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LOCALS' PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT VIA CBT
AND
THE IMPACT OF CBT ON LOCALS



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List of Abbreviations:

ABC	Annapurna Base Camp
ACA	Annapurna Conservation Area
ACAP	Annapurna Conservation Area Project
CBT	Community Based Tourism
VDC	Village Development Committee
NTB	Nepal Tourism Board
NTNC	The National Trust for Nature Conservation
TAAN	Trekking Agencies' Association of Nepal

1. Chapter 1: Introduction

Since the last few decades, people are antagonistic towards the mass tourism and speaking for the more sustainable tourism. Either it's for luxury or eco-tourism, backpacking or adventure tourism, these emphasize on the tourists and their experience. Along with the development of tourism with time, researches on tourism topics have very high importance with the intents of the formation of new literatures and refinement of existed literatures, which has become very significant. However, the locals and the local environment that are being affected by the tourism are rarely acknowledged as much as they should be. Researches are now being done on the topics related to tourism and thus, new literatures based on the locals and the impacts of tourism on them are being formulated.

For more sustainable tourism, community participation and locals taking ownership and initiative for the development of the tourism industry is the catalyst for the benefits to the locals (Simpson, 2008). Specially, in the context of the third world countries, the local participation can achieve the development of the region (Simpson, 2008). In the last three decades, the Community Based Tourism (CBT) has been considered as one of the relevant ways to earn and support the region, specifically in the South East Asia. Following this, CBT has also helped initiate the locals to capitalize their capacity to deal with the challenges of mass tourism (Marina Novelli, 2017).

In the context of Nepal, tourism started in early 50s. Moreover, in the last 30 years, the people of hills, and communities of the Southern Annapurna Region have embraced the tourism as a tool for the development of the region with the implementation of the CBT (Annapurna Region, 2019; Tourism in Nepal, 2019; ACAP, 2018). This research concentrates on the case of a village, Ghandruk in Nepal. Ghandruk is one of the many popular destinations in Nepal for the trekkers from many countries of the world. Having CBT first introduced in this village, it has set an example of its kind in the whole country. The village lies in the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA). The government initiated the 'Annapurna Conservation Area Project' (ACAP) in the early 80s, with Ghandruk its principal village (Annapurna Region, 2019). According to ACAP, CBT has helped for the development on economic aspect as well as on environmental conservation in Ghandruk for several years now (ACAP, 2018). However, it is still a question whether this kind of development is what the locals need or it's just what they have been compelled to.

Here, Ghandruk has been chosen as the case, as it is the first of its kind in Nepal in the context of working together with nature and people (ACAP, 2018) and this project has been highly publicized by the government as well as from the other stakeholders. No other place in Nepal can be as ideal as Ghandruk to study about the CBT. ACAP established CBT in Ghandruk as the very first one in the whole Nepal and it still considers Ghandruk as an example of CBT (Annapurna Region, 2019; ACAP, 2018). Different literatures and researches have been done regarding the tourist experience when on the other hand, very little have been done with regards to the locals' perspective and their experiences, especially, on them who are not directly involved on the tourism and its effects on them. The aim of this project is to explore the impact of CBT on locals and to inquire about the locals' point of view on the CBT and in the overall development of the region and its people. Further, to understand the viewpoint of locals on other stakeholders and what is their opinion on the development itself.

2. Problem Statement

This research intends to explore the perspective of various stakeholders involved in CBT in Ghandruk, where the main center of interest is the locals' perspective on development through CBT and its impact to them. Further leading to the following problem statement:

“CBT in Ghandruk, an investigation of locals' perspective towards development via CBT and its impact on them”

The main objectives of this thesis research are as follows:

1. To understand the various stakeholders' role in CBT and their perspective towards Ghandruk's tourism and its people.
2. To review and explore the locals' perspective towards other stakeholders' role, CBT and development
3. To explore the impact of CBT on locals

The first part tries to observe and analyze how the different stakeholders see the development via CBT, and the locals. This is done in order to learn how their perspective is different than that of

the locals. Thus, will help to figure out the reasons behind the impact of the CBT in Ghandruk. The aim of this thesis is to attain the deep understanding of locals' perspectives on CBT and examine its impact with the discussion within the literature as well as with the understanding through the field visit and reviewing the ground reality and assessing its alignment with the existed literatures.

In order to find a solution to the problems formulated in the above chapter the structure below has been adapted in this paper. This starts with the background in chapter 2 where information of Nepal and Ghandruk has been provided. In chapter 3, literatures relating to CBT and development have been reviewed. After that, in chapter 4 the research methodology used in the process of this research has been explained. In chapter 5, the obtained findings have been presented. Then, the analyzed findings are discussed in chapter 6 following with the conclusion in chapter 7 where the received conclusion can be used as the catalyst to help solve the problem formulation.

3. Chapter 2: Background

In this Chapter, there is a brief introduction of the background of Nepal and tourism followed by the Ghandruk's description and tourism in Ghandruk. This will help to give the overview of the case as well as help to understand the literature reviewed below.

3.1 Tourism in Nepal

Nepal's geographical and cultural diversities are one of the reasons, tourists visit this country from all over the world. Nepal's geographical zones range from 100m of subtropical to 4000m of alpine and above with Himalayan tundra including highest peak in the world, Mt. Everest at an altitude of 8849m above the sea level (Trekking in Nepal, 2019). Every year many tourists come to visit Nepal from all over the world with India, China, USA, UK, Germany having the highest numbers of tourists among others. Tourism sector in Nepal plays one of the biggest roles in the foreign exchange resources (Fischer, 2008).

In 2018, Nepal received 1,173,072 tourists with 24 percent raised than in 2017 (Nepali Sansar, 2019). Nepal has already seen nearly 91,793 tourists in the month of January 2019 following 124,421 tourists, with 35 percent increase, in the month of February 2019 (Nepali Sansar, 2019). Tourism sector, being one of the main sources of income, foreign exchange and job opportunities in

Nepal, has contributed 7,5 percent of its total GDP and as nearly as 427,000 job opportunities in 2017 (Prasain, 2017) and hence the tourism board of Nepal is working in the campaign 'VisitNepal 2020' with an aim of welcoming as much as 2 million tourists from all over the world by 2020 (Nepali Sansar, 2019).

As many as 28,534 tourists visited Annapurna Conservation Area in 2018 (Rana, 2019). Many mountains including the world's deepest Valley, Kali Gandaki River Valley are situated in this area (DNPWC, 2019). Tourists seeking for adventure travel are the ones mostly visiting the Annapurna Region. Annapurna Region is very popular among the trekkers from all over the world also, as it can be easily reached by road to the city on the northern part of the conservation area (Annapurna Region, 2019; DNPWC, 2019). People trekking inside this conservation area, often towards Annapurna Base Camp, pass by through a small village, Ghandruk. This is where my research is based on.

3.2 Ghandruk a brief Background

Ghandruk is one of the many villages in the Annapurna Conservation Area. It is one day walk away from a popular tourist destination 'Pokhara' city. With an area of 200 square km (DNPWC, 2019), this village is situated at an altitude of 2010m above the sea level with a moderate climate temperature. Due to its variety in its geographical features consisting of high mountains, hills, forests, terraces, and river valleys with variable geographical zones ranging from 400 ft to 12000ft, it is home to various flora and fauna more than that of 1000 species (Gopal Gurung, 2019). As the village lies in the Annapurna Conservation Area, a spectacular view of Annapurna Mountain Ranges, Mt. Machchapuchhre including various other mountains surround it. Along with the great scenery of mountains, the village has forests full of the national flower of Nepal, Rhododendron. People visit Ghandruk also to watch different species of birds, as hundreds of bird species are found in Modi Gorge of this region only (Gopal Gurung, 2019).

Ghandruk is a Gurung village as most of its residents are of Gurung ethnicity. As per the National Population and Housing Census 2011(NPHC 2011), total population of the village is stated to be 4,265 with 1,102 households. Among them, 1,825 are Gurungs, and apart from Gurungs, the

village also comprises people from Dalit(Sarki, Kami, Damai/Dholi), Brahmin, Chhetri, Magar and few other ethnic groups (Central Bureau of Statistics Kathmandu, Nepal, 2014).

Gurungs in this region exercise Buddhism along with their native birth, marriage, death rituals, also known as life-rituals. They follow animistic religion traditionally and got introduced to Buddhism in 7th century (Indiginious Media, 2019). They have their own language with their unique dialect. Their mother tongue is called 'Tamukwyi'. They have their own scripture known as 'Pye-ta Lhu-ta' and 'Pye' is the name of their orally spoken language. It is believed that they were originally from Tibet, came to Himalayan region of Nepal as wanderers and later settled here. Few of them also migrated to the Terai Region(plains) of the country and hence their culture is more influenced by the Hinduism which is the religion followed by the people living in that region (Indiginious Media, 2019; Raj Gurung, 2013).

Dalits are the second largest people residing in Ghandruk. These people have been socially, culturally, economically and physically exploited and suppressed since centuries. And hence are known as 'Dalits' (the 'oppressed' ones). It is still not exactly clear on who are considered as Dalits but normally the people of 18 untouchable castes such as Kami, Damai, Badi, Pode, Bantar, Musahar etc. are regarded as Dalits. These people are taken to be as the unclean ones meaning one needs to be cleaned or washed after touching them and one cannot even take water from them. They follow Hinduism as the caste discriminatory system is a part of the religion. There are many ethnic groups in Nepal and each of those groups have their own hierarchical caste system. Any caste placed lowest and untouchables in the hierarchy can fall on Dalits' group. And as people from many ethnic groups fall on this category, they can have their own language and culture depending on the ethnic group and the region they belong to. For example; Dalits of Newar ethnic group, speak Newari language and perform the Newari culture (Gurung, 2011).

The main occupation of people of Ghandruk is agriculture, animal husbandry and tourism. Many of these people specially Gurungs are also employed in British and Indian Gorkha regiments (Gopal Gurung, 2019). The then British Empire in India was mesmerized seeing the fierce attitude and bravery of the people of this ethnic group of Nepal during the second world war. The British

Empire then started recruiting the Gurungs in its army. With their never backing down attitude in war, they are famous in the world as 'Gurkhas' (Shrestha P. , 2014).



Figure 1: Ghandruk Village with newly constructed dirt road. Source: own

3.3 Tourism in Ghandruk

Tourism is also one of the main sources of income for the people of Ghandruk. Around 40,000 tourists visit Ghandruk every year helping in the creation of job opportunities and economic resources. With the village's naturally and culturally vast diversities, tourists' flow in this region has been increasing every year (Gopal Gurung, 2019).

