang region. Most of the households, except the lodges, have no toilet facilities. The effluent from the toilet and household garbage is disposed directly into the river. During the field visits, litter such as plastics, toilet paper, bottles, tin cans, old rags such as shoes, cloths and other household items were also observed in the village and along the tourist routes.

ACAP is also dealing with this litter problem. ACAP has been conducting a cleanup campaign in the Manang village to raise local awareness of health and sanitation. ACAP has set up a sanitation (litter) committee and provided litter containers. A fund of 20,000 Rs is deposited in the bank to which ACAP and the Village Development Committee contributed 50/50 per cent. The interest from this fund will be used as wages for the cleaner. However, some members of the Sanitation Committee said that the interest will not be enough for the cleaner and said that at least 40,000 Rs should be deposited in the bank. They said that ACAP should give more money for this. A member of the Sanitation Committee also said that "people should clean their areas themselves" but people think that as "ACAP and VDC has provided the money then why should we clean it". He argues, however, that "if the money was not given then people would have done it themselves anyway".

It seems that neither the committee nor the people are clear about their responsibilities on the issue of litter and effluent problems. The setting up of a sanitation committee and providing them with money and litter bins for a cleanup may solve the current problems of litter and effluent in the short term, however, the long-term solution definitely relies on the effective health and sanitation education and awareness of people living there. According to the interviewees, litter and effluent problems are also related to tourism development, which has brought not only visual pollution along the trails and in the village but has also caused some damage to the domestic animals. For example, a key informant, a hotelier of Bhraka village said:

> ...plastic, tin cans, bottles, toilet paper are discarded everywhere by tourist groups and hoteliers. It has poisoned our cows and yak. They eat plastic and paper particularly in the winter season when the grasses are scarce. These animal cannot digest plastic and it accumulates in the animal's stomach and finally it dies. Then you think yourself, who is benefiting and who is losing.

However, another interviewee, a monk from Manang village, said,

> ...tourists are not the cause of litter. They just stay one or two days, but it is the local residents who stay longer in the village and have made more litter. Actually, we do not have an effective litter management system. ACAP has provided litter containers and has formed a Sanitation Committee, but they are not working effectively. ACAP office should have asked villagers to dispose the litter turn by turn. A strict fine system should be implemented.

In addition, there are conflicting views between the hoteliers and the people who are not involved in tourism which has caused them to ignore the litter problems. Most of the interviewees, those

who are not involved in the tourism business, have said that hotels are the main source of litter in the village, while hoteliers have said that the villagers are the source of litter problems. One hotelier comments:

> *It is true that the village is dirty, and beer, coca-cola, mineral water bottles and tin cans are brought by hoteliers for the tourists, but it is the villager who throws these things elsewhere in the village. They ask for bottles and plastic and when it is broken or torn they do not dispose of it properly. Therefore we hoteliers have decided to not give bottles and plastic to the villagers. We are dumping all the litter and garbage in the appropriate sites. It is the villager. You can see that the litter containers are filled up by all household garbage, old rags, and shoes.*

An hotelier, however, believes that all these problems arise because of a lack of community awareness and cooperation and a loss of coherence amongst the villagers. He comments:

> *Nowadays people are more involved in individual work rather than community work. Actually we need to look after our village. If our village becomes a dirty place neither will the tourist come nor can we stay here. We should not blame anyone for the litter problem. All villagers need to work together to make our village clean by disposing of litter in the appropriate site.*

A woman interviewee also said that " our village is very dirty. We need to clean our place first. I have been to places like Ghandruk and Marpha. These places are very clean and they have lots of tourists".

5. Livestock predation by the snow leopard

Another major problem is livestock predation. Although, livestock predation by snow leopard is a common problem both in the Nyishang and the Nar-Phu areas, some interviewees of Nyishang now link this problem with tourism development. A key informant involved in the hotel business comments:

I heard that lots of tourists come to see and study and conserve the snow leopard. Of course it has benefited the government and a few hoteliers. But for poor people whose lives are based on pastoralism, [snow leopard] is not beneficial. The snow leopard has killed many yaks, and horses. What can we benefit from preserving this animal. We cannot kill the snow leopard because it is a protected animal. Therefore, people may leave pastoralism. Our farming is highly dependent on animal manure. If animal husbandry is abandoned it will have a negative effect on crop production. At the end these problems may force people to leave this place. It would not be fair to conserve snow leopard for the sake of the tourists, if it is of no benefit to the people of this area. I have talked with ACAP people to give some money to post gothalo (watch man) for each goth (animal shed) to prevent such snow leopard attacks in the future.

He further said that "now you can guess who is benefiting and who is losing - the benefits of tourism development are reaped by the government and a few people involved in the tourism business, but the costs are often paid by people who are uninvolved".

Similarly another key informant, a pastoralist, comments:

Tourists might have come to see the village and the Himalayas. Some people say that [tourists] come to see pangje (snow leopard) and we should not kill pangje. Our one horse costs 40,000 Rs. and chauri costs 10,000 Rs. Snow leopard kills our animal but we cannot kill them because they are legally protected by the government.

ACAP people tell us that tourists come to see pangje. I told them to catch all the pangje and keep it in some place, so that tourist can see them. The problem here is neither tourist can see pangje nor our animals are safe. Only in last winter twelve of my chauri were killed by pangje. Actually, if the snow leopards are kept in a safe place both our animals could be saved and the tourists can also see them.

He also claimed that a Japanese filming group has changed the behaviour of snow leopard which has further accelerated the killing of domestic animals. He said:

....it is because of Japhaen (Japanese) filming that snow leopard is killing our animals. Before the snow leopard use to be afraid of fire, smoke and shouting, but now the behaviour of snow leopard is changed, because of Japhaen filming group. A few years back (in 1989) Japhaen came to film the snow leopard. To take photographs and film it they put a live goat in one place. When the snow leopard attacked the goat, a light flashed from the front and photos were taken at that time. Now they got used with eating flesh in front of the flash light. Usually the snow leopard does not come to the animal shed due to fear, but these days it kills the animals from within the shed. We heard that they do not have any license for doing such things. We asked for compensation of our animal loss and they gave about 70,000 yen. After the establishment of ACAP, they come to know about the filming and stopped their activities.

Currently ACAP is planning to form a snow leopard conservation committee. According to the ACAP officials, a fund will also be set up to help herders to hire other gothalos and buy guard dogs, and establish a veterinary service to encourage and improve animal husbandry practice. ACAP is also planning to develop an eco-trek route in the Manang District. Activities may include sightseeing, wildlife watching (egs snow leopard, and blue sheep) and cultural visits to the village (these include home stays for tourists). ACAP believes that when this is developed it will provide employment for local guides and encourage trekkers to spend more time and therefore more money in the village. However, the major challenge is balancing two conflicting interests, - the conservation interests and peoples' needs. On the one hand it is necessary to conserve the few remaining snow leopards from extinction, on the other hand it is also necessary to manage the livestock predation problem. Persuading local people that the snow leopard is beneficial to them is an even greater challenge necessary for the survival of the snow leopard.

6. Illegal collection of medicinal plants and wildlife species

Although the collection of medicinal plants and wildlife species in the Manang District is illegal, some of these practices still occur from time to time. Most of the illegal collection is said to be done by people from other villages. The most valuable ones are Yartsagumbu[1] (*Cordyceps sinensis*) and the musk pod of the musk deer (*Muscus muskiferous*). Both of them are said to be of high medicinal value as an energiser and an aphrodisiac. These medicinal plants and musk pods are illegally collected from the Manang District and sold in other areas for a higher price. However, one interviewee of Nyishang reported that in the past some tourists were also involved in the collection. He said:

> *I don't know about the present disadvantages of tourism development but in the past, tourists were also involved in the collection of herbs and butterflies. We did not know whether they had permits to do those things. Medicinal plants and butterflies are disappearing nowadays. These things need to be strictly controlled by the government. Local people should also know why tourists come to the area and should be controlled if they are collecting illegally. We do not know whether they come for trekking or what and whether they have a permit or not.*

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[1] Yertsagumbu (Yar-tsa-gum-bu) literally means 'summer-grass-winter-worm' in the local language. This is a parasitic mushroom (*Cordyceps sinensis*), which at the beginning of the monsoon period attacks a caterpillar (unidentified up to now) recently emerged from its cocoon. One can observe the caterpillar still alive in spring (winter-worm), it is no longer alive in autumn, at the time of picking. It is, however, hard to distinguish from the grass of the alpine pasture surrounding it (summer-grass) (Pohle, 1990:11).

However, according to other interviewees, tourists themselves are not involved in such illegal collection of plants and animals. They said that it is rather the tourists' guides who accompany them. Perhaps some study team, who were mistakenly thought to be tourists by the residents, might have collected some of these species for research purposes through government permission.

To further clarify and validate the above problems and to rank them in order according to their importance at present, a ranking exercise was carried out in the Manang village. This exercise comes under the group interview and discussion technique of PRA. The details of the ranking exercise conducted with a group of residents are presented below.

6.3.1.3 Problem ranking exercise:

The above costs of tourism development were identified primarily from the semi-structured interview of key informants and other individuals. As part of the data gathering, filtering and validating process the identified problems were listed after the analysis of individual and key informant interviews. The listed problems were later arranged in the matrix in such a way that each problem can be compared with another as shown in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Pair wise matrix, a tourism impact ranking exercise

Problems	Litters and Effluent	Deforestation	Loss of Customs and Traditions	Livestock Predation	Loss of Medicinal Herbs and Wildlife	Rise in Price of Goods and Porters
Litter and Effluent		Deforestation	Litter and Effluent	Livestock Predation	Litter and Effluent	Rise in Price of Goods and Porters
Deforestation			Deforestation	Deforestation	Deforestation	Deforestation
Loss of Costumes and Traditions				Livestock Predation	Loss of Medicinal Herbs And Wildlife	Rise in Price of Goods and Porters
Livestock Predation by Snow leopard					Livestock Predation	Livestock Predation
Loss of Medicinal Plants and Wildlife						Rise in Price of Goods and Porters
Rise in Price of Goods and Porters						

Six participants from Manang village were requested to take part in the problem ranking exercise. They included pastoralists, farmers, hoteliers and the general public. The venue was fixed in one

of the local teashops in the Manang village. On arrival, participants were given a brief introduction to the current problem as identified above by the facilitator/researcher, and the problem matrix was also shown. Each major community problem was listed on the top and again on the left side of the matrix as shown above. Each open cell of the matrix represents a paired comparison of the two intersecting problem. For each intersecting problems, participants were asked to select the more severe one. Then it was recorded in the blank cell provided at the intersection. For example, the problem listed in the row litter and effluent is compared with all problems listed in the column and the results (dominant problems) were listed. The criteria for the selection of any problem is based on their judgement of the local situation. The process is repeated until all the problems have been compared with each other. When the chart is completed, the number of times each was identified as the more important one are added and then arranged in an appropriate order as shown below in Table 5.

Table 5. The results of the ranking exercise

Problems	Number of times ranked the highest	Rank
Deforestation	5	1
Livestock Predation by Snow Leopard	4	2
Rise in Price of Goods and Porters	3	3
Litter and Effluent	2	4
Loss of Medicinal Herbs and Wildlife	1	5
Loss of Customs and Traditions	0	6

The major problem identified was deforestation, which scored five in the ranking exercise, which suggests it should be addressed first. Amendments to law and alternative solutions to the firewood problem have been identified as positive solutions. Apart from this, the ranking exercise also indicates that the participants are more concerned about their personal economic costs, such as livestock predation and a rise in the price of goods and porters than the litter and effluent, loss of medicinal herbs and wildlife and loss of customs and traditions in general. Therefore, these concerns of the participants should also be solved before further tourism development but equally important is an awareness of the importance of their environment and culture in sustaining tourism which is ranked as least important by participants.

6.3.1.4 Tourism and agropastoralism

It is often stated that tourism has modified traditional practices. However, approximately two decades of tourism in the Nyishang region have not replaced traditional agricultural practices. Tourism demand has encouraged people to produce vegetables, fruit and other crops locally. Most of the people involved in tourism businesses have not abandoned their traditional agriculture and pastoralism practices. However, dependency on tourism may increase further since most of the interviewees are interested in pursuing tourism businesses in future.

Most of the interviewees believe that tourism has no negative impacts on the agriculture and pastoralism practices. Thanks to the seasonality of tourism, local people can pursue both agriculture and tourism together. People generally pursue agricultural activities in the non-tourist season between April to the middle of September, whilst tourist arrivals generally start following the month of September when most of the crops are harvested. The peak tourist arrivals occur in October when all the crops are harvested. For example, an interviewee said:

> *Tourism has no negative effect on our agriculture. The farming season is Chaitra (March-April), harvesting time is Asojh (September) and the main tourist season is in Kartik (October-November). We can benefit from selling vegetables and crops.*

However, some believe that in the trekking season they have to pay higher wages to hire labour due to the scarcity of labour in the village. Most of the labour is drawn from other areas such as Dumre, Lamjung, and the Ghorkha district.

Although most of the interviewees are interested to be involved in the tourism businesses in the future and support further tourism development in their area, they believe that tourism should not become the mainstay of their economy. For example, one interviewee said:

> *Tourists do not come every day, they come only in the tourist season. It even depends on the situation in Kathmandu. If the strikes and election goes on like now tourists may not come here.*

Most of the interviewees said that they would pursue both agriculture and tourism together for more benefit. For example a woman hotelier said:

We need to do both (tourism and agriculture). We cannot benefit any more only from the hotels. Tourists comes in the tourist season. Other times we must do farming to fulfil our daily food requirements. The farm products like potato, vegetables and buckwheat can also be sold to tourists and porters.

Similarly, other interviewees believe that agriculture and tourism should be developed together to benefit the people of both occupations. He said:

The people who are doing hotel business would benefit from tourism but for farmers like us we benefit more from farming. It is necessary that if we have to benefit from tourism, we should do both to fulfil each others need.

Agriculture and pastoralism still remain as the main occupation of the majority of people. However, one key informant believes that " until now people have no choice as farming remains the only option for the people of this region. People will not remain as farmer and pastoralist, if they get other opportunities". A teacher believes that tourism would be good for the people of this area. He said:

Considering the geographical environment of this region, tourism would be beneficial to the people for economic benefit as well as employment. For most of the people food requirements have to be met from outside the region because local farm products cannot fulfil the demand. Let's take the example of the Khumbu area. People of that region were also once based on subsistence agriculture and pastoralism, but now they are rich economically and forward in terms of development due to tourism development.

6.3.2 Benefits and costs in the Nar-Phu region

Unlike the Nyishang region, the Nar-Phu region is not a tourist area. Most of the Nar-Phu interviewees mentioned the economic benefits of tourism. One of the interviewees from the Nar-Phu region believes that "people can learn new ideas from tourists and it is economically beneficial to the country and the people of this area". However, the costs of tourism development were not mentioned. Most of the interviewees believe that tourism will have no disadvantage for their region if it were opened up for tourism (see Table 6 in Page 122).

A woman interviewee expected that tourism development would bring infrastructure development. She said that "if tourists come to our village, the [government] needs to provide hospitals, drinking water and trails for tourists which will be beneficial for us as well". However, some are suspicious that tourists would take valuable goods from their area.

Table 6. Future impacts of tourism development (n=43)

Impacts	NS n=10	NP n=3	GO n=3	Total n=16
Economic Benefits: -employment and economic opportunities Costs:	- 10	- 3	- 3	- 16
Social Benefits: -learn new thing and ideas and language from tourist -villager and children will be aware about education, health, sanitation Costs: -loss of local artifacts	- 1 -	1 - -	- - 1	1 1 1
Environmental Benefits: Cost: -deforestation	- 5	- -	- 1	- 6

Nyishang=NS, Nar-Phu=NP, Government Officials=GO

No disadvantages:10   Not sure what will happen:5   Do not know:12

Although poor infrastructures and resources are the major limiting factors for tourism development, most of the people of Nar-Phu, who are based on subsistence agropastoralism, foresee tourism to be developed in their area. However, some Nar-Phu interviewees are sceptical that tourism would benefit the majority of people. One man comments:

> For Philing (tourist) business, we need to talk their language. It is not like Khachad (donkey) carrying goods. As humans we need to speak. People who can understand and speak philing language, who have got money, they can do the philing business and they can benefit from it. For people who are illiterate, who do not have money then pastoralism is beneficial. We have been doing animal husbandry from our ancestors time and we have to do this to live. The main problem is that if these animals are killed we will have nothing left. We sell sheep, yak, chauri to earn some money and buy other food. Farming is not beneficial because the yield is unpredictable due to the scarcity of water, and early snowfall. Even so, we do farming to produce a few grasses to feed our animals in the winter season. We do agriculture and pastoralism just for a living. If philing comes and eats meat, karu (naked barley) we can also gain a few Rupees. We cannot do big business like in the city. If philing comes it will benefit the people who can walk up and down and bring the foods for philing.

Despite the perception of some negative aspects, the interviewees of both Nyishang and Nar-Phu consider the overall impact of tourism to be beneficial. Although most of the interviewees consider that tourism benefits accrue to a minority of the population, they also believe that tourism development will contribute to increase the opportunity for employment and income generation. Nevertheless, there are a number of issues that are perceived as impacts of tourism. Pearce (1994) notes that whether an impact is real or perceived, if the residents believe that it exists then it will alter their behaviour irrespective of the accuracy of the perceptions. Therefore, it is important that perceived negative impacts should be mitigated first through community information and tourism education. After the identification of benefits and costs of tourism development, the opportunities for local income generation and distribution are also explored.

6.3.3 Local income generation through tourism and distribution

In tourism development, one of the issues is who benefits and who loses. As tourism development unequally distributes income amongst the receiving communities, many writers have argued that tourism mostly benefits the people who are already well off, while the poor are left behind as always (Crick, 1989; Belk, 1992). Despite these critiques, I discussed the income distribution opportunities with the interviewees. A key informant of the Braga village said that the majority of people are poor and are involved with farming. He believes that the economic benefits of tourism can be distributed to the local poor through encouraging the production of foods and crafts locally.

> *If we really want to raise the level of income and provide opportunity to the local poor, they should be taught to grow what the tourist consumes, so that locally produced goods can be sold to lodge and hotels but the poor irrigation system is the main difficulty at the moment.*

He also said that

> *local shoes, mask carving and local crafts can be produced and can be sold to tourists. To provide equal opportunity for the poor, hotels should be constructed at the place from which scenery of mountains can be seen and they should be employed. I see three benefits from these. Economic and employment opportunity for the local people, less money will go out of the village, and people will stay in the village.*

An informant of Braga said that "when tourists come to our village, we should not ask them for money, instead we have to think at how we can make them happy and take benefits from them". The Braga community owns a tourist campsite on which ACAP is helping to construct a toilet.

According to the key informant, the money raised from the campsite will be used to establish a museum within the Braga Ghompa. He said that the museum will be opened for tourists and will charge 100 Rs per head as an entry fee and the money generated will be used for community development works. However, he said that there is no cooperation in the village. For example, "some [people] have argued that the establishment of a museum may cause theft of antiques from the Ghompa". He also argues that they have a community fund in every village but some of the elites are taking benefit from that community fund. He comments "the interest from the fund should be provided to the people. We need effective leadership to bring coordination among villagers".

A key informant from the Manang village, a hotel owner, said that "it is difficult to satisfy everybody but we are giving some money to the community as we are benefiting from tourism. That money is used for community work". However, he stressed the point that alternative options for income generation are also required. He said:

> *There are two ways that people can benefit from this area. First if Manang is developed as a tourist centre it will be beneficial for the people of this area. Second, we have different medicinal plants such as Yartsagumbu and Panch Aunle in the highlands. If research is conducted to farm such medicinal plants, it will be beneficial for the people of this area.*

A key informant farmer of Manang village on the other hand believes that tourism development alone will not benefit the people of this area because

> *...tourists spend money in hotels. Hoteliers sell fuel wood, food and vegetables, how could other people benefit from [tourism] ? The other people sell only Raksi (locally brewed alcohol) to the porters. They benefit very little. Most of the porters come from other villages. The village looks better now but the poor people are the same as before. If tourists were not allowed to come here the hotelier would not be rich.*

He believes that "poor people will benefit if one fair price government shop is opened" in the village. He also asserts the view that the "government shop should bring foods for people not for tourists and for the tourist, hoteliers to bring what they need".
He further comments:

There are about 400 households in the village and only 15 households are involved in the tourist business. If the government provides good irrigation facility all the people will benefit from it.

In terms of the question "where do you think that revenue generated from tourism should go?", most of the interviewees answered that it should go to village development. Some believe that the government is spending this money already on village development such as bridge and trail construction and building hospitals and schools. Some said that "actually the government should send the tourist money directly to the community fund believing that the government has not used that money for village development. He commented that "tourists come to see our village and collect plants from our place so the money should be given to our village".

6.3.4 Summary of benefits and costs

Generally, most of the interviewees of Nyishang acknowledge the positive impacts of tourism such as economic benefits and employment generation and they support further tourism development in their area. The economic benefit of tourism is acknowledged by most of the interviewees. Potential costs of tourism development were identified by only a few interviewees, particularly some key informants and a hotelier from the Nyishang region. The benefits identified were cash income and employment generation, provision of health services, agricultural production stimulation, and a rise in the standard of living. The major costs identified were deforestation, predation of livestock, a rise in the price of goods, the effect on costumes and tradition, litter and effluent, and illegal collection of medicinal herbs and wildlife. Some of these problems (eg. livestock predation, illegal collection of medicinal herbs and wildlife, litter and effluent) existed before tourism started in the region. Yet some of the interviewees still saw these as problems of tourism. However, the interviewees believe that tourism has no negative impact on agriculture, with the exception that in the tourist season it raises the wages of porters. The likelihood of more pronounced impacts often reported in the literature such as drugs, prostitution, and gambling, were not found in the area. Despite the perceived cost of tourism development, opportunities clearly exist for local income generation. The vexing question of income distribution is more difficult to solve, and will need to rely on other distributive mechanisms rather than altruism alone.

After weighing the benefits and costs of tourism and its economic, social, and environmental contribution, a few of the interviewees would choose to remain as an agricultural based

community yet still not oppose tourism development. For many others, developing tourism in their area will be pursued. For this to occur, the next step is to carry out an inventory of the community resources to see if the area has ingredients that will make tourism successful. These include responsibility and requirements for tourism planning and development opportunities for the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions. These needs and opportunities as identified by the interviewees are presented in the remainder of this chapter.

6.4 TOURISM PLANNING NEEDS

Most of the interviewees were unfamiliar with the concept of planning, therefore they did not respond to the question of who they thought should be in charge of overseeing planning for tourism. The general answer "we are illiterate people, we do not know anything about it" was widespread among interviewees. A few interviewees such as key informants and some hoteliers had answered that tourism needs to be planned and it is the responsibility of the Government and ACAP. The current information provision is said to be inadequate and seen as a responsibility of the government and ACAP. However, at the local level the need for a tourism management committee to manage local tourism is reported by some interviewees. Two major needs are identified for tourism planning, development, and management. These are:

1. Education and training (Hotel management -language, food, hygiene, and sanitation- toilet construction, litter and effluent) for hoteliers and local people, and

2. Formation of a local tourism management committee for community involvement. These ideas are elaborated in the following sections.

6.4.1 Training, education and information provision

A chief district officer believes that in order to involve local people in tourism development and management, first tourism education is necessary. Furthermore, local residents should be provided with the opportunity to be involved in tourism planning, development and management. He stressed that the advantages and disadvantages of tourism should be highlighted in tourism education. Many interviewees involved in the hotel business asked for hotel management training. This includes language training and cooking, while others not involved in the hotel business were also highly interested in being involved in the tourism business if the circumstances are appropriate. They were also interested in participating in hotel management training. An Assistant Agriculture Officer believed that currently sanitation awareness is of

major importance to both hoteliers and villagers. He said that most of the villagers are economically capable of constructing their own toilet but, due to the lack of sanitation awareness, people are ignoring the litter and effluent problems. Similarly, the people who I interviewed in the Nar-Phu region were also interested to be involved in tourism if hotel management (language and cooking) training, and guide training were provided.

Training appears essential, particularly for the people of the Nar-Phu region, before allowing tourists to visit these areas, to enable them to be able to handle tourist money and demands. Furthermore, education about tourists (why tourists visit their area, where they visit, what do they do, where do they come from, and what is tourism and its impacts) is also essential. Most of the people of Nar-Phu are illiterate, therefore a suitable education medium should be used. Most of the interviewees said that they could understand things which were visual and practical. Therefore, this should be considered in their training and education. Most of the interviewees think that training should be immediately provided by the government and ACAP.

6.4.2 Formation of a tourism management committee

Most of the interviewees were ignorant about public participation and its importance in planning. Only a few interviewees such as key informants, teachers and hoteliers have realised the need for a separate tourism management committee to manage tourism in their area, and to involve local people. Once raised as a mechanism, most interviewees generally believed that both locals and hoteliers should be represented in the tourism management committee. A key informant, an hotelier, indicated that a separate committee is required to manage tourism development. He said that effective leadership and management rules and regulations should also be prepared. Similarly, another key informant, a farmer, said that a management committee is required to oversee all activities, like controlling the price of food and accommodation, to persuade hoteliers about tourists and their needs, and to provide security to tourists and their goods. The key informant, a farmer, also said that all the villagers should be consulted to select members for the management committee in which both hoteliers and locals should be represented. However, many hoteliers believe that people are not capable of participating in tourism planning, therefore they require education about tourism before being involved. One of the hoteliers said:

...people do not know about tourists. They will know these things slowly. We also need to make them understand about tourists. We will ask them what are the advantages and disadvantages of tourism. If they don't understand we will tell them the benefits of tourism. They need to be asked what they sell to tourists and from which product they are benefiting. We are also understanding it (tourism) very slowly. They should be first educated about tourism if they are to be involved in tourism planning. To form a tourism management committee, we need to select educated individuals and elders who know about tourists. They need to look for the opportunity to attract tourists to our village.

A key informant, a hotelier, however, believes that involving local people would be much more difficult because

...not all people are benefiting from tourism. Those people who benefit are happy. Yet on the other hand it is certain that those who do not benefit from tourism are not happy. So it is not easy to make all people participate in planning. At the moment hoteliers are the ones who know the most about tourism and they are benefiting from it. They know how to improve the situation compared to other people.

This data suggests that the interviewees of Nyishang particularly, hoteliers, seem to have a vested interest in increasing tourist numbers in the area and are highly proactive towards tourism development. They want more benefits for themselves and they do not seem to realise the importance of widespread and representative involvement in the tourism planning process. Nevertheless, a balanced input from both local residents and the industry sector is required for successful tourism planning and its implementation.