In 1953, Tenzing N. Sherpa and Edmund Hillary climbed Mt. Everest successfully. This gave the kick to the start of the tourism in Nepal (Shrestha H. P., 2012). Tourists' flow in the village started in 1975. As the number of tourists increased, so the lodges, hotels, teahouses increased too, in order to fulfill the increased demand of food and lodging in the area. This led to the economic growth of the region as people could work in the lodges and food services, work as porters, sell the hand-crafted goods etc. However, on the other hand, according to Gopal Gurung, this brought the environmental and natural destruction of the region due to the mismanagement and exploitation of the natural resources. In addition to that, the foreigners brought their culture to the village and the local young people got more interested in the new foreign culture than their own. This discouraged the local clothes, language, food, customs and traditions and encouraged in considering the new so-called modern ones (Gopal Gurung, 2019).

In 1986, the Annapurna Conservation Area Project was formed in order to preserve and conserve the Annapurna Conservation Area sustainably with an 'Integrated Conservation and Development Programme' approach (ACAP, 2018). And as a part of the programme, ACAP along with the people of Ghandruk launched the 'ecologically sustainable tourism programme' as a pilot project, one of the first of its kind, in 1986 in Ghandruk (Gopal Gurung, 2019). With the success of the programme in Ghandruk, the ACAP then expanded their projects to more villages in the next few years, following 55 villages till the present date (DNPWC, 2019). The purpose of the programme was to involve local community for the practice of tourism with very low or no impact on the nature and culture of the people in the region, for their own benefits and the preservation of the local environment (ACAP, 2018).

4. Chapter 3: Literature Review

In this chapter, the first phase is about the development and tourism, and in the second phase, the community literature is analyzed. This is done in order to see different literatures on them which will help to look at the community base tourism and its characteristics. Further, looking at the locals' perspective and to examine if any gap exists between the study on the locals' point of view. Thirdly, we will look to align in Nepal's context with our case in Ghandruk.

4.1 Development: An Overview

The philosophy that came during industrial revolution for better and modern society can be considered as the first way to bound to define development (Veltmeyer, 2011). According to Sharpley 2003, it can be defined as a process in which a society or community gradually changes its current position and steps forward to a better position closer to the perfect state of that particular society or community as they would wish for (Sharpley, 2015). While Sharpley said that according to Thomas, development is the means to assess the society or nation (Sharpley, 2015). In a broad term, the use of development was only after the second world war when the West could not justify how they can still colonize the world who fought for them and at the same time the division or the rise of communists was happening so in order to counter this and to still have influence in those countries, the term of development was introduced. The core idea of this was that the third world countries would have the western values and capitalism (Veltmeyer, 2011).

Jane and Henry have mentioned that how Tucker defines the development of the so-called first world countries working to increase their power and influence by helping financially and providing technical assistances to so-called third world countries to make them stay away from the influence of communism (Veltmeyer, 2011). But after 1980, there seemed to have been more modernization and raise in voice for the development in the grassroots level. This shift in an idea was much visible after 1990, when we entered into the world of internet where bottom up development began to emerge out and participatory development started to voice up. So, according Veltmeyer et. al., these changes in dynamic shows that development cannot be defined in one particular way. (Veltmeyer, 2011) Also, synonym it with the progress from the western standard and GDP was considered as a parameter to know about the development (Sharpley, 2015).

Furthermore, also the new definition considering the sustainable development seems to be based on the western biased idea. Even with the existence of this new concept of development, the western countries still have their roots in many third world countries, where they assume the essential need for them is to get out of poverty rather than to learn to develop in sustainable ways. The idea of thinking from bottom up, and looking from inside-out rather from outside-in and figuring out the

need of the locals with their environment, their social and cultural development with more participatory role of locals can be the new definition of development (Veltmeyer, 2011) (Sharpley, 2015).

However, it does not still cover all the dynamics. Meanwhile a country like Bhutan is looking at their Gross National Happiness index to measure their development (McCarthy, 2018). They want their development to be an indicator of happiness. This idea or philosophy totally goes against the other western centric ideas of measuring the development. This is a more revolutionary philosophy from so-called third world country (McCarthy, 2018; Sharpley, 2015).

After recent recession, even the western world has started to rethink what development is. All these school of thoughts may be correct in a few or most of the cases but in this dynamic world, where everything keeps on changing and when we talk about philosophy which have a direct connection with humans, differ in ideas, it challenges to differ the development theories and a more innovative thinking of what development is. This needs to be addressed for the future preservation as it does affect the policy and other aspects of life. Veltmeyer et. al., agreeing on it, adds that the different forms of development theories are needed, and one should not stick on one ideal theory as it can affect and risk the multi-dimensional and complex process of the development. He further notes that different theories, philosophies, ideas and insights derived from various sources from different areas are to be taken into consideration while defining development (Veltmeyer, 2011).

There is a gap between what the development is, in actual, and what can be seen outside in the society. Sharpley expresses that the development has more dynamic effect especially, when talked about any particular idea. Likewise, as a part of development, tourism is considered as a major factor for any economic, social and cultural benefit, and also a sign of progress and westernization. This has converted tourism into an important factor for GDP and hence into a driving factor for the world economy (Sharpley, 2015). The next sections will examine tourism and development.

4.2 Tourism and Development in Nepal

Tourism means the movement of human beings from their original place to a new place for a short term which could be for pleasure or for other purposes. Tourism remains a term that is subjected to diverse interpretation as the nature of it is diverse and has a complex and social effect on it. Hence, in literature one definite definition or one concrete answer is not there. In the start, anyone who was travelling, was called a tourist. So, the basic definition of tourism can be the activities relating to tourists who are the travelling humans and the hosts who are catering or caring for them (Sharpley, 2015) but it cannot be the sole definition as it's extremely hard to content or agree on only it. While after the first world war and the second world war, the tried and used definition of tourist was anyone who travel for less time and was looking for pleasure or excursion. In more simple term, a tourist can be someone pursuing to visit a country which is not his own country of residence for not any base for the employment but for any other reasons than that (Sharpley, 2015; Beeton, 2006).

While in another term, the writer takes in the perspective of human, a social phenomenon and his experience defining tourist as someone who, in his own wish, plans to visit another place in order to gain a different experience than his everyday life for a short period of time. Here, only tourist has been defined and not the host so still it is not a complete definition of tourism. Sharpley then clarifies that the experience an human gains when leaving his everyday habitat and visiting to a new place, and the people that accompany his needs, together where both parties gain social economic benefits, can be considered as a tourism development (Sharpley, 2015). In early ages, the tourism started as a pilgrimage to sacred sites and in these places, locals managed to keep these places maintained and developed these places (Beeton, 2006, s. 13). In the present world, tourism has become a part of everyday life of people and has become the advancement of consumerism, globalization, mobility, and freedom of speech (Franklin, 2003).

In the context of Nepal, looking at the origin of the word tourism from the Sanskrit literature, where the root word “anta” comes which means going away or leaving home. Now looking forward on the Sanskrit word ‘tirthatan’ meaning pilgrimage, which means going away for a religious purpose. Pilgrimage could be the start of tourism in the context of Nepal. (Upadhyay, 2006) In those days, many pilgrims used to visit different holy sites and the people residing those places would facilitate the pilgrims which shows the host and guest relationship. This kind of hosting and travelling could

be considered as the primary definition of tourism in the context of Nepal although there is no direct translation of word 'tourism' in Nepali language. So, when considering Nepal's context, the influence of definition from the west has a huge impact on culture, economy, community and that needs to be discussed.

4.2.1 Economic Impact

Agriculture is one of the main ideal sources of income in Nepal. Due to the lack of good industrial development, tourism has also become one of the main ideal sources for foreign currency income nowadays in Nepal. Tourism has contributed nearly 7.5 % of GDP (Prasain, 2017). Not only that but tourism has also been a source in creating employments as well as small businesses such as local people being able to provide their own homestay services etc. In 2017 alone, it had helped in the formation of nearly 427,000 jobs (Prasain, 2017). This has also attracted new investments from both inside the country and around the world (Sharpley, 2015).

4.2.2 Social Impact

As Freya argues that even though tourism brings globalization, yet it helps in the cultural preservation (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). At the same time, he also agrees that in the case of developing countries, tourism serves as a part of neo colonialism and the impact on locals can be substantial (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). While the post modernism idea proposes the development and tourism from different lens as each stakeholder has different perspective and their impact on social life and lifestyle will differ according to their eyes or interest (Beeton, 2006).

Ghandruk is consists of 48% of Gurungs and 30% of Dalits, still it is known as a Gurung Village indicating the dominance of 'social elite' groups in the society (Central Bureau of Statistics Kathmandu, Nepal, 2014). This does not align with our theory which according to Freya argues that the cross culture brought through tourism, will help in the understanding of others culture while preserving your own. (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006).

4.2.3 Environmental Impact

According to Richardson (1993) as cited by Freya, the rise of ecotourism is the sign that tourism can lead to the conservation of local environment (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). In addition to

that as Veltmeyer et. al., also suggest when talking about the sustainable development, the protection of the local environment should be considered as tourism now has not helped to make a better environmental impact to the host communities (Veltmeyer, 2011), as the tourism in mobile and free economy can exploit the environment for the corporate gain (Sharpley, 2015). While Marina et. al., also agrees that because of the vested interests from tourism, tourists could lead to resource saturation, still she believes a local participation can help balance the equation (Marina Novelli, 2017).

4.3 Community: An Overview

In broad terms “Community is where all the individual subjects in the mix have something in common” (Beeton, 2006, s. 6) Community is also defined as a geographical location where people share same language, culture and heritage as well as it is characterized by strong bonding of social network and values which help for their cooperation (Delanty, 2003; Beeton, 2006).

When the meaning of community is elaborated, it is not just restricted to the above mentioned definition but can be taken as a wide range of ideas and different perspectives of people in that community which may need to get regarded separately rather than together in a same way, which is what Delanty has also talked about. He further talks about the community, as it can be called one according to an outsider looking at the surficial features such as culture or language etc. of people living there but the people themselves should feel as a one and should identify themselves together as a community. Delanty says that if a community can feel and identify themselves as a one regardless of culture, language, class differences, economic differences, etc. then it can develop and move towards positive changes as a whole. A community can become one when each living in there feels they belong there. It can exist and move forward as one only with the consideration of each identities and ideas, and with a mutual goal for the betterment of the society (Delanty, 2003, s. 11).

In this cosmopolitan world, the community definition can be seen as a part of economic division as well. It could be Favela in Rio or Upper Fifth Avenue in New York or Ginza in Tokyo where it seems to be an economic class and community based on it (Beeton, 2006, s. 10).

A community can be said as an idea of feeling of people being together in a group with a common interest among them. A community is much more than just an idea. To know about a

community, the background behind that idea needs to be understood. An idea cannot just appear from nowhere. It exists as a consequence of an event or events, or a prolonged belief in the people in that society. So, as different as any idea can be, community also varies with different places, different sets of people, and different perspectives (Delanty, 2003; Whitney-Squire, 2010). With this dynamic of the world and different approaches, we cannot say one definition as the definite answer but rather several loose connections between them. But one thing which all writers agree on is that the community plays a vital role in the connection to tourism and development in this modern era. And, it is more true as looked at in one particular case in Nepal, in Ghandruk, which is a Gurung community village working together for the betterment of tourism, (Whitney-Squire, 2010) showing the interconnection between the development of community and tourism.