In terms of the Nar-Phu region, one of the young interviewees of Phu village also believes that widespread public involvement in planning is difficult because most of the people are illiterate. However, to form a management committee he said that a meeting should be called by the VDC chairman to understand peoples' views and where young people and elders need to be represented. Another interviewee of the Nar village said that the members of the committee should be selected from each clan so that every clan has representation on the management committee. A teacher of the Nar village said that direct conversation and public meetings are suitable means for getting information and their participation.

The local initiative to form a Lodge Management Committee (LMC) is encouraging. For example, in the Nyishang region, particularly in Manang village, a LMC exists but their work

is limited to fixing the price of food and accommodation only. Furthermore, this lodge management committee has neither incorporated all hoteliers nor the local residents.

In 1988, ACAP and the Hotel Management and Tourism Training Centre (HMTTC) had conducted lodge owner training in the Nyishang area. Since the training was provided, a number of Lodge LMC have been formed in various villages but most of them are not active now. In Manang village, an LMC exits but it has not been able to incorporate all the lodge owners into the committee. The LMC seems to be dominated by the rich hotel owners. Only the people having big hotels and good business are involved in the committee but not the general public. The LMC also levy more than 1000 Rs for each hotel involved in the committee per year. The major reason for the lack of involvement of other hoteliers is financial rather than one of exclusion. One woman hotelier reported that it is their intention not to be involved in the committee. The interviewee commented:

> *People who have good businesses are on the management committee. Tourists are very few due to the increase in the numbers of hotels. We do not have enough money and working people to compete with other hotels. Now there are many big hotels. We do not get many tourists. Only those who stayed here before come and stay here. Some of them come with our address. They are sent by their friends.*

Although the interviewee did not mention the reason for the lack of success of her hotel business, my research assistant later said that "before she had a good business, but later her husband died. Now she does not have any help with her business". Another interviewee not involved in the committee commented:

> *We can't pay 1000-5000 Rs per year to the committee. The money raised from the hotels is used for a big picnic.*

Although the LMC's work is limited to fixing the price of food and accommodation and distributing a printed menu among the LMC members, irregularities still exist between the lodges. The lodge owners professed by holding the Dhoma (a Buddhist holy book) that they will provide food and accommodation at the price fixed by the LMC but some have provided food and accommodation below it to attract tourists to their lodges.

Generally, the interviewee involved in the hotel business believed that the villagers were illiterate and that they could not make any contribution to tourism planning and management. On the

other hand, one interviewee commented that local people should be represented to stop the monopoly of the hoteliers, for example by controlling the price of food and accommodation for tourists. These data show that the business community (hoteliers) may initially be an unwilling partner in full participation, unless the benefit can be demonstrated to them (Simmons, 1989). In addition, the business community has not realised the importance of local hospitality, welcoming smiles, and friendliness of people, the community tourism product that is so important for tourism, and their participation in the tourism planning.

6.4.3 Major constraints to the issues of community involvement

Lack of community coherence is one of the constraints in bringing about local people's participation in the community development programmes. In the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions, the majority of people are illiterate. Some key informants and government officials believe that illiteracy is the major barrier for the lack of involvement of the local residents in the community development programmes. One key informant, an hotelier, comments:

> *...people do not understand community work. They do not think that it is our work... it is difficult to work in this situation. ...people who are educated and have understanding have left the village. Only illiterate people are staying here. They do not have any idea how to make things good. It is ACAP and the government's responsibility to educate them about the ways and ideas.*

Another key informant, also an hotelier, comments:

> *If people are called to a meeting, they do not listen to other people and only make a noise. They blame the leaders that they are taking benefit from the government fund. It provokes the leaders and they do not work efficiently in the village development works. People look for money and they are not interested in community work, or puja (religious ceremonies). Money is a main problem here, that is why people do not work. For example, ACAP should not talk about money at the beginning. They should have told people at the beginning that we will provide rubbish bins and it is your responsibility to clean your area. If it was made clear at the beginning, this problem would not have occurred.*

Nowadays, it is quite difficult to involve people in the community development programmes in the Manang District. The main reasons identified are high government subsidies (which is argued as one of the factors limiting local initiatives), permanent migration of rich and young people outside the district (Gurung and Nepal, 1994), and increasing individualism among the residents. A key informant said that in the past people had a good spirit towards community

works. There was not any help from the government for village development. People have constructed and maintained irrigation canals on their own initiatives, but after the establishment of government offices in Chame, the villagers are said to be more dependent on government funds. He said that nowadays it takes 20 days to complete what should only be one day's work. Although the informant acknowledges the government help, he said that it has made people very dependent on government money. For example, an interviewee (Vice Chairman of Khangsar VDC) comments:

> ...about twentyfive years ago we did not get any fund from the government. People have participated in the construction of bridges and irrigation canals. People were able to go outside the village and have felt the need for government political bodies for village development. Now the government provides funds, so people feel that they do not have to do anything and the government is doing everything for them. Now everybody looks for money. Our village is developing now but people do not feel responsible for the village development and they say that people who are in the Development Committee should do the development work.

A similar participation problem was observed in the Phu village during the research period. Early in the morning the village crier chanted in a loud voice "hey villagers you all are called for a day's labour to renovate the water reservoir for drinking water". As midday passed, nobody had turned up to the site. The drinking tap was provided by the government. According to local informants, it has been several months since the reservoir was damaged by flash floods. People of the Phu village were found to use the stream nearby where the water source is located. It was also observed that the condition of the water reservoir was quite bad and unhygienic as well. Cloth, shoes, rags and human waste were found to be disposed of haphazardly in the stream.

Finally, the dilution of authority and responsibilities of traditional institution and its replacement by government political bodies is also identified as one of the reasons for constraining people's participation. The traditional local governing institution, the *Dhawa Sherpa* and its functions, the dilution of Dhawa Sherpas' authority and its replacement by the government formed political institution, the VDC, were discussed earlier in Chapter Five, Section 5.1.1). Many interviewees still prefer the *Dhawa Sherpa* over the VDC for local resource management. They also believe that after the dilution of *Dhawa Sherpa's* authority, traditional practices of forest management and some traditional customs are disappearing slowly. For example, a key informant said:

In some aspects Dhawa sherpa is good and in some aspects VDC is also good.

In what ways ?

For example in maintaining traditional customs and rituals, Dhawa Sherpa was good and for village development VDC is good, but now after leaving the Dhawa Sherpa tradition, the traditional customs and the rituals are disappearing slowly.

What do you think about this issue ?

In my opinion, if it is possible the Dhawa Sherpa tradition should be practised to maintain our traditional customs and rituals. However, we need to move ahead with the demands of time. We cannot stay like we were before. We need changes in our village. Therefore the VDC looks after the development aspect of the village. We have talked with the local youth about it. The young people should see the development aspects and the elders should maintain the tradition.

Similarly another interviewee said:

For the local ritithiti (tradition) and forest management we prefer Dhawa Sherpa and for local development works VDC is good.

In much of the literature, the tourist has been castigated for modification and commercialisation of costumes and tradition, because they are so visible and easily distinguished from the local people. However, in the case of the Manang District tourism, tourists may be one reason for such changes but there are other bigger political and economic forces that have brought many changes to the district. For example, the people of the Manang District have been involved in international trade for more than two decades and their increasing economic standard would have affected their dress and eating habits. Secondly, changes in the local organisational structure and consequent dilution of the authority of traditional governing institutions is also one reason for the loss of traditional customs and rituals. Furthermore, the permanent migration of people is also said to be one reason for the loss of rituals. Therefore, in future the traditional institutions need to be restrengthened through the empowerment and delegation of authority, if such traditions and rituals are to be maintained.

6.4.4 Summary of tourism planning needs

The major responsibility for tourism planning, information provision, training, education, and development are seen as the responsibility of the government and ACAP because the local community currently has a poor knowledge base regarding tourism and its development.

However, some of the interviewees have seen tourism management and development as the responsibility of the local community and they are also interested to take part in it. Interviewees have also seen the requirement for separate tourism management committees for the management of local tourism where both hoteliers and local people should be represented. The dilution of authority by traditional local institutions -Dhawa Sherpa- is seen as one of the major constraints against securing people's participation in local development, and as one reason for the loss of traditional rituals. Restrengthening their traditional institutions has implications for future participation programmes as well as strengthening cultural pride and its maintenance.

For tourism development, interviewees have identified the following opportunities for the tourism product development which they believe will increase the duration of tourists' stay in their area.

6.5 DEVELOPING THE COMMUNITY TOURISM PRODUCT

In much of tourism planning, community input is often ignored. Local knowledge and skills are overlooked and are not acknowledged. However, this research has revealed that the local residents of the two case study destination areas have a considerable amount of knowledge of their area concerning tourism development. This local knowledge could be tapped only through appropriate measures, which this PRA method has proved. The major opportunities identified are the development of new tourist attractions and the promotion and marketing of these attractions.

6.5.1 Tourism product development opportunities in the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions
Tourists generally stay only one to two days in Manang, to acclimatise to the high altitude before crossing the Thorung La pass. Most of the interviewees wish to increase the duration of tourists' stay in their village, and to take opportunity to be involved in the tourism business. They also believe that increasing the duration of stay will increase tourists' spending and consequently it will benefit the people through cash income and employment generation and help to stabilise the migration of their people to other areas.

6.5.1.1 In the Nyishang region
To identify interviewees' knowledge about 'tourism products', potential options for future tourism development (product development) are also discussed. Data generated from the key informants

and individual interviews show that local residents of the tourist destination have a reasonable amount of knowledge regarding their locale and opportunities for future tourism development. One of the key informants, a farmer from Tenki Manang village, suggests:

> *We have to think how we can make [tourists] stay longer in our village. We have to make programmes to make tourist stay here for one week. These days, tourist only stays for one or two days because we do not have any other place to see around. If tourist stays for one week, they will spend more money in our village. We have big lakes above the village. If facilities are provided they could stay one night in that place and on the next day return to Manang village. The villager can rent a horse. On the next day the trip could be made to the Braga Ghompa. From this hotelier, horse owner and people carrying tourist goods will benefit. The programme could easily be made but people like us cannot do this alone. All villagers need to help in this development if they understand the benefit. Money is also required for the construction of trails. These programmes should be written and advertised through agents in Kathmandu.*

In addition, several interviewees of the Nyishang region have identified a number of potential tourist sites to be developed for short walks and day trips. These are: Chapkyang (Manang Lake), Kraser (Braga Lake), Braga Ghompa, Nyeshangkorte Ghomba (also called Shyakung), Bhojo Ghompa, Bhraghya Ghompa, Chongar Ban (forest), Tilicho Lake, Gangapurna Basecamp (Glacier dome basecamp), Annapurna I,II,and III Basecamps, other lakes such as Ghachu, Tupchepu and blue sheep watching. A key informant (hotelier) said that if these places are developed, Manang village could be developed as a tourist centre. To do this, ACAP and the government should develop these areas and villagers can participate to maintain and construct trails and establish the routes. The interviewees particularly suggested to improve the condition of the trail to the Tilicho Lake which is said to be difficult and dangerous for the tourists.

According to the interviewees, these places (sites) are currently not used by tourists, either because of difficult access or because of poor publicity. They believe that if these places were developed as tourist sites, tourists would stay longer than usual and the local community could benefit through the employment generation and direct spending of tourists. They also said that local people could rent their ponies and could work as porters and guides for tourists to go to these places. However, they also suggest that all the places developed for tourists should be advertised or written beforehand in the tourist guide book, so that tourists would know about the places of interest. A key informant who had been involved in the hotel business for a long time, said:

The first thing is publicity of our place. Tourists need to know what things they can see and experience here in Manang. Secondly, we need to create such an environment that can attract tourists to come here. We need to conserve our environment and the culture of Manang and we need to provide good facilities. But to provide facilities requires lots of money. We cannot afford to do this. Due to poverty people can neither conserve the environment nor the culture.

Similarly, other key informants said "villagers need to know why tourists come here, if they want tourists to come". Another key informant who had worked in Thailand for more than ten years, now involved in the hotel business, said:

We have a traditional mask dance. We can show it to the tourists so that tourist may stay longer and local people can benefit from them. The other thing is that we have to think how people can be encouraged to stay here in the village and how they can benefit. One way to do this is by maintaining traditional rituals and customs. At least in the tourist season local people can be motivated to wear local traditional dress. The locals should also be made aware that they are benefiting from tourism. To maintain traditional dress a committee should be formed from Khangsar, Manang, and Braga or the Thojoom [a traditional local institution] can be given this responsibility. Tourists normally stay one or two days but we want them to stay a week or longer.

Some interviewees (government officials) see the potential of ski development in the Nar area, which requires foreign investment. Other interviewees see the development of transportation as a main factor of the tourism promotion. One of the key informants, a hotelier, believes that because of the location of Manang along the long trek circuit and its lack of a transportation facility, rich tourists do not come to this area. He said:

Our place is on a long trek circuit. It takes normally 14-20 days to complete the Annapurna circuit trek. So Japanese tourist do not come to our area. Like in Ghandruk and other areas lots of Chinese and Japanese tourists visit there because of short trek and transportation facility. We neither have standard hotels nor have transportation facility so only Jhole tourists (Backpackers) come to this area. The organised groups are not beneficial to us.

He also said that " we have a small airstrip at Humde, but it is only linked up to Pokhara". He believes that if the service is extended to Kathmandu, it may facilitate tourism in the area.

6.5.1.2 In the Nar-Phu region

Although the Nar-Phu area is still restricted to foreign visitors, it is one of the potential areas for future tourism development. The government may open this area to foreign visitors in the near future. However, this region lacks basic infrastructure requirements for tourists such as good access and accommodation. The researcher discussed the requirements for future tourism development with Nar-Phu interviewees. One interviewee said that "our village is too dirty so tourists may not like to come here". Therefore the "first thing for tourists is the development of hotels which should provide good toilets and facilities". Access to this area is one of the most difficult and dangerous in the district. There are two routes to this region, one from Kyupar below Chame, the headquarters of the Manang District, and the other one from the Ngawal village above the Humde air strip (see Chapter Five, Figure 10). Interviewees have identified some necessary infrastructure requirements. According to the interviewees, if tourists are allowed in this area, trails should be maintained and hotels should be constructed on the route and in the village first. One interviewee said that the government should open the route to Tibet which is near to the Nar-Phu area. They believe that it would benefit the residents of the Nar-Phu region. Firstly, they could get essential commodities from Tibet at a cheaper price, secondly, tourists could also use this route to go to Tibet. Other interviewees said that basic infrastructure needs should be first met before allowing tourists to visit their area. He said:

> *The problems like bad trail conditions, firewood, drinking water and irrigation problem should be first solved before opening it for the tourists. If the first tourists are made happy then other tourist will also come to visit our place.*

Data generated from key informants and individual interviews show that most of the interviewees have a reasonable amount of knowledge concerning the tourism product and future opportunities for tourism development. The interviewees of Nyishang are more concerned about developing new sites, their promotion and development and extension of transportation facilities. The interviewees of Nar-Phu are, however, more concerned with the establishment of basic infrastructures for tourists such as good access, hotels and clean toilet facilities.

According to the interviewees, both the government and ACAP should take the initiatives for tourism development in their area, for example construction and maintenance of trails to new tourist sites. One hotelier said that they will also participate in such developments. They also

believe that the facilities developed should be under local ownership. In particular hotels should be under individual ownership, specifically by the people of Manang District.

6.5.2 Ownership - local (individual, community) or outsider

Most of the interviewees strongly favoured the local ownership of tourism businesses. Interviewees, particularly those from the Nyishang region, have a strong sense of unity that they would not allow any outsider to establish hotels and businesses in their area. The main reason is fear that outsiders would take benefits from their area and the locals would not benefit much. For example, some interviewees said that "if outsiders are allowed to, they will take benefits from tourists and the money will go out of our hands". Another interviewee commented that "if outsiders are allowed to do business in our area, they should pay tax to our village".

Similar views were expressed by the interviewees of the Nar-Phu region, however, they believed that local people neither have enough skill nor money to open hotels on their own. Another interviewee from the Nar-Phu region also preferred the local ownership of tourism businesses, but he said that they also have to go to other areas for work. This statement ascertains that Nar-Phu people, who are dependent on trading outside of their village, fear that other villages may not allow them to do their business outside their own village.

Although most of the interviewees share the common view that the tourism business of their area should be in local control and ownership, many of them preferred individual ownership rather than community ownership. For example, a key informant involved in the hotel business comments:

> *The community lodge and hotel will not work in this place. Actually, it benefits the whole community but people will not work fairly on this sort of thing.*

He believes that the community property is similar to the tale of "common farm and common horse". That is *"phemo shingla rhamba Ke, phemo thala dalwa po"* in the Manange dialect. It means that in the common field, lots of weeds grow, and the common horse will have lots of sores on its back. Everyone wants to maximise benefit from common property but nobody takes care of it. It follows the similar story of the term "externalities" in common property and the "tragedy of commons", as told by Garret Hardin (1968).

The key informant, however, believes that a community hotel and business may work where there is no established business such as the Tilicho Lake area. He says tourism is a competitive business and in a place like Manang village, the community lodge cannot compete with other lodges. He suggests that for a community business to be established and succeed, it needs to be different from other businesses. For example, he said that in the case of Manang, a community shop could be established to sell local crafts, such as carpet, docha (Tibetan shoes) and other local products. To produce such materials, people could be trained. He expects that ACAP would organise such training programmes for the local people.

Like the interviewees of Nyishang, Nar-Phu interviewees also believe that establishing community hotels is good for the whole community, but they also believe that people may not work effectively and fairly. One interviewee said that

> *It is difficult to get community work done because people do not feel it is their responsibility, see drinking water for example, is very unhygienic, because of contamination of human waste and garbage, and people are not aware of disease. When we called people to maintain and clean the drinking water, nobody turns up to maintain it.*

6.5.3 Opening of Nar-Phu for tourists.

Most of the interviewees believe that it is the government who has the authority and right to open and restrict any area for tourism. They are supportive of opening their area for tourism. For example, a woman interviewee said:

> *Before, our area was restricted by the sharkhar (government) to foreigners, I do not know for what reason. If the sharkhar wants to open this area now, it is alright by us and we don't have anything to say about it. I think it will benefit the people of this area like the people of Khumbu area.*

However, a key informant of the Manang village suggests that

> *...if tourists are allowed to visit a place like Nar-Phu, it should not be like upper Mustang. Local people should directly benefit from tourists. If organised groups come, local people cannot benefit, but people in the city will rather benefit from this type of tourist. People should not be treated like zoo animals that outsiders can bring a group of tourist and make them visit the village taking photographs. I heard that the government has told people that 60 per cent of the money from tourists will be given to that region but actually only a small amount of the money has reached the community. For Nar-Phu region the organised group should not be allowed to visit. Local people should be trained in hotel management and loans should be provided to them to open hotels.*

6.5.4 Number of tourists

The secondary data review shows that tourist numbers in the Manang the District had decreased between the year 1987/88 and 1991/92 although the general trend of tourist arrivals after the year 1989/90 was increasing (see Chapter Five, Figure 12). Many lodge owners with whom I have conversed casually along the trekking route to Manang also believe that tourist numbers are decreasing. According to the interviewees of the Nyishang region, the major reasons for the decrease in tourist numbers is the country's political instability (like riots, strikes (Nepal Bandha, Chakka Jam) and midterm elections) which were quite acute at that time. This has made Nepal an insecure place for tourist visits. Therefore, tourist safety is a major factor for tourism stability. Other reasons reported were increasing pollution and garbage problems in the main gateway city, Kathmandu; a high trekking permit fee in comparison with other countries; unregulated charges for taxis, porters and guides; and an increase in the number of new hotels. Some interviewees said that tourist numbers would have decreased due to the opening of new areas like Tibet, Upper Mustang and the Manaslu area. For example, the key informant of the Ghyaru village said:

> *...before most of the places were closed for the tourist but now the government has opened many places which may have caused a decline in tourist numbers. The other reason is maybe the political situation of our country which has made it quite unsecured for the tourist.*

Many interviewees of the Nyishang region wish to increase tourist numbers, while a few, particularly those not involved in the tourism business, were found to be unconcerned about tourist numbers, whether they increase or decrease. One interviewee said that "whatever happens, tourist are only for hoteliers". Similarly, another farmer from Nyishang said:

> *I think, tourists are good for hoteliers but it is not our concern. Neither we will be happy if more tourist comes nor we will regret if they do not come to this area. We do not care about it. However, it may be good for the villagers.*

A hotelier of the Nyishang region said, "we want tourists as much as possible, because we want to see more tourists in our hotels". Another hotelier said, "...this year we did not have many tourists but we are happy and it is good if lots of tourists come to the village". However, he believes that "tourists come to relax and for fun but they may not like to come if the political situation of the country is not good".

Similarly, the Nar-Phu region's interviewees were also highly interested in having tourists in their area but some of them said that small numbers of tourists would be nice for their region. For example, an interviewee of Nar-Phu said,

> *50-60 tourists would be nice. If many tourists come to our area, we cannot help them, we have to work hard. Personally, I prefer group tourists, because they may use our yak and horse for carrying their goods.*

Another interviewee said that "it would be good to have big numbers but I prefer a slow increase". He continued:

> *In my opinion everything gets spoiled if it is done in a hurry. Instead of increasing the number rapidly, it should be developed slowly ...so that both villager and tourist will be happy.*

He also said:

> *We want tourists for a longer time not for a short time. If our village is opened for tourists, people need different training. It may take two to three years to learn about tourists.*

A similar concern was expressed by one of the female interviewees of the Phu village. She said:

> *It is better if the tourist number is increased slowly. If the number is increased rapidly we don't know what will happen and what it will be like. There are about two hundred people in this village. If lots of tourists come to this village we cannot feed them and we cannot have food for us, and tourists also may think that this village is not good. One hundred to one hundred and fifty tourists will be good for this area. More than this will be difficult for the villagers. We will be busy harvesting crops from the end of September to mid October. If tourists come during this time it will be difficult for us. Last year when we were busy harvesting Karu (naked barley), a Japanese group came to climb Himlung Himal and there were more than 200 people including porters. If tourists come in a group they do not stay in home. It will not be beneficial if the group tourist comes here.*

However, the chief lama (monk) of the Phu village said "...we cannot say anything about it, it is the government's decision how many they send". He also said:

Tourists could visit our area in two seasons, one at the end of September after harvesting of crops and from early April onwards.

When asked why not in September, he replied:

People have a traditional belief that if people from outside the village come and if they climb or walk on the mountain during that time it causes the moon to rise and it affects the crops like Karu (naked Barley). It is their traditional belief but they may not say this if they benefit from it.

To further validate issues such as tourism development opportunities, and the need for planning and recognition of future negative impacts, a workshop was conducted. This was the final step in the PRA process where the data generated from the other three methods, namely secondary data review, key informants, individual interviews, and group interviews, were further ratified in an effort to reach consensus among workshop participants. As explained in the Chapter Four, (Section 4.2.4), fourteen participants participated in the workshop (see Appendix A).

6.5.5 Community workshop

The participants recognised the fact that tourism was a competitive business and that an important first step lay in developing local attractions. In the workshop, participants identified several major potential sites for future development. These options are mainly focused on the deployment of natural and social resources which are currently not used for tourism. They also recognised that promotion of such new sites is important for the attraction of tourists and to prolong their stay in the area. The major opportunities identified by the work participants are: development of historic and religious sites and several other scenic areas for short treks; provision of an information centre and museum; provision of a health service for tourists and locals. However, the major focus was on extending the tourists' stay in the village as well as in attracting more tourists. This suggests that at least at the perceptual level there is further space to absorb tourism growth.

1. Provision of information centre

Some participants see the need for a tourist information centre. One of the participants, a hotelier, said,

... I think ...one office needs to be established to provide information about short treks. The photographs of places like Bhraghya Ghompa, lake Ghacho, Kera gumba dorge, pasture lands, and animal sheds, could be displayed. The price for visiting these places should also be fixed, ...so that horse owners, porters guides and hoteliers can benefit from it.

Another participant, a farmer, added that if this is done, poor people can also have employment opportunities.

2. Provision of a museum

In the workshop some participants (hoteliers) were also interested in establishing a museum and exhibiting local lifestyles and history and different flora and fauna of the Manang district to attract more tourists to the area. He said:

..a house can be rented or a new house can be built for the museum, which can show the history of Manang. Highland domestic animal like sheep, yak, and chauris' skin can be filled with chaff and displayed in the museum. Different kinds of plants and animals and other typical things about Manang can also be displayed. If this is established it may draw tourists to this region.

3. Provision of a health facility

An hotelier of the Manang village said that a health facility for tourists is required year round, so that locals can stay and tourists can also visit this region any time even in the winter season. He said:

one of the problems for tourists in our place is medical facilities. The rescue doctors come only during the main tourist season. There are no doctors for the tourists in the winter season. If tourists get sick at that time they must fly to Kathmandu, otherwise their life may be at risk. Because of this reason only a few tourists come to Manang during other seasons. There will be lots of tourists to check their health and for medical advice when rescue doctors come here. We should have one doctor for all year, so both tourists and locals do not have to worry about their health.

4. Production of an information book about the district

A key informant, an hotelier from the Braga village suggested that "we all should meet again to discuss how these places can be developed. We need to talk in detail and write a book describing all these things. It needs to be published so that tourists can know all about our place".

The participants also discussed the major benefits and costs of tourism development and later focused on a discussion on ways to benefit more in the long-term. A participant, an hotelier of Manang village, said that "we are benefiting from tourism but the main thing is how can we benefit in the longer term ?". In response, the Agricultural Officer suggested that

...what you people should do is make tourists stay four to five days instead of one day. To do this the village should be clean and tidy. Take the example of Ngadi. If you walk in the Ngadi village, you won't see any paper, plastic and bottles. You have to fine those who do not dispose litter in the proper place like Ngadi people do. Nowadays Ngadi is a very clean place.

One of the old key informants, a farmer, commented that tourism has not benefitted poor and old people in the village. He said:

In my opinion, tourists come here, and it is good and the government wants tourists but poor people have seen many disadvantages.... I am saying that when tourists come to our village it is good for the hoteliers, but for old and poor people like us it is not good. Tourists have raised the price of foods. In the past we used to get buckwheat at ten Rs per pathi (3.7 Kg). Potatoes were given free of charge. Now the tourist has come and has raised the price. A bhari of firewood costs 100 Rs, a pathi of buckwheat costs 75 Rs and a tin (4 pathi) of potatoes costs 80 Rs. That is why I am saying that tourists are not beneficial for the poor and old people.