In tourism, the host and the guest, both play an integral role. The places where there are tourists, locals become important part too. This is in fact much true in the context of developing countries where tourism has a deep link with communities (Beeton, 2006). Taking an example of an enclave in Maldives where tourists live in only one hotel, still a community gets created there to serve and host them. Another example of any cruise ship can be taken where its own community exists even for a temporary period of time. This indicates that it is almost not possible to divide community and tourism, and to look at them separately (Beeton, 2006, s. 16). According to Beeton et. al., tourism is extremely important for the development of the community especially in the rural communities (Beeton, 2006, s. 16). Therefore, it is extremely important to look at the community tourism. Ashley as cited in (Beeton, 2006) argues that the locals participate as different stakeholders for tourism, is community tourism, whereas Kelly as cited in (Beeton, 2006, s. 16) feels it as an psychological experience of the host and the guest is community tourism. Here, the tourism, where the tourists are visiting places just to gaze, is not being considered but the tourism, where tourists and communities are inter-twined so the communities are affected in a positive way and getting benefited from it, is the one considered (Beeton, 2006, s. 17).

4.4 Community Based Tourism Background

The characteristics of CBT are distinguished as various ways depending on the particular group of people, the community and the society. In this literature, we will focus on what affect us more.

From early 70s, CBT has been defined in several different ways as Canada being probably the first country to regard CBT and to study about it in 1970. Still, till now, it has not yet been exactly explained. (Giampiccoli, 2016). CBT has not been able to be defined precisely but has various different perspectives and definitions which turn out not to be in the favor of it (Mayaka, 2012). There has never been one single definition or philosophy on CBT, but has been defined and explained through various different frameworks and models (Beeton, 2006; Whitney-Squire, 2010; Giampiccoli, 2016).

CBT, in a bigger perspective, is considered to be for the benefit of the community and for its development with the active participation of locals in tourism and its management. Usually it's a top down approach. According to Marina et. al., as different stakeholders vested interest in resource of tourism, it is used either by commodification or natural attraction, however the decision making power should remain with the locals on how the tourism should be developed in their area (Marina Novelli, 2017).

Besides Beeton, CBT has received growing interest from various researchers and practitioners. (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011) notes about the approach for development and social interest, while (Marina Novelli, 2017) criticizes about CBT competitiveness and creative ground which may be of foreign interest rather than locals. (Farthing, 2007) in his case study of CBT project in Peru discusses about certain group of stakeholders(cultural brokers) being more powerful than the locals (Farthing, 2007). Oliver and Andrea see how CBT is extremely important for the overall development of community (Giampiccoli, 2016). However, at the same time Gyimothy et. al., criticize the notion of homogenous local communities as an instrumental condition of sustainable and participatory development (Gyimothy, 2015). Even in the process of this development through participation in CBT, there still exists problems like 'ladder of participation' which has been addressed by the CBT model (Gyimothy, 2015).

There are various different interpretations of CBT models, all of which require equal shed of light on. Previously, CBT was used as an extensive approach which helped the under-privileged locals to gain their social stature. It was taken as a progressive tool for each local, supporting them to stand equal to each of the community. It was all just related to society, its development, social changes, etc. But now CBT is not just limited to social approach. It also takes into the consideration of environment, focusing on sustainable development. Thus, CBT models are changing over the course of time and each of these approaches require to be studied well to understand them (Giampiccoli, 2016; Marina Novelli, 2017).

The primary idea is what and how the community is empowered for the tourism development. It is a process in order to empower locals and transform them to reach that quality to control their destiny. When we talk about community-based tourism, the empowerment of locals is considered, by Whitney Kelly and John, as a primary character of CBT (Whitney-Squire, 2010). Community based tourism (CBT) is conserved as an integral part which possesses opportunities as well as some challenges but eventually reaching the goal of community development. There can be different ways and paths to reach the goal of development (Giampiccoli, 2016). The model explains that it can be formal or informal or from inside out or outside in or from bottom up approach or top down approach or it can be led by government or by locals. These things change with the situation and its characters change according to the situation, conditions and interests of different groups (Giampiccoli, 2016).

While in theories, CBT is considered to be of interest of locals and the community. Even though many interest groups have vested interest on it and according to them, the ownership may lie in a particular hand, either it could be private sector or government or cultural broker (Giampiccoli, 2016). According to Giampiccoli et. al., government should play a vital role on defining how much a community is independent on the approach. While CBT is generally in a small scale, but many commend for a scale up and to make it more main stream as an advocate for a more sustainable tourism (Giampiccoli, 2016).

One approach to look is whether the CBT has been a bottom up or top down as it makes a significant difference. According to Giampiccoli et. al., they state that usually the character of bottom up is local and domestic market with an interest of locals/community. While top down is more of an

international interest with international or for western tourists in mind with their interests as the priority (Giampiccoli, 2016).

Since Oliver and Andreas as well as Sharpley and John, Kelly and Whitney, all strongly believe tourism development and informal economy is strong connection of the society, it is inter-related with the informal economy of that community. It can be taken as a strong factor for the economical uplifting and eventually overall development of the society. This theory is far from the truth as economy gained as a result of tourism, does not simultaneously bring consciousness on society to solve the prolonged social injustices that are there in the society, or even help to upgrade each people economically in that society. For these to be obtained, there need to be proper management of the tourism with wider concept in that place (Giampiccoli, 2016; Whitney-Squire, 2010; Sharpley, 2015).

As CBT is community based, local people participate and provide their products and services so that they can earn money. For everyday life these locals may have to struggle, they may have to buy everyday products, but here they are not the ones purchasing and spending but are the ones earning from their services. Giampiccoli et. al., have also talked about CBT being very helpful on raising the informal economy of local people in the area and it is independent of the CBT models (Giampiccoli, 2016).

CBT helps to create opportunities even to the locals with poor academic background, less job experiences, and from socially less privileged groups. Having said that there are still drawbacks in this scenario too which has been clearly stated by the writers. The government, since not being able to make proper laws and maintain management within, giving the chances of loopholes and help flourish the exploiters of the opportunity. Hence, many locals including minors are being compelled to lower wage work and face labor violations too (Giampiccoli, 2016).

4.5 Participation in CBT

It is not defined that the participation of community is beneficial for the tourism, but different writers argue that it helps for the overall tourists' experience. In the turn of the century, according to Esteban case study, he explains that rural communities are been considered in tourism activity as well as on decision making position, which has helped for the bottom up development of the particular

society (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). Further, he adds that in many communities, its seasonal activity leads to permanent flux in individual and domestic earning, strategy and tactics (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). Elayne and Linda argues in their case of Taquilla island that the participation of locals is so great that they have started to understand the need of preservation of their heritage and culture as well as they have been a very close community. The participation of them in growing together can be considered as a good example of CBT, even though sometimes participation only means attending a meeting. (Farthing, 2007; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011).

The three stage of planning, managing and its execution from active participation of locals for their benefit is considered by Marina, Nia and Claudia as CBT. They consider participations of locals as direct reaction to top down approach (Marina Novelli, 2017). While Gyimothy et. al., conclude in their case that locals' participation is required for the community livelihood and to improve and improvise CBT (Gyimothy, 2015). While Iain Murry supports about participation in CBT as a vital for its sustainable growth. Further arguing on how it is important in decision-making and for the effectiveness of the plan to execute in the community. Their purpose hypothesis also explains that the positive and negative, both affects happen due to the lack of or active participation of locals (Murry, 2010). Additionally, the community grows stronger with the locals' participation as the equal participation results in equal power distribution, creating a stronger relationship within the people of the community (Dahal, 2012). So, either for positive impact or negative, the participation of locals is crucial. While Esteban emphases that in CBT, locals' participation is compulsory, but it varies with what kind of planning, development approach and profit have been in form. In his case, he reveals that if locals owe and manage the fundamental, this can lead for a very specific experience for the tourist and help for local development (Ballesteros, 2017). However in his case, he again suggests that how much external participation is important as well and how it can affect the result, and how it is an intertwin in different levels and in different intensities depending on the interests of external groups such as Government, NGOs, Cultural brokers (Ballesteros, 2017).

While many articles and researches talk about how participation of locals is essential for the grass root development in CBT, nevertheless the down side that Marina et. al., argue about is how unachievable the expectation rise on locals is, which can lead to conflict and tension within the community. Furthermore, the power struggle within the community and with the outsiders as well,

can lead to unseen and unpleasant results. In addition, they argue that the participation could sometime only be in entry level and not on decision-making level which makes locals weak (Marina Novelli, 2017). Also, Oliver et. al., aim that many NGOs want local participation only till selling products or handicrafts or open a small homestay but not to reach in another level of decision making (Giampiccoli, 2016, s. 158). Nonetheless, Helene and Szilvia consider local participation as precondition for any CBT work (Gyimothy, 2015). Further in their case, they note that different actors can play role in making local participation true to line and not divert to bias while leading to few actors to have more say than others and only their interest is addressed (Gyimothy, 2015). So, in above journal, they argue that it's essential character that CBT should have and that from the first step, locals should be in the driving seat for planning and see how they want tourism to develop in their place (Marina Novelli, 2017; Gyimothy, 2015; Giampiccoli, 2016).

CBT has been criticized in many occasions as the articles are more fairy tales and in reality, all the above so-called wish-lists cannot be reached whether it's the participation or sustainable development or cooperation between different actors. This is because one factor affects a lot which is, the whole idea emerges from West and they are the ones who impose to community in most of the cases and the reliance on western world for economic support have led to the fulfillment of their interest first, before what locals want and ignore the knowledge that locals are based on, which can lead to unpleasant tourism (Marina Novelli, 2017; Beeton, 2006; Delanty, 2003; Sharpley, 2015). Here, from the above argument, we can see that it is extremely rare to find articles related to the locals have been published where the perspective from locals have been represented well. This represent a gap of knowledge in this field, particularly how locals see CBT.

4.6 Participation in Ghandruk CBT

In the case of Ghandruk and Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA), few researches have been done. According to the website of ACAP, they mention how they were the first one to not use army and Government funds, but rather use social capital and the resources available, working together with locals. They explain how much local participation and collaboration have led to a wonderful outcome since 1986 (ACAP, 2018) but that is something which needs to be examined carefully as they are the Governing Body and have vested interest. So, we look at other articles and cases which can support us.