The Local Development Officer commented that "if the prices of these things are raised then who will benefit from it, the people of this village are getting this money not the outsider."

The old key informants commented again that "for the people who can do farming and for the hotelier [tourists] might be beneficial, but for people like us we cannot collect firewood ourselves. Nowadays our children do not stay in the home to help us". An hotelier commented on this issue. He said:

People think that the tourist has made things expensive. It is true that the price of some goods has increased due to the tourists and for tourists. Actually, the inflation of the price of goods is due to inflation in Kathmandu, ...so we have to increase the price. If the number of tourists increases we can bring rice from other place and local farmer should carry out the vegetable farming such as garlic, and other vegetables, so hoteliers can buy these things from local farmers.

He further stressed that:

Tourists have started to come here since 1980. Before that. tourists were allowed only for mountaineering. In 1981, trekking was also allowed by the government. It has been since about fourteen years ago that able people are rich by now. In terms of farming, people have not thought enough about how to benefit from it. If people have done the farming on their own they could have benefited more. People who use outsiders for field work cannot benefit from farming. It would be better to produce vegetables and sell it to other places. They could sell it in Pokhara and Kathmandu if appropriate money is charged for the transportation by plane".

Similarly, the Local Development Officer (LDO) has summarised the benefits and costs of tourism where he believes that local people have a greater role in maximising benefits and minimising the costs. He said:

For example you bring foods like porridge and RARA (instant noodle) from other parts of our country. Even though the foods are from other regions, the money goes to our country. But if you buy kerosene, the money goes to an Arab country. If we sell the goods imported from Calcutta, then the money goes to Calcutta. If we sell buckwheat breads to tourist the money will go to local people and they will benefit from it. If we have to sell the things to tourist then why not we sell our own products like buckwheat, karu, potato, so that we can benefit and the money will not go outside from the village. Therefore, we need to use the local products grown by our own farmers to benefit and to give the benefit to the farmers. We need to sell sweaters and craft which are made locally. By selling the sweaters produced in Ludhiyana, it will not benefit local people.

He further said that:

Tourism is the kind of business in which advantages and disadvantages come together. As the tourist enters the Manang District from Tal village, they benefit people in the form of money. They also leave litter and garbage on the way to Manang. Apart from that, they stay a few days in our village. They have their own dress and eating habits. When the tourist stays here, the villagers and their children see the tourist daily activities and feel that tourists' dress and foods are better then their own and they try to imitate it.

Moreover, when they arrive in the village it will raise firewood consumption, raise the price of goods, illegal collection of plants and animals by them or by their porters and guides. Similarly, our culture may deteriorate by imitating them. For example, our young children wear rings in the ear, different styles of pants, shoes and eat instant foods. These are the ways that local money goes out of our place. Of course if they eat RARA then the money goes to our country, but if they eat Yai Yai then the money goes to Thailand. Therefore, we need to be able to stop such behaviour that spoils our children. If the tourist praises local culture, we need to, and we should be able to maintain such things that makes them happy.

Another thing is that every year new hotels are built like I have just seen that one big building has been built in this village. They must have used lots of trees to build that building. For example there were 250 kitchens before, now there are 500 kitchens. If the firewood is destroyed what will we use in the future for cooking our food.

Our culture is also disappearing. One day when I was walking through the village I heard an English pop song from one of the houses. It shows that our Manange culture is slowly disappearing. We are forgetting not only our Manange mother tongue but also the National language and adopting the cultures of foreign countries which are across the sea. We always need to remain on the safe side. If our culture disappears it wont be easy to get it back. The tourism is a kind of business or the occupation of country and their people and there are disadvantages as much as advantages. Therefore, we need to manage it very carefully. To do this, we need to understand tourism's benefits as well as disadvantages. For example, we are in this room. If more people are allowed to come to this room it will create problem for all of us. Likewise if more tourists come in our area it will bring more problems. We cannot ask the government to stop it, because many people will be out of their job by tomorrow. You people have already experienced the problems, therefore we need to stay on the safe side if we want to get long term benefit from it.

One of the hoteliers raised the issue of the litter problem in the village. He said:

We all know that our village has a litter problem. The villager blames the hotelier but let's go and check the litter bins and see what type of litters are there. It is all household garbage like old clothes, boxes, old shoes but not the things used in the hotels.

The conservation officer added that the "main problem is that the villager blames the hotelier and the hotelier blames the villager... I think the villager may be unhappy with the hotelier". The hotelier answered that "they might be jealous with the benefits we are making". Another hotelier said that "now we need to arrange a meeting with all the villagers and sort out all these problems. They could be helped by hoteliers giving some money to the community fund".

In the presence of government officials like the District Agricultural Officer and Local Development Officer, the workshop participants pinpointed various local development problems and other issues which should be considered by concerned authorities. A number of participants commented that:

* People only talk too much, nobody works. The ban division (District Forest Division) has been established many years ago, but they have not done anything. Not a single tree planted by them has survived.

There are lots of other problems in the village. We do not have a proper drainage system in the village.

Our doctors are not good, they give tablets for every disease, sometimes we get date expired medicine. We do not have veterinary facility in the village.

If the government has a law on the forest and snow leopard, they should not let the thief out of custody just by depositing money. ...other people will also think that the government law is just money.

We have a drinking water problem. We have a drinking water office here, but we did not get any help from them, because the staff do not stay in the village.

During the discussion, the participants made a number of recommendations for impact management.

6.5.6 Recommended measures for tourism development impact mitigation.

The recommendations made by the key informants and other individual interviewees are also included here. The recommendations include a measure for the conservation of forest and wildlife, education and information about tourism, local income generation alternatives, tourism promotion and marketing, and finally hotel management and training. These are presented below.

1. Forest and firewood and wildlife conservation

In the Manang District, the forest degradation is a major problem and it is a major concern for most of the interviewees. The forest along the trekking route particularly between Pisang and Humde has been reduced much more than before. Tourism is partly blamed for this issue but there are other localised reasons as well. Participants of the workshop believe that some hired workers from outside the district do not care about the village and they sometimes vandalise things such as axing trees and wooden bridges. A key informant, a farmer, comments "...there are no strict rules for cutting trees. People send Gorkhali (workers from Gorkha district) to cut the trees and they cut the trees carelessly, ...because they are outsiders and are not concerned with our forest". The other participants also commented that people send outsiders to saw the timber and they cut the trees which are the easy and good ones. For example, they are sent to cut six trees but they cut more than that". Another interviewee commented that

every year the military training group kills different wild animals. Last year in 1992, the military killed many blue sheep in Letdar. The illegal collection of medicinal herb is still going on. Recently this year three illegal collectors were caught by local residents and handed over to the concerned district authority but they left without any action.

Another key informant, a farmer, commented that "some people come as tourist guides, and porters but they cut forests and collect medicinal plants. They recognise medicinal plants, steel tourist money and blame the villagers". Although plantation activities were carried out by the District forest office and ACAP, the survival rate is said to be minimal due to the climate as well as cattle grazing. He said that in the winter months the livestock has to be brought to the village when the pasture lands are covered with snow. To solve the existing deforestation and illegal hunting and collecting of medicinal plants, interviewees have suggested the following recommendations:

* Kerosene should be provided at a fair price so that everybody can use it.
* Complete restriction on the cutting of green trees.
* Restrict chopping trees along the trekking route.
* Additional electric power should be added to supplement cooking and heating.
* Provide low cost solar water heaters that people can use.
* Illegal hunting of wild birds, and animals and collection of medicinal herbs should be restricted.
* Vandalism such as axing trees and wooden bridges should be stopped.
* ACAP and hoteliers should raise a fund to plant trees.
* Plantations should also be encouraged to meet fuel wood needs.

2. Education about health, sanitation and tourism

A key informant said that the main thing is education for the people. They should be educated about the diseases caused by bad sanitary conditions like dysentery. Teach them about garbage and litter disposal. To put this knowledge in peoples' minds they need to be shown the problems and diseases created by litter and garbage. Plastic and paper are thrown everywhere, we have seen many cases of animal casualties due to plastic and paper. The animal eats plastic and paper and dies. These things need to be shown to the people. A key informant said that one of his chauri died in Letdar. Actually chauri were not brought to the village but Letdar is in the tourist route so the animals feed on those things when the grasses are scarce in the winter season.

* People should be made to realise the benefits they are getting from tourism.

* Conservation education should be targeted to both the visitors and residents.

* People should be educated practically about litter and effluent problems.

* A strict fine system should be implemented for those who do not dispose of litter and effluent properly.

3. Income generation opportunities and alternatives

A key informant, an hotelier, said that " in this situation, we cannot have benefits from agriculture. We have to bring most of the foods from other places". The participants have recommended the following:

* Research should be conducted on the farming of medicinal plants so that local people can benefit.

* Vegetable and fruit production should be encouraged for the benefit of local people.

* Provide loans to establish a traditional medicine shop.

* Farmers should think how they can produce more food and quality vegetables.

* Traditional local crafts shop could be opened on community ownership.

4. Tourism promotion and marketing

The workshop participants have also recommended the following for future tourism development and promotion.

* Traditional structures should be maintained by using original local materials.

* New potential sites for short treks should be developed.

* A booklet describing new potential sites which have religious value should be produced by the concerned authority.

* Alternative routes to Manang like from Pisang and Ngawal should be listed on the tourist map.

* Security of tourist life and goods should be considered, and effective communication and medical facilities should be provided.

* Tourist routes should be maintained, for example the route to Khangsar village and Tilicho lake.

5. Hotel management and training

Most of the hoteliers said that many tourists have commented on the price of food and accommodation. Therefore, they said that it should be fixed according to the quality of food and accommodation. Some lodge owners have suggested that hotel owners should be encouraged to sell local foods such as Dhindo and buck wheat bread to the tourists. Some have commented that there is no co-operation among hoteliers and they are not providing accurate information about other hotels in the village. They have recommended the following for hotel management.

* The price of foods and accommodation should be fixed according to the distance covered.
* Hotel owners should be encouraged to sell local foods such as Dhindo and Buckwheat breads.
* Hotels should provide standard food and accommodation and the prices should be fixed according to the standard.
* Date expired foods should not be allowed to be sold.
* Cooperation among lodge owners is needed to provide exact information about the village and other hotels.
* Hoteliers should provide good and hygienic foods.

A teacher from the Khangsar village believes that the solution to all these problems relies on co-operation between people involved in tourism, local people and the government. The main problems should be raised at a meeting and a consensus of opportunities should be formulated.

6.6. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Most of the interviewees of both the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions have supported further tourism development, to maximise the economic benefit or to be involved in the tourism business in the future. They are also aware of the benefits that tourism generates, both for income and employment. These benefits are seen as addressing challenges facing the Manang District. Only a few of the interviewees such as the key informants and the hoteliers have been able to identify the costs of tourism development. However, most of the interviewees have perceived that "deforestation" is a major problem in the research area. Surprisingly, some interviewees of Nyishang have perceived that the problem of livestock predation by the snow leopard is linked

with tourism development. Few have perceived that the costs of tourism development, such as the rise in the price of goods and porters, litter and effluent, are linked with tourism development. In addition, there are three major tensions between the villagers and the people involved in the tourism business which are born out of tourism development. First, the general comments that "tourism benefits hoteliers, the rich people only" are widespread among the interviewees who are not directly involved in the tourism business. Second, the exploitation of common resources and the deforestation problem is blamed on the hoteliers by the villagers. Third, the problem of litter and effluent is blamed on the hotelier and vice versa. Few were not in some way concerned with tourism. These hardened attitudes, as found in Nyishang, are a timely reminder that people will resist continued tourism development, if their concerns are not addressed adequately. The people involved in the tourism business, however, have not realised the importance of public input into planning and development. Despite the above identified costs, none of the interviewees have opposed tourism development. Most of the interviewees are interested to see tourism developed in their respective areas.

Although most of the interviewees' general knowledge concerning tourists and tourism is poor, most of the interviewees have identified the major tourism product of the district, motivations for tourist visitation, and future opportunities for tourism product development. This suggests that people will be competent to be involved in planning for tourism, but considerable efforts will be required to maintain and broaden their interest into the wider aspects of tourism development. In particular, attention must be given to general public education about tourism and to the provision of information and a variety of opportunities for residents' involvement in planning (Simmons, 1989:165). Many interviewees, not having a firm tourism planning knowledge base, believe that the Government and ACAP are responsible for the above identified tasks. However, opportunity exists for the formation of a tourism management committee which can play a vital role in performing the above duties by coordinating with the Government and ACAP. Interviewees have also recommended various measures for the minimisation of existing and future negative impacts, and maximisation of the benefit. These identified opportunities and recommended measures should lead future tourism developments in Manang District. These outcomes have been achieved by the application of an adapted Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technique. The evaluation of this participation process is presented in the following sections.

6.7.0 EVALUATION OF PRA AS PARTICIPATION MEASURES

Four major Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques, namely secondary data review; key informant and individual interviews; home visits and group interviews; and a community workshop were adapted and tested for their potential to achieve local residents' participation in tourism development and planning. Broadly, the techniques adapted represent a data filtering and focusing process where triangulation of various data sources represents a significant attempt to achieve internal validity. The data gathering process firstly focused on exploratory studies and then was channelled to the site-specific issues. These techniques are evaluated both as a tourism assessment and as a participation process on the basis of their capacity to satisfy the specified research goals. Unlike other conventional methodologies, the adapted PRA techniques applied in this case study have provided promising results, both as a tool for the assessment of tourism conditions and as a participation measure. Each PRA technique adopted and employed is discussed separately for evaluative purposes. The evaluations presented are the researchers' subjective evaluation based on researcher notes, because the research participants lack experience with any participation measures.

6.7.1 Secondary data review

Many field researchers overlook the importance of reviewing secondary data before entering the field, which has made many research efforts redundant or burdensome and naive in locals' eyes. However, the PRA approach suggests the review of secondary data before entering into the field to establish a research context. The review of secondary data before field research was beneficial in three ways. First, it saved time and resources and the possibility of research that would be redundant. Second, it provided general field information on people living in that area, their occupation, cultural, natural resources and geography which helped in gaining familiarity with the study area. Third, it also helped in formulating a general check list for the semi-structured interviews.

Besides this exploratory, contextual study, the following three major techniques are applied to validate data generated from each of the techniques. The evaluation criteria are determined on the basis of previous public participation evaluation models (eg. Vindasius, 1974; Priscoli, 1975; Sinclair, 1977 cited in Simmons, 1989:166). In this model, two new criteria were added: initiative for discussion; and inputs and empowerment process. These assisted in meeting the

evaluation need of the PRA approach. The summary of evaluation is presented in Figure 14, and each is discussed in the remainder of the chapter.

Figure 14. Criteria for the evaluation of participation techniques

Criteria		PRA techniques		
		Key Inf & Ind. Interview	Group Interview	Workshop
Participation	Type of communication	Two way	Two way	Two way
	Number	High	Low	Low
Representativeness of involvement		High	Medium	High
Efficiency	Cost	High	Low	Medium
	Time	High	Low	Medium
Educational element		Low	Medium	High
Initiative for discussion		Mostly planners	Mostly locals	Mostly Locals
Inputs and Empowerment Process	Locals	Medium	High	High
	Planners/Researchers	High	Medium	Low

6.7.2 Key informants and individual interviewing

Key informants and individual interviewing are classified as individual techniques, where participants contribute to planning in isolation without discussion with other individuals or groups. In an individual discussion, planners can initiate discussion with individuals who they anticipate will have an interest in an issue under investigation or expect to have information that is relevant to the study. The most common method of identifying individuals for discussion purposes are random sampling from known populations or snowball sampling from contact. However, any form of random sampling is time intensive, expensive and may not yield much information on the issue being investigated although it may provide a profile of attitudes which implies prior knowledge of the community and its structure. Therefore, snowball sampling was used for this case study which is more likely to be effective and to quickly identify the range of issues likely to be raised throughout the community, although it may not provide a representative reflection of community views. Key informants are identified first on the basis of their corresponding background and occupation, and other individuals are identified through

snowballing. The objectives of the key informants and other individuals' interviews were not only to identify the issues concerning tourism, but also to cross check the data generated from the review of secondary source, other (previous) interviews and validate them.

This technique has provided an opportunity to register interviewees' views and relevant aspects of their particular experience. Broadly, the technique has increased the amount and quality of information available to the research team. Of all the techniques applied in this case study, the key informant interview has provided the greatest amount of data regarding field conditions such as local customs, traditions and social and economic conditions as well as the current major challenges facing the village and issues of tourism development.

Similar to the key informant interviews, the wider individual interviewing is one of the simplest possible participation techniques and it has been an integral part of traditional planning. In this case study, it facilitated canvassing a large number of views, which usually does not come from other group techniques, as well as crosschecking them. For example, opinions of key informants and other individual interviewees were easily crosschecked with each other and validated. In general, high costs were associated with this method, partly because the researcher was not a resident of the study area and partly due to the interview scheduling, length and analysis which are also time-consuming. However, it has considerable educational value because it provided an opportunity for two-way communication between the planner/researcher and participants/ researched. It also provided opportunities for high representation among the community's various groups.

6.7.3 Group interviews and discussion

In this technique, small groups of five to six people are arranged to discuss tourism development problems with the study team. The venues are generally private homes or tea shops. Discussions are rarely formally structured. Firstly, the study team members introduce themselves, their study, and the role of discussion in the study is then explained. The study team have an opportunity to reflect on the data already gathered in key informant and individual interviews. The participants are then requested to explore and describe in detail the problems they experience in the present circumstances. Any opportunities for solving the identified problems are also investigated during this discussion.

Broadly, the group interviews and discussion is a data validating, interpreting and expanding step, where the study team has the opportunity to explore data already gathered from key informants and individual interviews. In this case study, the small group interviews and discussion had many advantages over other techniques. First, they had been easy to organise, and direct to particular objectives. Secondly, the generally comfortable environment of small and informal groups has matched cultural expectations and practice of participants. Such discussion had provided opportunity for all participants to contribute to the discussion process, notably those who would not comment or ask questions in a larger group or in more formal circumstances. The technique therefore has considerable potential to attract and involve those whose needs and interests would not be otherwise expressed. Thirdly, information gained on this occasion contributed to the data focusing and filtering process through mutual checking, because respondents are open to correction by fellow participants. For example, community level information such as community resource management practices, local institutions, the number of households in the village, community problems, and available services were easily generated. In this research, the problem ranking exercise has provided a significant amount of information on existing problems and impacts in terms of tourism development. Although the group interview has not provided the same depth of information as gathered from key informant and individual interviews, information collected was more accurate than that gathered during individual interviews because it has helped to reduce individual inhibitions, thereby providing information that otherwise may not have been revealed. Group interviews are found to be one of the most cost effective and time efficient techniques within the adapted techniques of PRA. The technique had low representation but a high degree of educational elements compared with the earlier individual interviews, because it has provided an opportunity for participants to share information with each other.

6.7.4 Community workshop

The workshop is another technique of PRA in which selected individuals -those who were previously engaged in the interviews or from the community- contribute directly to the process of study or planning. They can be set up at various stages to perform various tasks, from the initial analysis of study design to the layout or to suggest ameliorative measures that may be required to implement plans for a new facility (Sarkission and Perlgut, 1986). In this study, the workshop was conducted both as a participation technique and as a follow-up research step to measure the salience of data generated from other techniques. The participants discussed the

major challenges facing the region and the issues that are related to tourism development. They were also asked to see if there are any ameliorative measures to solve existing problems and to suggest future tourism development opportunities. Although much of the discussion was dominated by key informants and hoteliers, other participants also took part in the discussion. Only a few participants talked about opportunities to solve tourism problems and institutional development. One major problem which occurred in the workshop was that the discussions tended to drift towards interesting but irrelevant topics. Secondly, although equal opportunity was provided to all participants, a person with lower status, in terms of wealth and popularity, was generally reluctant to talk in the presence of their perceived superiors, especially those who held political posts. Balanced and careful leadership of such workshops is a necessary prerequisite for facilitators, therefore.

Overall, the community workshop was also found to be a satisfactory participation mechanism in that it encouraged participants to be systematically involved in the discussion process. However, it should be combined with other techniques as applied in this case study. It also consists of higher degrees of educational elements, which provided opportunity for two-way communication between the planner and the people concerned. It has, however, lower representation in comparison to other techniques applied in this research. Simmons (1989) believes that meaningful participation will be based on two features: The first is residents' knowledge base, the second is residents' perceptions of how their input (time and energy) will be influential in shaping decisions. This case study has revealed that most of the interviewees barely have an adequate knowledge concerning tourists, tourism and its development. There are two reasons for this. First, tourism itself is a complex and new phenomenon in the study area and consequently there is low awareness of tourism among the participants. Second, the techniques themselves were new to the study area thereby requiring a high degree of user sophistication. Education about tourism will need to be given a substantial role, which is seen as the responsibility of the Government and ACAP because of limited local experience. In addition, both the industry and the planning authority have to recognise the importance of residents' input into the planning process, which requires a high degree of facilitation in the process. Given these issues, the formation of a "Tourism Management Committee (TMC)", which can build confidence and accumulate experience, re-emerges as an appealing institutional arrangement.

Overall, the PRA techniques, as adapted for this study, and their combination have facilitated the tourism assessment process well through a valid data generation process in a relatively short period of time. The combination of adapted PRA techniques has also facilitated and encouraged widespread community participation. However, the results and participation themselves are not the end product of the PRA process applied here. The PRA process should be continuously used for enhancing the generation of information, ideas and participation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis has highlighted the need for tourism assessment frameworks and participation measures in Third World countries. It has also explored the potential roles of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in tourism assessment, and in community based tourism planning, with particular focus on Third World rural areas. PRA can better serve these needs than conventional methodologies mostly used in the developed countries. Data generated from adapted PRA techniques were presented. The successive steps and combination of adapted PRA techniques applied in this research had served the need for data filtering and focusing. The potential of adapted PRA techniques both as a framework for tourism appraisal and for community participation in Third World rural areas was also evaluated on the basis of achieving specified research objectives. The adapted PRA techniques have facilitated community participation in the planning process by providing circumstances that are not daunting and demanding to local participants.

Although it is well recognised that community participation is important in tourism planning, a lack of measures for encouraging and facilitating the participation process have affected this goal. There are three major challenges in community participation programmes. These are: achieving a high degree of citizen involvement (number versus depth of contact); achieving equity in participation; and efficiency of participation. These three maxima, however, are impossible to achieve simultaneously. They need, therefore, to be reconciled in the design of any participation programmes (Simmons, 1994). The current requirement is for an appropriate framework for encouraging community participation in the tourism planning process, particularly in Third World rural settings, where physical and social constraints to development may be much more difficult than in larger economies. This research, therefore, has set out to achieve two major objectives. First, to adapt, test and evaluate the PRA method for its potential in encouraging community participation in tourism within a Third World rural setting. In many research and participation programmes, community input has often been neglected and their knowledge is not incorporated into the planning process or outcomes. Therefore, the final objectives of this research have been to develop and interpret specific tourism development strategies for the study area as articulated by its residents.

To meet the above objectives, four major techniques of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) have been adapted and applied for the first time in the tourism research and planning context in the Manang District of Nepal. They are: secondary data review; semi-structured interviews with key informants and individuals; home visits and group interviews; and a community workshop. The combination of these techniques and their progressive steps has helped in refining participants' focus and thereby channel the outcome of this research. The conclusion therefore is divided into three sections. The first section summarises the research results and discusses their implications for the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions of the Manang District. The second section presents the potential of adapted PRA techniques in assessing tourism and its implication in community based tourism planning. The final section presents the limitations of this research and explores further research opportunities.

7.1   SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NYISHANG AND NAR-PHU REGIONs OF THE MANANG DISTRICT.

This study has utilised the Nyishang and Nar-Phu regions of the Manang District, Nepal, as case studies. Both of these regions are primarily based on subsistence agriculture, pastoralism and some regional and international trade. In 1977, the Nyishang region was opened to tourism and it has grown to be of great local and regional importance. However, the adjacent Nar-Phu region has not at this stage been opened for tourism. Nar-Phu, is in a position to learn much from the experiences of its Nyishang neighbours. The summary of results and their implications were dealt with under the following eight themes.

7.1.1 Perceptions of tourist and tourism

Interviews in both Nyishang and Nar-Phu revealed that there were varying perceptions of the terms tourist and tourism. Generally, interviewees of both regions perceived that tourists (philing) are any foreigners who come to their area for any purpose whether it be study, research, trekking, or mountaineering. The interviewees of Nyishang, particularly the hoteliers having two decades experience of tourism, perceived that tourists are rich, come for fun and to spend money. Hoteliers now increasingly see tourists as a source of income and the relationship with them is financial with the tourists being treated in monetary terms. On the contrary, the interviewees of Nar-Phu, who do not have exposure to tourism, perceived that tourists are rich and they come to help poor people. Here, some perceived that tourists are intelligent and the Nar-Phu people

are suspicious that tourists may take valuable goods from their area. These results show that most of the interviewees, whether they are from tourist areas or non-tourist areas lack a clear understanding of tourists and tourism and have a minimal understanding and appreciation of the consumer nature of tourism. Education about tourists and tourism is, therefore, necessary for both the business sector and general residents to remedy their misconceptions about tourists and tourism. Despite this, attitudes towards tourists are generally positive. However, some of the tourists' behaviours are unacceptable to the villagers.

7.1.2 Attitudes towards tourists and tourism

Although most of the interviewees happily welcome tourists into their village, Ghompa (monastery), and their religious ceremonies, they said that tourists should not give things to children, should not dry their clothes and shoes around the fire hearth, reveal taboo body parts, take photographs without permission or take stones from their area. A naive tourists, however, may not understand such social and cultural sensitivities unless they are made aware of them. Therefore, tourist education is also necessary. In particular, a list of behaviours which are socially and culturally unacceptable to the people of Nyishang and Nar-Phu should be developed which could in turn lead tourist behaviour to be more socially and culturally responsible. Furthermore, tourists could be accompanied by trained local tourist guides, to gain a fuller appreciation of the areas' natural and cultural histories (Gurung, 1993).

In much of the tourism planning process, community input is often ignored. Local knowledge and skills are overlooked and are not acknowledged. However, from the application of the adapted PRA process, it has been possible to tap such local knowledge. This research has revealed that local residents of the destination area have a considerable amount of knowledge regarding their area.