The claim of ACAP is also supported by Hum who states in his paper “People’s participation in the Annapurna Conservation Area Project was embraced in order to address the problems of conserving a fragile environment while at the same time improving the livelihoods of the local communities” (Hum Gurung, 2008). Whereas, according to Andrew in his article, he praises how CBT bottom up approach with emphasis on local empowerment, participation have led to successful development of tourism in this region (Holden, 2010). While saying so, he contradicts it with his conclusion, where he shows how locals are not involved as needed because locals feel lack of economic reliance (seasonal tourism) and further, locals are not involved directly in resource management, it’s been done by ACAP (Holden, 2010). He has also noted how tourism might not be the long-term solution for development and how CBT required more research (Holden, 2010).

Smriti Dahal points out how many projects on ACAP are just using participation of locals only to fulfill the project goals rather than really helping CBT in ACA. And how they ignore the issues and do not help to address them. She emphasizes how participation of locals has been passive and how rarely it has empowered the community. She also clarifies how participation is a collaborative and all stakeholders have to come together (Dahal, 2012). She also adds on how women are more involved in CBT whereas Dalits and men seem to be aloof either because of culture or struggle for power within (Dahal, 2012). This is also the sign of unequal collaboration and power share within the community. She also points out on how “Aama Samuha” (Local Mothers’ Group) make decisions and have more to say in the community (Dahal, 2012).

While Damodar and Sanjay on their paper show evidence on how different communities have different opportunities and barriers for the same project and their perception is different too. They focus that there is manipulation on the participation of locals in ACAP and how certain group “social elite” tries to abuse the power and position and influence on the locals and dictate the terms for development in ACAP. As for instance, they show in their case that how the Gurung community influences the outcome and systematically ignores the participation of lower caste. This indicates how the social barriers cause certain group to remain outside of CBT (Nepal, 2010). This leads to greater need of understanding collaboration within the community and different interest group.

4.7 Collaboration theory

Selin noted that interdisciplinary between different actors is essential for making decision and managing the tourism (Selin as cited in Jamal and Getz). As for CBT, different stakeholders and their interest play huge role and from above all literature, we can agree on it. This is emphasized by Jamal and Getz whether noted that collaboration is a process to make joint decision between different stakeholders for a win-win situation between all stakeholders (Getz, 1995).

“collaboration for community-based tourism planning is a process of joint decision-making among autonomous key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issue related to planning and development of the domain” (Getz, 1995, s. 188).

Further they noted that collaboration is crucial for dynamic and diverse community and can help when different stakeholders have different interests involved. Collaboration can help CBT to evolve and plan with close cooperation between them (Getz, 1995). In the case of CBT, stakeholders are more independent and their solutions can be different for the same project so collaboration helps to identify core need and interest for community (Getz, 1995). In case of Ghandruk, different stakeholders have different ways to work and their interests are different, so collaboration is extremely important within them for a positive outcome.

Below, is the chapter about the research methodology that has been adopted for this research.

5. Chapter 4: Research Methodology

In this chapter, there is an explanation for the choices of research approach, the empirical data collection and the analysis of them. Further, at the end of the topic, there is the reflection and the limitations of this research.

5.1 Research Approach: A Case Study

This research is a study of a particular community. The research is to look at locals' perspective towards CBT in Ghandruk, Nepal and its impact on them. Thus, the case study approach has been adopted.

A case study is conducted in the situations where there is very less control over the social and behavioral events, in order to gain answers on 'how' and 'why' questions with the focal consideration on the contemporary time and circumstances (Yin, 2003). This research methodology is used in social sciences and is usually an in-depth analysis or investigation of certain demography or place or group. The main feature of this is the ability to generate answers to the questions whether it is, or not, why or what. Not only it is used in explanatory research but also in exploratory research, further using qualitative as well as quantitative data methods or mix methods including interviews, observations, which help in triangulate the data and make it more verified (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 179). In the case of Ghandruk, this approach helps to answer 'how' locals perceive CBT and 'Why' they perceive CBT like that (Mark Saunders, 2012). This location of Ghandruk with Gurung Community is being used as a demography and the qualitative data method has been used with both interviews and participant observations.

5.2 Qualitative Research

Ghandruk, being the first place where CBT had been introduced in Nepal (ACAP, 2018), has been chosen as the research place where the locals' opinions has been studied, their behavior has been observed and the research has been thoroughly assessed using the qualitative research method. The qualitative research helps in the subjective matters and in socially constructed ideas. The case study helps with the in-depth analysis, in trust between interviewer and participant (all stakeholder) which help participant to express in their will, which will lead to have deep level of understanding and access to the meaning (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 163). For a case study according to Mark et. al., this is the best strategy (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 163). "Qualitative research studies participants' meanings and the relationships between them, using a variety of data collection techniques and analytical

procedures, to develop a conceptual framework” (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 163). Its character suggests as being both naturalistic and interactive (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 163).

5.3 Ethnography, Fieldwork and the Researcher

“Ethnography is a research method central to knowing the world from the standpoint of its social relations” (Department of Anthropology, 2019). Ethnography is used wherever people are relevant (Department of Anthropology, 2019) In the early colonial era, ethnography was the part of the qualitative research strategy used to study the people and their culture of the colonized territories, living amongst them and speaking their tongue, by the colonial powers (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 181). In the similar way, I lived in the Ghandruk village among the local people, speaking their language so as to perceive their culture and traditions and observe as well as understand their way of life, their beliefs and etiquette, with the daily interface with them (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 181).

Here, ethnography has helped me extensively in order to see and present the locals' point of view on tourism, CBT and development. In order to get the overview of the issue and solution, the received observations including the expressions of the people such as ‘nod’ will be analyzed in this research which has been only possible due to the fieldwork. Further, as a researcher, more subjective impression towards the people and culture including the observation have been used in this research (Mark Saunders, 2012).

5.3.1 Focus Group

According to Krueger and Casey as cited by Saunders et. al., “A focus group is a group interview that focuses upon a particular issue, product, service, or topic by encouraging discussion among participants” (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 403). In the case of Ghandruk, the focus group was set in order to make semi structured interviews and, to observe and make questionnaire more strong and relevant. The two focus groups were set, one was in Kathmandu to see the overview from the center to look at Ghandruk and another was set in Ghandruk in order to observe the local stakeholders' point of view. They were encouraged to express their views in free and tolerant environment.

5.3.2 Semi structured interview

Semi structured interview is unstructured and does not follow a standard method however the researcher will make a list of possible questions regarding the theme (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 374). As, the case is a qualitative research, semi structured questions were set after the focus group interview. As the researcher, I compiled two sets of semi structured questions, one for the different stakeholders and another for the locals. I, however, according to the stakeholders I changed the questions and made them bolder or softer.

5.3.3 Field Work

The fieldwork started from 18th January to March 2nd. Below is a picture of focus group that I held in Ghandruk.



Figure 2 Focus Group From Right to left 2 farmers, member of Aama Samuha, Member of local ward, Hotel owner, Tea shop women, Dalit

In 2005, I was still a small kid, it was then the insurgency period in my country, when my father took me to ACA. That was how, I first came to know about this place. Before I went there for my research, I already had ideas about the village, how it would be there, and I kept myself updated with new informations about the whole region time to time. On January 16th 2019, I went to Kathmandu, Nepal. First, I decided to collect as much information as possible from the Information bureau in Kathmandu, Nepal. Nepal tourism board, TAAN(Trekking association of Nepal), The National Trust for Nature Conservation(NTNC) and Trekking Company - Lama Randonnees are the places where I visited and collected the information that I would need. Once I was done with my observation and interviews with them, I went to Ghandruk and stayed there for 20 days.

During my stay in Kathmandu, first, I went to Lama Randonees, a trekking company in Nepal. I have a previous work experience with this company so it was easy for me to get an appointment with the Managing Director, Mr. Karma Lama of the company. During our meeting, we discussed about what are the problems, what is happening and whom to meet. Then, I made a small focus group with MD of Lama Randonnees, few sherpas(Guides) and porters along with one guide from Ghandruk. And discussed about problems that locals are facing and what CBT has done to Ghandruk.

I had already fixed a meeting with Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar of Nepal Tourism Board(NTB) when I was still in Denmark, before travelling to Nepal, as it is very hard to get them for the interviews. I created a semi-structured interview and went to meet him at his office. I could meet him only during his lunch hour so I had only 30 minutes to talk with him. When I met him, I started with talking about the normal and casual stuffs trying to make him more calm and relaxed so it would be easy to take his interview. He did not want to be filmed but agreed for a photo of him and for the recording of the conversation. As he was the representative of the Government, I could see on his

answers that they were more of the same typical Government statements rather than the clear and precise answers.



Figure 3 meeting with Mr. Aiyaar of Nepal Tourism Board

After this meeting, with some of my re-structured questions, I was preparing for my next meeting which was supposed to be with a NTNC project manager. But he refused with the reasoning that he was bound by the Government of Nepal and hence could not give any interviews. On the other hand, he directed me to an ACAP Ranger in Ghandruk and I was able to fix a meeting with the Ranger in Ghandruk. After this, I went back to Lama Randonnees, the trekking company, the second time for the interview with the Managing Director of the company but I could not meet his as he was already on his trek. Few days after that, I left for Ghandruk from Kathmandu.

5.3.4 Collecting data from Ghandruk

Once my stakeholders from the Government and the Company was done, I went to Ghandruk on 2nd of February. I went from Kathmandu to Kushma, Parbat region and stayed there for the night. The next day, I took off for Ghandruk, getting into a local bus. The local bus went just to Nayapul. From Nayapul, I walked for 5 hours in a muddy road. As this road has recently reached till Ghandruk, there were few motorbikes too on the way. The main reason for travelling to Ghandruk in the month of February is basically because of two reasons. Firstly, the season for tourists in Nepal starts in April till May and from August till December and during this time, all the stakeholders get quite busy with

their businesses and they may not be able to provide as much time as I want. Secondly, from June onwards, the cultivation season starts, and people get busy with their farms during this time. So, I felt February will be the best time to truly connect with locals as they have more free time (in sense of work and business) and I can get enough time from them for the required information along with their perspectives. I stayed first two nights in a hotel known as Hotel Milan. On the third day, I moved to a home-stay with a family and started to work for the interviews. As most of the village is within 1 hour of walk, for some stake holders, I had to walk hour to reach them. Among the locals, some of them provide home-stay services, some work in government offices and some are engaged in community groups. Some of the interviews are with people who are involved in community groups as well as own a hotel and are politically active as well. It is difficult to tell their precise occupation as many people have more than one role in the community. In the process of taking interview with Dalits, I stayed with them at their own home (not the home-stay) for 4 days and observed them.



Figure 4 Locals gathering tree leaves for livestock Source: own

Before taking any interviews, I usually stayed with them for few hours, talked with them, asked them about their interests, had some low-key conversations and only then I started my interviews. Some of them were comfortable so I could make video recordings of the conversations. For the people who were not comfortable with the video recordings, I made voice recordings of the conversations and also in few instances, I took notes as they did not even want to be recorded.