7.1.3 Perceptions of tourism products

The interviewees of Nyishang were able to identify what most attracted the tourists to their region, the existing 'tourism product of the Manang District'. Most of the interviewees mentioned the scenic landscape, particularly viewing mountains and the opportunity to cross the high pass of Thorung La. Cultural aspects, such as to experience local customs, religious ceremonies and practice, and the hospitality of the people of Manang were also mentioned frequently. Interestingly, some interviewees believed that tourists come "to buy old goods", "to

collect rocks", "to see and photograph poor and dirty people, and how these undeveloped people are living in such an isolated, harsh place", and to see people "from the jungle", which they can not see in other countries. In spite of the centrality of these cultural elements in the tourism product, the business community has not realised the importance of a community's culture, lifestyles, history, and hospitality as an essential ingredient of the tourism product and the concomitant need for local residents' input into the planning process. Education and awareness about 'tourism products', and their role in sustaining tourism development, becomes vital if they are to realise the role of the community and their inputs in the planning process.

7.1.4 Current challenges and opportunities

The results of the study further suggest that interviewees of both Nyishang and Nar-Phu are aware of current challenges facing them such as: the uncertainty of agropastoralism; urban population migration; infrastructure, goods, and service needs; and the ecological fragility of the region. They believe one solution to be tourism development which can provide them with an opportunity for cash income and employment generation which can be used to supplement subsistence agropastoralism and provide a basis for population retention. At the same time, beliefs that tourism may offer potential for further conflicts also exists, particularly over forest use, wildlife and litter management. Tourism development needs clearly should be balanced with needs for resource conservation. In addition to this, it is important to ensure community understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of tourism which is vital in shaping future tourism development in that area.

7.1.5 Benefits and costs of tourism

Most of the interviewees readily identified the benefits of tourism such as cash income and employment generation. Few interviewees of the Nyishang region identified the negative effects of tourism development while the interviewees of Nar-Phu, who were yet to experience tourism demands, saw no current or future negative impact of tourism development. The tourism experiences of Nyishang residents however, can be used to break the naivety of Nar-Phu residents.

Interviewees of Nyishang, particularly those who are not directly involved in the tourism business, noted that tourism development has raised the price of local foods and the costs of porters, and accelerated livestock predation. In addition, a major conflict has arisen between the

business community and general residents who are not directly involved in the tourism business. Interviewees not involved in tourism believed that hoteliers have created the problem of litter and effluent, used most of the forest for firewood and building purposes and they are the ones who benefit the most from tourism development. On the other hand, hoteliers believe that the litter and effluent problem is created by local villagers as they throw bottles, plastic and garbage elsewhere in the village. These conflicts need to be settled first, before any further tourism development in the Nyishang area takes place and serves as a timely reminder of the type of issues that may arise should Nar-phu be opened to tourism. Leaving these conflicts unsolved may further dampen the relation between local villagers and hoteliers and may consequently hamper future tourism development in this area. Current efforts of ACAP, such as the establishment of a litter management committee, and providing them with funds for litter management and litter bins, may solve the current litter and effluent problem. Long-term solutions will rely heavily on education about litter and effluent problems .

The ranking of the above identified problems revealed that the current major concerns of tourism development for the interviewees are: first, deforestation; second, livestock predation by the snow leopard; third, the rise in the price of goods and porters; fourth, litter and effluent; fifth, loss of medicinal herbs and wildlife; and finally, loss of customs and traditions. Although, litter and effluent, loss of medicinal herb and wildlife species and loss of customs and tradition emerged as important problems, they were ranked lower in the problem ranking exercise. This indicates that participants are more concerned about personal economic impacts (lost time in firewood gathering, lost stock animals and rise in price of goods and services) rather than environment and culture (litter and effluent, wildlife and medicinal plants, customs and traditions) in general. This suggests that residents' economic concerns should be solved first. Nevertheless, greater environmental and cultural awareness among residents is also vital for sustaining tourism in this area. Among these identified problems, deforestation, livestock predation, loss of wildlife and medicinal herbs, litter and effluent were preexisting problems before the introduction of tourism. Notwithstanding these facts, tourism has provided rich opportunity for their exacerbation. The loss of customs and traditions and the rise in the price of goods and porters has been commonly highlighted in the tourism literature (Karan and Mather, 1985; O' Grady, 1991; Belk, 1993; Image Nepal, 1994). However, while in the case of the Manang District, tourism and tourists may be one reason for such changes, there are other bigger economic, social, and political forces that have brought many changes to the district. For example, many people of the Manang

District have been involved in international trade for more than two decades and their increasing economic standard would have already affected their dress and eating habits. Secondly, the permanent out-migration of people is also said to be one reason for the loss of rituals. Furthermore, changes in the local political structures and consequent dilution of the authority of traditional governing institutions may also be one reason for the loss of traditional customs and rituals. Therefore, it is appropriate to state that tourism development may have further added to the pressure of such existing impacts but not caused it. The maintenance of traditions and rituals will, however, require a concerted effort on a number of fronts.

In terms of tourism impacts on agriculture and pastoralism, it is often claimed that tourism has replaced traditional practices such as agriculture and pastoralism and has encouraged a dependency on the tourism industry. In the case of Nyishang, interviewees acknowledged that tourism demand has stimulated local agricultural production and encouraged people to produce vegetables and fruits within the area. They do not believe that tourism has replaced agriculture and pastoralism. Although interviewees are aware that tourism should not be the 'mainstay' of their economy, a lack of alternative income generation opportunities and the dilution of international trade ventures may increase the dependency on tourism in the future. Most of the people are interested in developing tourism businesses in the future. Aside from tourism, interviewees have identified a number of opportunities for alternative income generation.

7.1.6 Income generation opportunities

Despite some interviewees' comments that tourism generally benefits a few of the rich hoteliers, they also see an opportunity to distribute economic benefits of tourism to the general people of the research areas. Interviewees believe that the benefits of tourism could be distributed to the local poor by encouraging them to produce crops and crafts locally which are required to meet tourist demand. Others believe that the fees generated from tourism should be redirected for community development in the area.

In addition, interviewees also believe that tourism alone cannot benefit the majority of people in these areas and that other opportunities should be explored to supplement agriculture and pastoralism. For example, interviewees suggest that research should be conducted to explore the potential of farming medicinal plants in the area. The suggestion that the establishment of a government sponsored 'fair price' shop, from which local people can buy basic commodities such

as salt, sugar, kerosene, cooking oils, rice and clothes at cheap local prices, and an irrigation facility which could benefit the majority of local people are also mentioned.

7.1.7 Tourism planning and participation needs

Most of the interviewees were unfamiliar with the concept of tourism planning. Only a few interviewees like hoteliers and key informants believed that tourism should be planned so that unwanted future impacts could be mitigated. The responsibility for tourism information, planning and development, was seen as the government's and ACAP's responsibility. Nevertheless, interviewees have identified two major needs for encouraging the community to participate in the planning process. Interviewees believed that education and training about tourists and tourism is a prerequisite for residents to be involved in the planning process. As the majority of residents were illiterate, with a poor knowledge base of tourists and tourism, the need for education and training became more obvious throughout the research. Along with the need for tourism education, interviewees have also identified a need for a tourism management committee to manage tourism in their area, in which both the hoteliers and locals should have equal representation. Control of tourism development through community ownership key resources/facilities as well as substantial representation on a tourism management committee were often raised as an appropriate institutional arrangement.

Apart from this, two major constraints to the issues of community involvement were also identified. The first is a loss of community coherence and increasing individualism which has constrained local people's participation in community development programmes. The second is dilution of authority and responsibilities within traditional institutions such as Dhawa Sherpa and its replacement by government political bodies. Future community participation programmes, therefore, should focus on building community coherence and confidence through a restrengthening of their traditional institutions. Although the interviewees' knowledge regarding tourism planning is poor, they have been able to identify a number of opportunities for future tourism development which they believe will increase the duration of tourists' stay in their area and consequently be of more benefit through generation of employment and income.

7.1.8 Tourism development opportunities and solutions to the problems

Identified opportunities focus on the development of physical and cultural resources which are currently not used for tourism. Interviewees believe that to date, their lack of deployment for

touristic purposes is either because of difficult access or poor publicity. According to the interviewees, the government and ACAP should take the initiatives for such development in their area, because of a lack of local bodies and required resources. They, however, believe that if a tourism management committee is formed, it should take such initiatives in which hoteliers should also participate. However, potential short-term and long-term environmental impacts should be taken into account if such areas are to be developed. Interviewees are, however, less concerned about maintaining existing tourism sites and cultural resources -the tourism products- which might be one of the reasons for the decrease in tourist numbers in this area. Existing sites should be maintained, and a full maintenance schedule developed, before new areas are developed for or opened to tourists.

The available data on tourist arrivals in Manang shows that tourist numbers have fluctuated between 1987 and 1992. Many hoteliers have also experienced a decreasing number of tourists. The major reasons for the decrease in tourist numbers are believed to be the country's political instability, as evidenced by riots, strikes (Nepal Bandha, Chakka Jam), midterm elections, and increasing pollution and garbage problems in the main gateway city, Kathmandu. Each of these has made Nepal a less desirable and more insecure destination for a tourist to visit. Other reasons mentioned by respondents of this study were the high trekking permit fees in comparison with other countries, the unregulated charge for taxis, porters, and guides, an increase in the number of new hotels, and the opening of new areas like Tibet, Upper Mustang and the Manaslu area. Future stability for tourism in rural areas like Manang depends upon the political stability of the country, effective management of garbage, appropriate permit fees and regulation of fares and charges in the service sector, and overall, the competence of Nyishang in presenting and maintaining its tourism products. The myriad of issues presented above also suggests a need for a better overall integration of tourism planning and development. This should be realised both by the central governments authorities and the industry sector. To open the more remote areas like Nar-Phu for tourism will require a thorough consideration of the limits of the social and physical resource systems.

In discussing the requirements for future tourism development with Nar-Phu interviewees, they have realised the need for good access, accommodation with good toilet facilities, as well as training and education about tourists and tourism. However, first priority must be given to meeting the current basic needs of people living in that area such as drinking water; irrigation;

trail facilities; health services; and energy (fuel wood). Secondly, education about tourists and tourism, and training on tourism and hotel management, should be provided to boost entrepreneurial skills before encouraging tourists to the area. A Nyishang key informant suggests that local people should benefit directly from tourism. He argued that organised tourist groups will benefit people in the regional city, and local village people will be 'like zoo animals' with the tourists taking photographs of them. He also advocated that the government should redirect tourism revenue back to the community for their development. In addition, most of the interviewees were aware that tourism business should not be in the hand of outsiders, who they believe will have little respect for local norms and sensitivities. Interviewees, particularly those from the more touristically developed Nyishang region, have a strong sense of unity in that they would not allow any outsiders to establish hotels and businesses in their area. A key informant of Nyishang suggested that local people should be trained in hotel management and loans should be provided to open hotels. The main reason is a fear that outsiders would take benefits from their area and the locals would not benefit much. Similar views were expressed by the interviewees of the Nar-Phu region, however, they believed that local people neither have enough skill nor money to open hotels on their own. Such concerns highlight key areas for training and/ or physical assistance.

A key informant believes that community-owned and operated hotels and businesses may work where there is no existing business such as in the Tilicho Lake area, because tourism is a competitive business. Within already developed places like Manang village, the community lodge cannot compete with other lodges. The key informant suggests that if a community business is to be established and succeed, it needs to be different from other businesses. It was suggested that in the case of Manang, a community shop could be established to sell local crafts, such as carpet, Docha (Tibetan shoes) and other local products. However, training and assistance are needed for this as well.

Finally, the participants of the workshop also recognised the fact that tourism is a competitive business and that an important first step lies in developing local attractions. In the workshop, the participants identified several major potential sites for future development. These options are mainly focused on the deployment of natural and social resources which are currently not used for tourists. They have also recognised that promotion of such new sites is important to attract tourists and to prolong their stay in the area. The major opportunities identified by the workshop

participants were: development of historic and religious sites and several other scenic areas for short treks; provision of an information centre; museum; and provision of health services for tourists. The participants' major focus was on extending the tourists' stay in the village as well as attracting more tourists. At least at the perceptual level, there is further space to absorb tourism growth. However, management, conservation and promotion of existing 'tourism products' which are pivotal to sustaining tourism for the longer-term are rarely discussed.

Recommendations for impact mitigation were also suggested. They include forest, firewood and wildlife conservation, hotel management and training, agriculture and pastoralism alternatives, education about sanitation and tourism promotion and marketing. These recommended measures should be incorporated in future tourism development.

Generally, the interviewees, particularly the hoteliers of the Nyishang region, wish to increase the tourist numbers, and had a vested interest in developing tourism in their area. A few residents' particularly those not involved in tourism businesses, were unconcerned about it. They have reported many problems such as: "tourism benefits hoteliers only"; "tourism has increased the price of goods and porters"; and "tourism has increased the problems of litter and effluent and deforestation" These gradual hardening attitudes already being evidenced in Nyishang is a timely reminder that people will resist continued tourism development if their concerns are not addressed adequately. Nar-Phu interviewees were also highly enthusiastic about the opening of their area for tourism, but they felt the pace should be maintained within the capacity of their resource systems - both environmental and social.

The above results are the outcome of adapted PRA techniques. However, the PRA process and result itself is not the end product of PRA. This case study suggests that PRA should be seen as an initial phase in the ongoing process, requiring some ongoing support for research and planning. Therefore, first, the PRA practitioner should be prepared to maintain collaboration over a longer time frame than the initial appraisal, in which the local capacity to be responsible is fostered rather than the PRA team merely collecting data required. Second, the PRA practitioner should also accept that the PRA team has merely provided a 'trigger' for local action but no particular outcome can be guaranteed.