Before I prepared for my semi-structured interviews, I set a focus group. I took an overview of the place and the people living there. I tried to understand their way of life and the way they think and work. As the result of my observations, I chose only those people who could give their views and opinions without being bias and without getting influenced of anything or anyone. Among the people I have chosen for the interviews were, a teacher of the local government school, a member of the local mothers' group 'Aama Samuha', two local farmers, a Dalit farmer, a tea shop owner, an owner of the hotel where I was staying, an official member of the ward, a member of ACAP and a local clinic medical assistant. I chose them as representatives of Ghandruk in a way. I acted as a facilitator and provided them with the topics such as what the good and bad effects of tourism are on them, and what CBT has done for them. First, I would listen to each individual, about their ideas and their perceptions. Then I would bring up more topics and question so as to provoke them to speak more and hence we would have a long discussion (nearly lasting 2 hours). This helped me to justify my semi-structured questions and make my questions more reliable and valid with my problem.

To take an interview with a school teacher in a local school, I requested for time with the vice principle. He agreed for the interview along with a video recording of it. I was keen to know about the young peoples' perspective as well so I asked him if any of the students could give an interview. He helped find a student from the school who was willing for the interview. I could talk and interview the student, Rabita Gurung, after the end of the school time that day. She also agreed for the video recording of the interview, and we had this interview in English language.

While searching for the other stakeholders, I reached to the local medical clinic which is the only clinic not just in Ghandruk but also in the surrounding villages. It took me two days to persuade the nurse for the interview as in her opinion, she felt that she was not the part of the community and her voice did not matter. I convinced her that her words do matter and her thoughts and opinions can actually make a big difference. For the first half of the interview, she gave the answers in English and as the interview continued, she thought it would be better to switch to Nepali language as she could express better in her own language.

As I had been told already by the NTNC office from Kathmandu that my meeting was set up with an ACAP Ranger, Mr. Bishnu Poudel, in Ghandruk, I went to visit him in the ACAP office in Ghandruk. He could not give me his time that day but arranged the meeting for the next day. The next

day, we had lunch together and I could take his interview during the lunch time. As he did not agree either for video or for voice recording, I had to note down the interview.

I knew there were two museums in Ghandruk. Both of these museums were related to Gurung Culture and traditions. I chose to visit only one of them. I visited the one named as 'Gurung Musuem'. I found out that this museum was very popular among the tourists, especially among the domestic tourists. Tourists would love to try the Gurung attire and have the pictures taken on them. It was really difficult to convince the museum caretaker lady for the interview as she was not just the caretaker but also one of the members of the local mothers' group 'Aama Samuha'. I talked with her and finally was able to set an early morning meeting for the interview before the museum's opening time.

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Below is the overview of my interviewees and type of stake holders

S. No.	Name of Interviewees	Type of stakeholders
1.	Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar	Senior Director, Nepal Tourism Board, Central Government
2.	Mr. Karma Lama	MD, Lama Randonneés Trekking, Private Operator
3.	Lal Bahadur Shrestha (48)(M)	Office assistance ward-10(Local Government Officer)
4.	Bishnu Poudel(39)(M)	ACAP Ranger
5.	Bhawana Subedi(22)(F)	Nurse, Ghandruk Health Post
6.	Purna Prasad Gurung(48)(M)	Vice Principle of Shree Meshram Baraha High School/Local Activist
7.	Suntari Gurung(52)(F)	Chairman of Local mothers' Group/Local
8.	Milan Gurung(82)(M)	Hotel Owner of Milan Hotel
9.	Kumar Bahadur Gurung(43)(M)	Tea house owner/Local
10.	Lali Gurung(47)(F)	Caretaker of old Gurung Museum/Local
11.	Purna Gurung(23)(M)	Worker in a hotel/Local
12.	Jagan lal Thapa(82)(M)	Farmer/Local
13.	Sanjay Gurung (19)(M)	Farmer/ Local
14.	Dhan Kaji Gurung(M)	Farmer/Local
15.	Hem Bahadur Gurung(25)(M)	Farmer/local
16.	Subash Gurung (53)(M)	Farmer/Local

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17.	Neema Gurung(33)(F)	Farmer/Local
18.	Rabita Gurung(16)(F)	Student/Local
19.	Manu Pariyar(36)(F)	Dalit/Local
20.	Gunu Pariyar(68)(F)	Dalit/Local

In Ghandruk, I found out that most of the locals either have a homestay or a hotel. Many of the locals were members of Gurung Community. The women, on the other hand, were also members of the local 'Aama Samuha'. Many of the locals in Gurung community had also continued working as farmers along with getting involved in the tourism business. Until my interviews, I was unaware of the situation of Dalits in the village. With the help of my interviews, I came to realize that they worked just as farmers and were not at all involved in tourism directly, in such a way that I could not find a single Dalit owning a homestay or a hotel or a tea house.

5.4 The Interview guide

The interview guide is the semi structured questions that have been asked to the respondent or participant (Angus, 2019). For these questions, I first looked at the relevant theories then I set a focus group which helped me to construct my questionnaire and further with the theme of topic, not letting me to derail. First, I made my sets of semi-structured questions; one set for locals and another set for the stakeholders. So, I did not ask the same question to everyone. I kept changing and adopting my questions according to the responses I received from the interviewee during the interview, making the interview much simpler or in-depth accordingly. In the course of my interviews, I would not directly jump to the questions related to the tourism and the effects but would first ask about their own view in general, about how they feel, about what is happening and their way of working towards the progress. And sometimes when I felt, the interviewees had enough information about the topic and they could understand what I was asking, I would ask them directly my list of questions. Other times, I would just change the topic and try to make them feel easy and just would let them tell their

story about tourism, about the past, the present and then after a long conversation, would ask them my list of questions.(See Appendix for questions)

5.5 Ethical Consideration

While talking with any participant their acceptance for this case is essential which will influence the outcome of interview (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 226). Not only that the social norm helps to adopt to the situation and surrounding (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 227). This has helped me to be adoptive. In some interviews, I have not used the word 'community' specially when talking with "Dalits" as they feel and recognize themselves as a separate community. So, I have used the word Ghandruk development or Village development. On the other hand, I have used the word 'community' development when I talked with "Gurungs". I have taken a little sensitive approach while talking with Dalits. They are the minorities in the village and are little hesitant to speak their minds out. So, I have had worked to persuade them with patience, trying to make them comfortable before starting to talk about the tourism or community related questions. When I wanted to talk to the Dalit farmers, I waited for them till they finished their work and did not disturb them while working. After they would finish their works, I would talk and interview them on their fields. Also, in some cases, I have not used the word 'development' as most of the people understand development as only in the National level. In their opinion, road is an essential for development. Hence, I have used the word 'change' instead of 'development' so that I would get their response without conflicting their views.

5.6 Trustworthiness of the research

Qualitative is the nature of my research. As validity and reliability is used in quantitative research, in the same way I am using trustworthiness in my research using qualitative approach (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 194).

So below are the four formulation designs.

5.6.1 Credibility

Credibility means believability of the particular research (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 225). As I traveled to their place, stayed with them and let them express their opinions on CBT and its impact on their lives and they are the ones evaluating the change in their own society, I feel their opinions can be considered as very credible given the similar situation. Nevertheless, with the change of time and experiences, people along with their understanding and interpretations can change.

5.6.2 Transferability

From this research, generalization cannot be done. Still transferability can be achieved by the given information, when the similar situation exists, similar information and pattern can be achieved (Stumpfegger, 2017).

5.6.3 Dependability

“Dependability aims to replace reliability, which requires that when replicating experiments, the same results should be achieved” (Stumpfegger, 2017). In the case of the qualitative research, there is account for argument, participation and logic. Time changes and these participants on this research could change too but under the similar environment, the similar result can be achieved.

5.7 Participant observation

“observation involves: the systematic observation, recording, description, analysis and interpretation of people's behavior” (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 340). As this research is a case study with qualitative analysis, the observation emphasizes on peoples' behavior and tries to discover the meaning behind the participants' certain behavior (Mark Saunders, 2012). This involves living among them, understanding their culture, ritual and other events that has helped them to be what they are today (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 342).

“Qualitative samples are usually small and should be selected purposefully in order to select information-rich cases for in-depth study (Patton, 2002)” (Stumpfegger, 2017). So, I took around 18

interviews in Ghandruk and 2 interviews in Kathmandu. Even though the interview numbers were not so big, I still tried to involve as much people as from different spectrum.

One very important aspect of Nepalese people is that, as a part of their culture and the way they had been brought up, they try not to say 'No' or will say 'Yes' to everything even when they do not have any intention to fulfill it. Because of this reason, sometimes they would just say 'Yes' or 'Okay' or 'I do not know' or would just nod their heads indicating 'Yes' to everything I asked for. Knowing this culture of them, I would sometimes insist them to express what they feel. For this, I would make long informal conversations with them first, so as to make them very comfortable and after they felt relaxed, only then I would pursue my interviews. I would need to elaborate the question or ask the same question in different ways so as to get the answer.

In some cases, few people were diplomatic on their answers. When I interviewed the people from Dalit community, I could clearly see that they did not feel that they were part of the Ghandruk community even though, they would say that they were also the part in their words. Even after I tried to convince them to tell freely what and how they feel, they would say the same thing regardless of their body language and facial expressions which told the otherwise. Further, Dalit people were reluctant to give interviews as they felt their voices would not be heard. This is the reason, I have only two interviews of them which took a good deal of persuasion for the agreement of those interviews.

It was also a challenge to take interviews of young people of the age range between 16 to 25. They would come to have just casual talks with me. Whenever I approached them, they would willingly talk to me but as soon as I talked about the interview, they would get disinclined. I later, found that one of the reasons for this behavior was, because they felt their words were not apprehended and their opinions did not count. So, I had to persuade them and let them know that their opinions had value as much high as that of any other people in the village and would matter a lot to me for my research.

These observations have deep meaning in the research as they show how a community acts culturally, and how patriarchal Nepalese society is. During my research I found that most of the stakeholders, like hotel owners, or Government officers or travel agency owners are male. It shows

that Nepalese society is a male dominant one and hence, there are differences in the views and opinions between a male and a female for the same situation or the same question.

Lastly, the field-visit provided me with not only an insight of the locals' lifestyles but also helped me to witness the condition of people and their mentality towards tourists and community. As of the fact that I lived with them for several days, it assisted me to perceive them better. This helped me to attain the better knowledge and understanding of their views and opinions. I could further comprehend their thoughts and values with the keen observation and analysis.

5.8 The researcher's position

In any research, researchers' ethics have a huge implementation. According to Mark et. al., it is a way researcher behaves and acts with the interviewees and gets affected by them. Social norms play a vital role in the research (Mark Saunders, 2012, s. 226). As an author of this research, I must accept that I am born in Nepal and have a soft corner for Nepal. Also, I know about the culture of this region, so I tried as much as I can to give importance and respect to their space while taking their interviews. Moreover, I have traveled to this region several times during my life. As researchers are often blamed for a biased opinion (Mark Saunders, 2012), I also admit of having a certain opinion since the starting of this research however I tried that my preconceived opinions would not make any difference in this research.