7.2   THE POTENTIAL OF PRA AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY TOURISM PLANNING.

The major finding of this study is that participants of the research have been able to move significantly towards defining an acceptable style of tourism development and specific development opportunities that they see as desirable for their community. This outcome has been achieved through the sequential refinement of data, which adapted PRA techniques have facilitated. Four major techniques of PRA, namely a review of secondary data relevant to the research area; semi-structured interviews of key informants and individuals to crosscheck and validate data; interviews and discussions with groups to gauge the salience of issues raised by key informants and individual interviews; and finally a community workshop, directed at interpreting data and seeking consensus, were adapted and used for this research. The combination of these techniques with successive steps of analysis and refinement of focus have been vital for this research. For example, the exploratory secondary data review has helped in both familiarisation with the research area and to establish the research context. Secondly, the semi-structured interviews with key informants and other individuals have facilitated issue exploration. Thirdly, the semi-structured interviews and discussions with groups have helped in issue confirmation and to establish priorities. Finally, the bringing together of a broad group represented by community representatives, opinion leaders, the general public, concerned government officials and industry sector representatives in a workshop situation has facilitated in issue confirmation, a search for solutions, and preparation of a plan of action. No one technique applied would have served to achieve the proposed research objectives alone. This implies that community participation in tourism planning will need to be much more than a "one-shot" attempt at information gathering (Simmons, 1989). This PRA technique has not only facilitated the data filtering and focusing processes, it has also encouraged the community to define local problems and opportunities systematically. However, different participation methods address different information requirements, therefore, defining objectives of participation and identifying appropriate means for community inputs are seen as essential pre-requisites in securing the community's interest (Simmons, 1989). For this research area, the chosen mechanism has served the objectives of this research well.

In addition, different models of tourist destination evolution, more importantly Butler's (1980) life cycle model, suggest that perceptions and attitudes of residents living in tourist destinations

are prone to change as tourism reaches different levels of development. Therefore, a dynamic community participation and planning process is required to match the needs of different stages of tourism development. While the PRA process as designed and applied here has served the current needs for this community, it has to be an iterative process to serve future needs, which is lacking in the PRA approach. Particularly, the need for evaluation of outcomes or proposed plans of action should be addressed in future PRA designs for it to be an iterative process.

The case study findings also suggest that tourism beneficiaries, particularly hoteliers, tend to support tourism and see more benefits from tourism than do other residents. Such attitudes are expected, but they provide both opportunities and potential problems for community based tourism planning, which relies on the consensus of views which the community is expected to arrive at by sharing in the decision-making. On the one hand, it provides opportunity to pre-identify a likely division within a community, and development strategies can be formulated in anticipation. On the other hand, it also provides the potential for problems, for there is no guarantee that differences in opinion can be resolved without dissension between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Nonetheless, the study has shown that the groups are sufficiently close in overall community interest to suggest that trade-offs and compromises in future tourism planning may be achievable (Murphy, 1983). The generation of visible community-wide benefits will be an essential step in ensuring on-going community support.

Furthermore, to provide a basis for informed decision making, information needs exist at two levels. First, there is a need for greater public awareness about tourism, its benefits and costs, how the industry is structured, about current contribution to a community's welfare and about how tourism might evolve. Second, there is a need for a genuine sharing of information between the principal actors in planning, including the business sector (Simmons, 1989).

In this case study, the representation of both the industry sector and the general public in a tourism management committee is favoured by most of the interviewees, except a few hoteliers. The formal inclusion of these partners through the formation of a Tourism Management Committee (TMC) is seen as an essential step to build their confidence and maintain an ongoing involvement in the planning process. Such a committee's life should be specified and its role should be documented to give it a status in the planning exercise. The TMC may function in a number of ways and their envisaged role determines how the committee members are selected

and what kind of representation is sought. Committees can operate as an advisory group mediating between the industry and the community, as a task force assisting the planners in a specialised area, or as an avenue for the systematic input of information by existing authorities and associations. They can also be a vehicle for action on community-initiated projects, such as the maintenance of existing or the development of new tourism products/sites.

However, using a committee as a participation vehicle has limitations, since it tends to attract people with a particular background and skills who already possess access to influence. A representative community committee by definition, may be unworkable since those who possess sufficient skills and belief in the technique to sustain an involvement, are not necessarily representative in important ways of the uninvolved community. This is the case particularly, in Third World tourism. While a committee structure cannot be used to reflect the entire community's perspective, it can, however, provide useful information for planners and is a good opportunity for certain individuals to actively contribute to planning. Additional participation and consensus building measures as demonstrated in this research will be needed throughout the various phases of tourism development to serve the needs of all community groups.

A central responsibility of planning is to represent those whose interests are not adequately represented in the existing power and communications structure within the community. Thus, participation techniques should be selected to encourage the usually under-represented members of the community to express their views. The case study indicates that PRA's flexible techniques have encouraged the expression of problems and concerns in circumstances that are not daunting or demanding. The need to consider the inherent bias of participatory techniques towards the influential or powerful does not, however, imply that existing interest groups and community structures should be ignored. Established channels of influence and interaction may in fact be the only way to ensure contact with, and representation of, the under-represented. It is unrealistic to attempt, through participation, to impose entirely new structural relationships on a community and expect a more equitable pattern of interest to emerge. Techniques which actively utilise the existing structure should be developed and existing formal and informal opinion leaders and power holders should not be ignored. They have considerable capacity to mobilise local resources and initiate meaningful communication, particularly if the community is well-established and cohesive, or conservative and suspicious of outsiders. In particular, decision-makers and politicians should not be artificially distanced from such studies and the issues with

which they are concerned. Furthermore, the participation process must be considered simply as a means to secure broader representation in planning rather than an end in itself. The success of the participation process will rely heavily on the effective implementation of community proposed plans. This will require support and effective policy for action from concerned governmental and non-governmental authorities of the area.

7.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND FUTURE RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES

One of the limitations of this research is that, although the PRA approach indicates the use of a multi-disciplinary team for research, this case study did not do so because it is felt that a research team of more than two may intimidate research participants, particularly in the context of individual interviews. In more formal circumstances, and with increased resources, a broader approach could be taken. A second limitation of this research is that the criteria for the evaluation of this adapted PRA process were based on the researchers' subjective evaluation, because the participants were not familiar or experienced with any participation measures. A more direct invitation for participant feedback might have provided better insights for improving future designs of PRA processes. Finally, as is often the case in 'case study' approaches, much of the data relate only to the study area, although attention has been drawn to generic challenges in tourism development.

Future research opportunities exist on all aspects of the research discussed here. In particular, the further development and testing of participation mechanisms and the replication of the methods adapted and used for this research in other settings is needed to assess their potential contribution in the planning of tourism and its assessment. In addition, longitudinal research is especially recommended in order to be able to trace the performance of PRA processes and strategies over time.

To identify the potential of the PRA process for creating local awareness, facilitating community empowerment and confidence building were beyond the scope of this research. Therefore, a further research opportunity exists for the potential use of PRA techniques as an educational tool for both researcher/planner and researched/participants and for facilitating community empowerment and confidence building processes. This, too, will require a longitudinal study and evaluation.

This case study shows that Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methodology previously applied to forestry and agricultural sectors can also play a useful role in the assessment of tourism development and in encouraging community participation in community tourism planning. It can generate information about issues and concerns of tourism development, problems faced by the local residents and potential for tourism development, in a relatively short period of time. The case study shows that the PRA approach can also be used as a consensus building tool, since it represents the relatively broad informal community groups such as power-holders, politicians and the general public.

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APPENDIX A
WORKSHOP SCHEDULE AND PARTICIPANTS

Proposed Workshop Schedule:

12.30 Welcome and introduction to participants

12.50 Introduction to topics to be discussed

01.10 Discussion of tourism development problems, opportunities and tourism product development

02.10 Tea Break

02.30 Discussion for institutional development and community involvement

03.30 Summary and thank you

Workshop moderator	Mr. Ang Phuri Sherpa	Researcher
Workshop facilitator	Mr. Som Ale	Conservation Officer
Minute keeping and tape recording	Mr. Prem C. Gurung	Senior forest ranger

Workshop participants:

1) Mr. Gehendra Gurung	Senior Conservation Officer	
2) Mr. Bhakti Bilas Subedi	Local Development Officer	
3) Mr. Arjun Bahadur Thapa	Agriculture development Officer	
4) Mr. Pemba Tshering Gurung	VDC vice Chairman	(Khangsar)
5) Mr. Ten Dorji Gurung	" "	(Manag)
6) Mr. Sangla Gurung	" "	(Tenki Manang)
7) Mr. Schasang Gurung	" "	(Ghyaru)
8) Mr. Kami Gurung	CDC Chairman	(Tenki Manang)
9) Mr. Sonam Tshering Gurung	" "	(Manang)
10) Mr. Tashi Ghale	Local resident	(Braga)
11) Mr. Ponjow P. Gurung	" "	(Manang)
12) Mr. Tenzing Gurung	" "	(Manang)
13) Mr. Karma Gurung	" "	(Manang)
14) Mr. Sangae Gurung	" "	(Ghyaru, Ngawal)

APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW CHECKLIST

A] Demographic data

Date:...............Time................Location...........

Village ....Ward no... Name..................... Ethnic cast............Position in household...............

Place of origin..................... Marital status........ Occupation..................................Age....Sex....

Highest Level of education attained........................ Annual Income..................No of

Children.............. Contact with tourist.....................................

B] Socio-economic Status (Observation)

Type of housing

      walls

      Roof

      Floor

      Land holdings

      Type of toilets

A] Tourism Product

1. Who comes into your village / Why do you think tourists (so far) come to this region?

2. How often do you see visitors in your village?

3. What do they do? / Where do they visit in your village?/ Who do they speak to?

4. What do you (villagers) think about it?

5. Who gets the tourist money?

6. Personally what skills are required to serve them ? (List)

7. As a household how do you benefit from tourism?

B] Tourism in general

1. It is said that tourist numbers decreased 16 per cent in the last year. What would you do if tourist numbers continued to decrease at the same rate?

2. Is there a room for more tourist? / how many? / could tourist stay longer / how many days? Why or why not?

3. Having many years of experience in tourism, if you were in charge what should we do next?

4. Would you like to see tourism as a mainstay of your economy ?

5. What do you expect from tourism development ?

C] Tourism Impacts

1. Did you experience any shortage of labour during the tourist season ?

2. Are you happy to see tourists in the monastery and in religious ceremonies why? why not?

3. Are any aspects of the tourists' behaviour disruptive?

4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of tourism for this region at present ? (List)

5. What do you see as the future advantages and disadvantages that tourism might bring to this region? (List)

6. What do you think are the solutions for these problems? (List)

D] Tourism development and planning

1. Would you be happy to accommodate tourist in your house or should they be kept separate? Why?

2. Do you think tourism should be planned? Why?

3. Who should take initiatives in the development? Why?

4. Who should own tourist facilities and why?

5. Where should future tourism development should be located and why?

6. How should development be planned and why?

7. At what scale should development be and why ?

8. Who do you think should be in charge of overseeing planning for tourism?

9. In what ways would you like to see the community involved in tourism planning ?

10. Do you think the present availability of information about tourism is adequate for you?

11. If you had an opportunity to become involved in tourism planning, what aspect of tourism do you need to know most about?

12. What is the medium for this information? What can be done to provide more information about tourism?

14. Do you think that non-residents should be allowed to buy and develop properties in this region? Why? Why not?

15. Where do you think the entry fee generated from tourists should go, for what and why?

KEY INFORMANTS CHECKLIST

A] Institutions

1. What are the different institutions and groups in this area?

2. Out of these, which ones have the most positive impacts on people's lives?

3. Do you belong to any of the organisations or groups? Why or Why not?

4. What activities are carried out by these groups in this area?

5. What activities would you like to have undertaken by these groups?

6. What problems do institutions face in this area? What opportunities do you see for addressing these problems?

7. What are the main challenges/problems facing this region at present?

B] Development issues

1. What are the main community development issues requiring attention in Manang at present?

2. In what ways can tourism development help to alleviate these problems?

3. What are the tourism development options for Manang in the next few years?

4. What are the key tourism development issues requiring attention?

5. What is a better way of getting a better return from Manang's human and natural resource input?

C] Tourism Product

1. Can you briefly describe the present status of visitation to Manang?

2. What are the main reasons that people visit Manang?

3. You know that tourist numbers have decreased by 16 per cent in the last year. What do you think are the potential factors affecting to decrease in tourist numbers in Nepal?

4. What added development is appropriate to upgrade the experience from the resources that now have limited use?

D] Tourism Impacts

1. What do you believe are the main advantages from tourism to this region (Economic, Social, Environmental)?

2. What do you believe are the main disadvantages of tourism to this region?

3. What measures do you believe could solve these problems?

E] Community Participation

1. In what sort of ways is the community likely to be grouped/ divided on the above issues?

2. How or by what means do you think the public could participate in tourism planning?

GROUP INTERVIEWS AND DISCUSSION

Date ....Village ....Location............. Ward no....................Time
Group composition: Male......Female......

Probable Issues

Advantages of tourism

Disadvantages of tourism (Ranking by pair wise Matrix)

How much tourism?

Where should it be developed?

Who should own the tourist facility?

How can the local community have an input in tourism planning?