5.9 Limitations

During my visit to ACAP center in Kathmandu and also in Ghandruk, the people there were hesitant to provide any data. They did not provide me any information regarding what they were doing in Ghandruk related to the development of the region. They were adamant in their saying that they worked a lot for the development of the region but did not provide any data to back it up with. Further, when I asked them to join for a focus group interview, they did not want to join. In addition to it, the Government of Nepal has not yet released all the data regarding tourism for 2018 and those which they had released were also very limited. Thus, a clear view of the Government in the region could not be seen.

As this being a qualitative research, the answer for my problem is not definite but it includes perspectives, and understandings in a broad way. Hence, it risks of not giving one specific answer. While saying so, I feel that one concrete answer cannot justify my research as my idea is to see the locals' perspectives as perspective is a collection of different opinions.

Above, I have explained about the methodology process for the research, now those qualitative data collected are explained relating with the literature in the findings and analysis chapters below.

6. Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter presents and discuss key findings of this research project. The first part reveals the stakeholders' perspective on CBT in Ghandruk and the second part reveals the locals' point of view on CBT and its impact to them.

There are 20 interviewees who had participated in the interviews for this research. Among them are; a senior director from Nepal Tourism Board, a Managing director of a travel agency, an office assistant from VDC, a vice principal of a school who is also a member of the local community and also active in politics, a caretaker of a local museum who is also a member of Aama Samuha(local mothers' group) and the rest are local residents of Ghandruk who have multiple roles in the community in a way or other.

6.1 Stakeholders perception on locals, Ghandruke

Below, how the central and local government look towards the local, in the first phase, then the views of the private operator on the locals and then the views of other stakeholders of Ghandruk on the locals has been analyzed.

6.1.1 The Government (Central and Local)

As the Central Government in Kathmandu formulates policies and leads towards their better execution for the development of Ghandruk and its people, it is extremely important on how the Government sees other stakeholders specially Ghandruke (locally known as people of Ghandruk). As Veltmeyer et. al., state the reform after 1980 to decentralize the government for bringing it more closer to the local community so that there is participation from the local level (Veltmeyer, 2011) but during my interview with Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar, Senior Director of Tourism Board, his ideas of Ghandruk and its people are not different than any other day to day product.

“We are promoting this product from last many years and this is the number one product among tourist and its one of the icons of nature and culture.”

Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar, Senior Director of Nepal Tourism Board
(0.33 min in the recording)

When asked about what the Central Government's future plans are for Ghandruk and for ACA, he did not provide clear vision and idea of the government plan and policies rather just posed Ghandruk and ACA as a marketing product for the tourists. His reaction gave a notion that the government is just willing to attract the tourists using Ghandruk and its people as one of the many advertisements and does not actually imply any intention on working closely with the locals for their and Ghandruk's benefits. He further stated:

“Gurung community are native, they are more conscious, and not just us but many organizations are helping like NTNC and they are the pioneering institution who are helping local people, they are helping conserve the culture, conservation of nature through tourism. They are practicing cultural program, heritage food, it's not just a destination but also experience.”

Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar, Senior Director of Nepal Tourism Board
(2.14 min in the recording)

From the statement above it can be seen that the Central government is attributing developmental responsibilities to other stakeholders. Hence the locals of village are working with very little government support. However, this has not been supported by the statements of Mr. Shrestha, an officer at ward 10 of local Government in Ghandruk who emphasizes on working together with the locals for their benefits.

“This Gurung community preservation of culture have helped for the development, they come up with what they want as a community and we work on it”

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shrestha, Office Assistant, Ward 10, Ghandruk
(1.03 min in the recording)

Here, Ghandruk as a whole has been seen as one homogenous society by both government bodies. As Gyimothy et. al., describe sometimes the whole locals are considered as one group assuming them to participate as they prefer rather than encouraging participation of diverse sub-groups and their different values and interests (Gyimothy, 2015). Similarly, in this case of Ghandruk, the “Dalits” who are totally different group of people have been ignored or have been kept under the same banner of Gurung community by the Government (both local and central), even when they are totally different group of people. This is so true as the Gyimothy et. al., describe on their literature as all subgroups are kept as one single group as Gurungs.

While asked about the further preparation and plans for the probable overflow of tourists in Ghandruk and its potential impacts on locals, Mr. Aiyaar responds with a vague answer with a naïve reaction showing the unpreparedness of the government with a very little knowledge on negative impacts of over-tourism:

“There are many homestays and the facilities which can provide for all tourists, further we give classes on cooking and hospitality so there is no problem. Further tourists love going there and that is how the Ghandruk is Ghandruk.”

Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar, Senior Director of Nepal Tourism Board
(4.10 min in the recording)

On the other hand, Mr. Shrestha of Ward 10 of Local Government Ghandruk notifies about the problems during the high tourist season and the effects of the overflowing tourists:

“In October, the flow of Nepali tourists was so high because of dirt road as people came by motor-bikes and there were days when tourists were sleeping in the dining halls of hotels and homestays. This will send negative impressions to our international tourists. Further, the hospitality given by the locals, when there are so many tourists, is minimal.”

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shrestha (48), Office Assistant, Ward 10, Ghandruk

(1.33 min in the recording)

With the above statements, a conclusion can be drawn that the Central government of Nepal has not collected enough knowledge on Ghandruk and its people but has been using the natural and cultural diversities of the place and people as marketing purposes for attracting tourists to visit Nepal. With the answers received, it is clearly visible that the locals involved in tourism sector in the village are the only section of locals perceived by the Central government and the locals who are not involved in tourism sector such as farmers and Dalits are being totally ignored.

In contrast, the local government officer seems to recognize the ground reality and provides the insights of the situation of the village and its people. From the local government's point of view, development works are done more on the bottom up approach as they are working for what locals want and are providing them with the facilities as per the need of the locals rather than the top down approach with the central government formulating policies and implementing them. In this case, the local government can act like a bridge between the Central Government and the locals. Mediator could play the structural role and here local government can act as the “mediator” (Farthing, 2007). This could potentially lead to changes in the perceptions of the Central Government on the locals.

6.1.2 Private Operator

There are 1634 trekking agencies in Nepal which are registered formally with TAAN (TAAN, 2019) indicating that they play a vital role in tourism and how they see locals, definitely weighs a lot. The MD of Lama Randonnees, Trekking Mr. Karma Lama says,

“the locals receive economic benefits and from that (CBT), their lifestyle has been better bringing them closer to reaching the other development projects for the community as well. One of the negative effects is that most of the people with the better financial situations are then drawn towards migrating to the cities leaving the village never to come back again. With many of the younger generations fleeing to cities, the village areas are remained with the people of older generations only. Since, very few younger people are left to continue the traditions and cultures, these older traditions and cultures are likely to gradually fade away.”

Mr. Karma Lama, Manager Director, Lama Randonnees

In addition to above, he also feels that if trekking companies provide tourists with better Guides who can be the connection between the tourists and locals, then the local culture and customs could be saved. This is an indicative of the above similar idea of ‘Cultural broker’. These guides could play the role of cultural broker better as they speak the same language as of both tourists and the locals. Moreover, they can be seen as the one who not only guide the tourists through these places, but also can act as a mediator between the two sides (Farthing, 2007).

“The tourists should be informed about local culture and customs – what to do and what not to do. That they are here not to change Nepal but to take back pleasant local memories of Nepal.”

Mr. Karma Lama, Manager Director, Lama Randonnees

This suggests that the role of tourists in the village is not just limited to the gazing purposes but also for the understanding and preserving of locals' identity (Sharpley, 2015). This further shows how globalization can affect a farthest corner of the world affecting culture and mobility (Franklin,

2003). Not only that, he also express that the locals are the ones who should be more empowered, and that is the basic characteristics of CBT (Whitney-Squire, 2010).

The two things that can be seen here is that private sectors see the locals as an essential for them to do tours and trekking. They seem to understand the preservation of local culture but that is also with a motive for the fulfillment of the tourists' desires and amusements.

6.1.3 Different stakeholders of Ghandruk and their perception on locals

This section highlights perceptions of local stakeholders like local hotel owners, local Mothers' group and local museum caretaker, ACAP on general Ghandruke people.

Owner of Milan hotel, Mr. Milan seems to align with the Central Government's idea of who the locals are.

"We are locals, all homes are homestays, we have cooks and house-keepers for the high season as well, so all locals can earn in the season."

Mr. Milan Gurung (82), owner of Milan Hotel, Ghandruk

As, Gyimothy et. al., suggest that no community can be homogeneous nor can they have same goal but are always affected by few powerful elite (Gyimothy, 2015). This literature is so relevant in this matter as Mr. Milan Gurung is a representative of hotel owners, his idea that all locals owe hotels or homestays actually make him not see those locals who work on farms and those Dalits who are systematically not allowed to owe any teahouse or homestay. This shows the fact that only Gurungs for him is the locals and this homogeneous group is equal to Ghandruk for him.

The ACAP Ranger, Mr. Bishnu Poudel (39) argues on how the hotel owners do what they want and how much influence they have on what next to do. Either, it's the construction of a road or the expansion of a clinic, the hotel owners have their influence on all and the locals are mere spectators.

The elites who have more power on what to say thus intervene with the ideal of CBT. Gyimothy et. al., in their literature advocate that the local participation is a must but as they also agree that the power share between different local groups can be uneven (Gyimothy, 2015). Here, it's clear that the local hotel owners are the one who have more powerful voice than other local citizens who are not involved directly in the tourism.

On the other hand, a caretaker of the Old Gurung Museum, Ms. Lali Gurung disagrees with Mr. Milan's above statement. She says:

"I am also local. I was born here and have been here all my life. Life was very simple before. But now being much dependent on tourists, life has changed a lot here. The houses are no more stone hatched. Young people do not respect their own cultures and traditions. They do not wear traditional clothes anymore. They prefer listening to English music more and hence, the traditional music is gone and the traditional Gurung dress is now used only for taking picture in 50Rs."

Ms. Lali Gurung (47), Old Gurung Museum, Ghandruk

Here, is a pictural depiction of the fear that has been shown by Ms. Lali about the commodification of the culture in Ghandruk which I had also observed during my stay there.



Figure 5 Nepali and Foreign Tourist in Gurung Clothes in the front of the Old Gurung Museum
Source: Own

One very crucial thing that is missing from all the stakeholders' assumptions and responses to the locals is that they all left Dalits out of their accounts. It can be seen that they did not even consider Dalits as a part of the community, as they did not say anything regarding them. The Gurungs are only considered to be the representation of the community by the different stakeholders. Thus, the marginalization of the Dalits in the Ghandruk shows real gap that CBT has not been able to compensate, presenting us with the fact that the CBT as a process is still incomplete (Gyimothy, 2015). This, in addition with Dahal on her article, suggests that the Dalits are bare numbers in the society and hold no recognition for any sort of community participation (Dahal, 2012).

Now as when it can be seen what different stakeholders perceive the locals, we can now work on how they perceive the development via CBT and its impact on locals.

6.2 Different stakeholders' perspective on the development via CBT and its impact on locals

The viewpoint of central and local government including other different stakeholders on the development via CBT and in their opinions how it is affecting the locals have been explained in the following chapters below.

6.2.1 Central and Local Government

When asked to Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar of Nepal Tourism Board about the construction of the road and its consequences on the tourism and the development of Ghandruk, his following reply has been received.

“With the development of road, you cannot stop this, this is government policy but new alternative route for tourists for trekking is there, so if someone wants to have a short visit, he can choose the short route or if someone wants a long stay, he can use the alternative trekking route and this will be more beneficial.”

Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar, Senior Director, Nepal Tourism Board

(9.55 min in the recording)

Further he added the following when asked about if locals are benefited by it.

“Yes, yes everyone is benefited. That's why the homestay concept came, the locals run their teashops, and in their homes is the place for tourists. Some people are farmers, some have trekking companies, some are guides, some are porters, some are doing pottery, some are doing cultural clothes business, so the overall social impact is huge because of the tourism and that's how the development is happening.”

Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar, Senior Director, Nepal Tourism Board

(7.52 min in the recording)

This statement is typical as we talked in our literature. According to Sharpley et. al., as well the Economic impact is based on doing different work related to tourism which benefits the stakeholders who are involved in tourism while the rest is only the byproduct of physical infrastructure development that locals receive (Sharpley, 2015). As, WTO mentions that tourism can bring economic growth specially in developing country and help them reach equal to develop country through tourism is a bit neoliberal view of development (Sharpley, 2015). Here the central government aligns with this ideology and feels that everyone is benefited without looking at the root level.

6.2.2 Other stakeholders

The other stakeholders' views, including trekking agencies, hotel owners, ACAP, local mothers' Group, Museum caretaker. Overall each stakeholder representative seems to have very different perceptions on what development via CBT means.

“Tourism has of course developed the Area economically in the last 20 years. We can see it from the number of hotels and lodges that has increased in many villages and many of whom are now providing rooms with better facilities.”

Mr. Karma Lama, Manager Director, Lama Randonnees

Here, Mr. Lama also suggests the physical infrastructures as a sign of development and how tourism has been an essential part even during insurgency.

Mr. Gurung (82), the owner of Milan Hotel argues the similar thoughts on development.

“There was no school before. Because of tourism, school came, clinic came, new houses with attached bathroom is now normal. So came the electricity and wi-fi. People have houses in Pokhara and other big cities. There is development even when we had 10 years of Maoist insurgency. But still government could have done a lot more.”

Mr. Milan Gurung (82), Milan hotel, Ghandruk

The vice principle of the school, Mr. Purna Prasad Gurung also sees the similar views on the development and also appreciates its positive sides.

“Road is a part of the development. Now, we can get new books. We are connected to the city with few hours’ drive. If anyone is ill, we can take them easily to Pokhara.”

Mr. Purna Prasad Gurung (48), vice principal, Ghandruk

(2.14 min in the recording)

Here, Mr. Gurung acknowledges the physical development of the village. Simultaneously, impacting for the betterment of the local school. This, in turn can help for the positive social change.

As, Sharpley et. al., argue that the tourists come due to ‘free infrastructure’ (nature, climate, mountain) which leads to economic and infrastructural development (Sharpley, 2015). Due to the globalization, the tourism has brought Wi-Fi and other infrastructures in the name of modernization. According to these two stakeholders, this infrastructural development has led to the overall development in this backward traditional society.

So, from the opinions of the above two stakeholders, the overall development can only go alongside the growth in the number of tourists, without realizing what locals truly feel about the development and the tourism. Both the stakeholders’ statements are closer to the characteristics of top down approach for the development rather than the characteristics of CBT with the involvement of the community. From this, it can be seen that they only count the physical infrastructures as development and advocate towards the top down approach for tourism to lead for development. Whereas, few researchers like Veltmeyer et. al., argue that the notion of top down approach to the development needs to be abandoned as it does not bring development to everyone (Veltmeyer, 2011). Whereas these stakeholders still appreciate the top down approach for infrastructure development via tourism.

On the contrary to these stakeholders, the chairman of Aama Samuha(Local Mothers’ Group), Ms. Suntari Gurung (52) does not see much benefit for the locals:

“Where is development? Road has come but it's so bad that you cannot use it in the rainy seasons. Now tourists do not want to use this road for trekking purpose. Clinic is there just to say. It is so bad that we still have to go to Pokhara for everything. School is also not good. Young people go to Pokhara to study. If this place was developed, the young men would not go abroad for the sake of work. The Government does nothing, neither does the ACAP. Whatever you see, either it's trail maintenance or construction of waterpipes, we did it.”

Ms. Suntari Gurung (52), Aama Samuha, Ghandruk

(00.48 min in the recording)

She indicates that the tourism has made the locals as a commodity and sell them as a product and at the end, affect themselves (Beeton, 2006). Sue Beeton advises that tourism does not necessarily bring the long-term development unless the locals are empowered and are on resource management. Ms. Suntari Gurung strongly saying that whatever small maintenances of trails or waterpipes are done and maintained by them, is the indication that the local empowerment and resource on their hand have had positive impacts on the development. Further, it can be seen here, what empowerment can do in local level. If marginalized people (in this case, women) are in the control, they can help for the development which Veltmeyer et. al., also agrees in their literature (Veltmeyer, 2011). Further, this also suggests about the bottom up approach and the participation of the Community for the development and how it can be effective (Giampiccoli, 2016). Not only that she also shows how an active participation can lead for the development from the bottom up approach if the necessary need is fulfilled (Gyimothy, 2015).

What's more, the chairman of the Mothers' Group in the village thinks that they are there, only to perform the traditional dances and the things which the hotel owners want for the tourists' entertainment purposes. This is again the indicative of the power play within the Community. And as the essential part of CBT, the locals should be in the driving seat of planning and executing them. But in this case, with the opinions of the various stakeholders, it does not seem to resemble to that of what our literature suggests (Gyimothy, 2015; Veltmeyer, 2011; Whitney-Squire, 2010; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011).

Mr. Bishnu Poudel, Ranger at ACAP seems to focus more on sustainable development when asked about what development means.

“Development should be sustainable. The Preservation of culture of people and Environment is development in my view. This road construction is a national policy of connecting one place with another, but I feel the Government fails to manage the resources as they did not make enough cooperation with the locals. This is not development. Also, the farmers in this place should be given education, knowledge to work together with nature and for me that is real development. For this ACAP, hotel owners, travel agencies have to come together for the CBT to grow in more sustainable way for the benefit of everyone.”

Mr. Bishnu Poudel (39), Ranger at ACAP, Ghandruk

Not only that this indicates a comprehensive understanding of development but also emphasizes that partnerships can lead Ghandruk to succeed as a CBT. Gyimonthy et. al., mention that the private sector as well as other stakeholders can cooperate with each other to manage for the development of that community, either formally or informally, but this does not hold true in the case here. In the case of Ghandruk, when the roads were constructed, no cooperation between the government and the locals was made. Still, the locals have the greater influence and for the CBT venture to last long, all these partners have to work for the empowerment of the locals so that in a long run, they can sustain by themselves for the development (Gyimothy, 2015). To add up to this, the theory of collaboration as Getz et. al., on the article expresses about making joint decisions whereas from the above, it can be seen how in the practice, this is not the case (Getz, 1995).

In the theories, there may be the referral to the win-win situation in the case of development and tourism for all the stakeholders and the locals with the cooperation between them, but the reality harshly differs from the theories because of the difference in the interests between the various stakeholders on the development and the CBT and further the power play by `elite group` is substantial (Getz, 1995).

Similarly, the Caretaker of Old Gurung Museum, Ms. Lali Gurung expresses the negative impacts of tourism in Ghandruk rather than the development from it.

“Development, I cannot see it. Now it’s all about money. The old stone roofed house, which is our heritage, is being replaced by tin roofed and concrete houses. Young people do not speak our language, do not wear our clothes. Many people have left farming. The shops are expensive as they are targeted to tourists only. I find people going just after money. I see, no more the Community benefitting from the tourism. People perform ‘Lhosar’ dance any time for tourists. I don’t see what tourist bring, they bring nothing good, money is not development.”

Ms. Lali Gurung (47), Old Gurung Museum, Ghandruk

Her opinions direct towards the “touristification” of the local cultures and traditions. Rather than helping in the core development of the community and its people, the tourism to its opposite, just helps inflicting the modern culture and technology into the lives of the people, slowly detaching them from their core roots and away from the real development of the place and its people (Gyimothy, 2015). As, Beeton said in the postmodernism reality change with changing lens of stakeholders, similarly in Lali Gurung’s perspective, development can be seen as preservation of heritage (Beeton, 2006).

Ms. Lali Gurung’s anger and her frustrations can be very much relating to the theory and that shows how new generations of theories are needed. As (McCarthy, 2018) argues on how Bhutan is using happiness as parameter for the development rather than looking for traditional GDP as parameter for development. The same can be seen in the expression of Ms. Gurung’s words which is contrary to the literature presented above. This also helps to see the gap on the western style concept of development (Veltmeyer, 2011).

From the above quotes, it can be seen that the development can be achieved through the locally managed tourism where a democratic stewardship can help for stimulating the locals’ social change (Gyimothy, 2015). “By sharing common roots and history, people would be more inclined to enact stewardship of the inherited common good” (Gyimothy, 2015). This is a reflective towards what the chairman of the local Mothers’ Group said and as well as she also argues how she and her team have been working hard towards the overall development of tourism and the people in

Ghandruk. One of the finest things was when asked about how she feels about CBT and if it has helped for the development, she says the following.

“We do cultural shows for tourists, and these tourists give us money in return. From this money, we maintain trails, make other people aware about why tourists come here. We also have ‘praud sikhha’ (informal adult education) for uneducated women. This helps them to do the calculation of money correctly. This also helps them for farming and dealing with people. We help in the maintaining of the clinic and also work together with hotels and go there for some cultural shows if tourists demand and all this happens because we all worked together to get benefits from tourism and to give tourists good hospitality.”

Ms. Suntari Gurung (52), Aama Samuha, Ghandruk

(02.13 min in the recording)

This advice for the active Community participation. This is an inference on what can be done from the grassroot level for the locals and how tourism can be used for the benefit of the locals and for the maximum positive impact that can be created for the Community through the tourism (Gyimothy, 2015).

From the above, we can conclude that when the stakeholders who are directly working and profiting from the tourism have their economic status raised, then the Government assumes the whole community is economically getting strong only considering them. Next, the stakeholders like travel agencies and trekking companies are helping in the encouragement of the informal economy in the community. For the locals, the development is limited just to the development of the physical infrastructures and earning money from the tourists. Further, for them development also represents the conservation of heritage and, social norms and culture.

Below is the depiction of the development from the top down approach and how the other stakeholders see the locals.

Aalborg University
Thesis-Master's in Tourism Studies
Locals' Perspectives on development via CBT
and the impact of CBT on locals

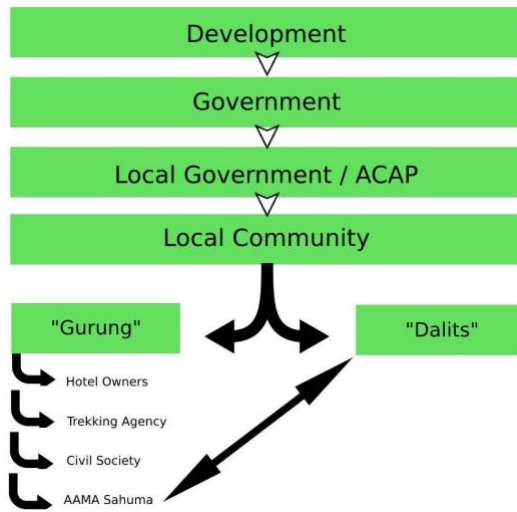


Figure 6 diagram showing the process of development source:own

Now, we will be looking at the locals' perspectives that will help us to understand their views on the CBT development.

6.3 Locals perspective on CBT development and its impact on them

First in this section, the paper analyzes on the locals' perspectives towards different stakeholders and locals' take on the CBT. This will eventually help to find the gap between the different stakeholders and locals' perspectives. As Getz argues that it is the locals' idea and their perspectives and attitude that change with the experience they get through the community and different stakeholders (Getz, 1995). Finding and understanding the gap between them will, hence help to analyze the impact that the locals are facing because of CBT in Ghandruk.

When we are talking about the development, it needs to be subdivided into few groups. Here the basic three groups are been deployed: economic, social and/or environmental impacts

6.3.1 Economic impacts

From the above analysis, we can confirm that development via CBT has a huge impact on economics of local people and different stakeholders. Around 40,000 tourists visited Ghandruk only in the year of 2018 which obviously has helped economically in the place (Gopal Gurung, 2019). When the questions about the development were asked, almost all interviewees responded the same

way. They believe, regarding the economy, the Government is wholly responsible to make a difference overall. Mr. Purna Prasad Gurung, vice principal in a local school and also as a local residing in Ghandruk states:

“Education, communication, roads are the needs and the new innovative infrastructure is need for us and the Government needs to fulfill this.”

Mr. Purna Prasad Gurung (48), resident of Ghandruk

(1.30 min in the recording)

Mr. Sanjay, another resident of the village agrees with Mr. Gurung about the responsible role of the Government on economy and development.

“We want the government to do more, to open small cottage industry which helps us not to completely depend on old style farming, and also to provide us with the equipment.”

Mr. Sanjay Gurung (19), local farmer, Ghandruk

(3.45 min in the recording)

Contrary to these statements, from the previous literature, it has been learned that locals' participation on the ground level is very important for the development as, they are the ones who are the most affected and they should be the one involved in all stages of the development (Getz, 1995). But here, in this case locals seem not to offer the inclusiveness, rather prefer the Government to work and provide them with the resources for the development of the infrastructures. Having said about the government's importance in the development, Mr. Gurung still does not have trust on the government. The locals' mentality towards the Government as stakeholder can further be seen with their following statements:

“Government policy and our thinking is different. And the bureaucracy is so bad that we locals don't trust them. This is why we never go to them to ask for any help for the development.”

Mr. Purna Prasad Gurung (48), local, Ghandruk

(6.00 min in the recording)

The agreement in the government distrust is also depicted by another local Mr. Subash Gurung who talks about the drawback of the road development done by the government.

“Because of the roads, now people come here to Ghandruk in short packages. They come in the morning and go back at night. This does not help in the local economy much but does help the big corporates in city only.”

Mr. Subash Gurung (53), local resident, Ghandruk

A student Ms. Rabita Gurung, also agrees with the negative aspect of the road construction done by the government.

“The road is above our small teahouse run by my parents and now everyone bypasses us, so we are economically in a big trouble.”

Ms. Rabita Gurung (16), student, Ghandruk

(00.30 min in the recording)

People of the village make it realize that the physical infrastructure developed by the Government does not always mean that the village is developing economically but can happen the otherwise. This kind of development may also be a threat to the CBT itself as CBT is all about the local economic growth from the base level rather than from the big corporates. As Sharpley et. al., acknowledge the fact that the redistribution of wealth is hard as bigger neocolonial corporates may play influential role in tourism rather than locals observation of power and resource (Sharpley, 2015).

When asked about the development, a farmer, Mr. Dhan Kaji Gurung expresses his disappointments as the tourism and development has been indirectly discouraging people to continue as farmers and also if anyone wants to continue, there are a lot of struggles on doing so.

“Development? Hotel owners are the ones earning, we farmers are the ones losing. Animals eat our crops and we are in trouble. Economically, we are the ones who go down always. If we hire

workers for farm, we can only pay up to 800 NRs per day, but hotel owners and travel agencies give porters up to 1500 NRs. So, we cannot even compete for the manpower and there is no one to listen to us."

Mr. Dhan Kaji Gurung, local farmer, Ghandruk

(2.03 min in the recording)

"I am a farmer but during the high season, I sometimes go as a porter to different parts of Nepal that helps me to earn few more. So, I am not here always to participate in the community."

Mr. Sanjay Gurung (19), local farmer, Ghandruk

(4.33 min in the recording)

According to Marina et al., as being a CBT village, the model of development should have been based on how the locals want. But here, it seems that even the decision power does not remain with the locals rather it remains with few vested stakeholders (Marina Novelli, 2017). Further as Sharpley et. al., also shows that in modern world beyond Economic benefit, the boarder social objective of self-esteem also plays a part for economic impact (Sharpley, 2015). Here, Mr. Dhan Kaji Gurung feels they are neglected and hence push away from social status which lead to economic downfall. While few stakeholders seem to have more power, few locals feel neglected. While theory of resilience argues that these changes do occur and takes it as necessary event when tourism comes and can be solved through learning from crisis (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011) but the fact remains who will take the initiative, the locals who have no power or the elite stakeholders who are enjoying the benefits.

Having said that, Mr. Hem Bahadur, another young farmer expresses his different feeling as he sees benefits and positive part of the tourism and the development.

"Tourist is good for hotels. And the hotels can buy our local grown foods that can help us economically."

Mr. Hem Bahadur Gurung (25), local farmer, Ghandruk

This suggests the local bottom up approach as suggested by Giampiccoli et. al., the domestic market expansion is a sign for the sustainable CBT development (Giampiccoli, 2016). Besides, Mr. Karma Lama of Lama Randonnees expresses about the informal economy which plays a huge role in the country like Nepal which is a cash driven society.

“Nepal is a cash driven society, not only money but also our informal trade is useful in the CBT. We also have many hotels that we book by mouth. No paper work is done and still, we have given best services. If I say to my client about this, they feel it's so unprofessional but to work with these people, the informal economy and informal ways to deal with them is essential.”

Mr. Karma Lama, Managing Director, Lama Randonnees

As CBT can perform in both formal and informal situations, above gives another indication for the characteristic of CBT. This informality can help for the CBT development and the overall community development as Giampiccoli et al., also agrees on this. Yet, more studies on the subject need to be done on the subject (Giampiccoli, 2016).

In the previous analysis of the stakeholders' perspectives, it can be seen, how the informal economics is tangled and how it makes effects in a cash driven society. Here, it can be seen, how a local can be affected in a day to day basis due to this (Giampiccoli, 2016).

“Because it's a touristic place, the daily food prices are very high, and we cannot pay that. It is very expensive for us. We work as labors as neither do we have enough land to farm, nor do we owe any hotels or teahouses and we do not have any money to open it. So, we remain poor always, whether there is CBT or not.”

Ms. Manu Pariyaar (36), Dalit, local farmer, Ghandruk

(00.30 min in the recording)

A Dalit resident of the village opens up about the issues caused by the development of the tourism in the area and its consequences to people like them. People with the lower economic status can hardly purchase the basics of daily life in the village as the tourism develops, the prices of daily

products soar up too and so is the cost of living in the area. This does not help in the betterment but rather makes the poor much poorer.

The inequality and injustices existing in the society may not get resolved with the development of the tourism. The mindset of the people, with the discrimination in their culture and traditions, cannot change automatically even if there is development in the place regarding the economy due to tourism. This may strengthen only the group of people who are the privileged ones with the higher status in the society since before, and further may weaken the less privileged ones (Dalits) with the lower status in the society. Because of this, the less privileged ones (Dalits) are bound to work with less wages and are helplessly tolerating the violations of the basis labor rules:

“Our men are used as porters (never as guide) only in the high season when there is high demand. This gives us only few months for making the earning, and even for that, there is high competition and we (Dalits) are the last pick for this job. I wish CBT could be more together involving everyone in the society, so we could also get equal work as Gurung.”

Ms. Gunu Pariyaar (68), Dalit, local farmer, Ghandruk

(5.05 min in the recording)

As Esteban states in the literature that due to seasonal tourism, it can lead to the permanent flux specially for the marginalized people bringing the change in the thoughts and lifestyle of the people through the economic effect (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). The same has been expressed by Ms. Gunu Pariyaar in her above statement.

This in turn, is creating the injustice within the economy of the Dalits in the area. In order to resolve this difference in the society, more focused should be given to the development of the tourism with appropriate rules and regulations, maintained in the controlled and in a better way, involving the interests of all people in the society regardless of the caste and status (Giampiccoli, 2016; Whitney-Squire, 2010; Sharpley, 2015).

The active participation of all the members of the community is what makes CBT people-centric and is therefore the basic characteristic of it (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). But, in this case, due to

the economic circumstances, few people of the community are compelled to stay away from the community and hence are not being able to be a part of the strategy development regarding the tourism in the community (Gyimothy, 2015).

The locals in the region are not being able to understand the economic development through the betterment of health care facilities or the better education facilities but their concept of economy is limited in earning physical money. This shows how the expression of the CBT can differ with the concept economy as money.

6.3.2 Social and Cultural impacts

“Acculturation and social exchange are intricately intertwined with power and power relations in a community and those who influence it (tourists, commercial enterprises, governments and so on)” (Beeton, 2006, s. 46). From the above analysis on different stakeholders this is clear that because of tourism there is a social and cultural change. The young teenage Ms. Rabita explains how she sees tourism

“We (locals) see and observe tourists. We are not educated so we just copy what they do. We wear their clothes, smoke and listen to their music and think that their way of life is better than us.”

Ms. Rabita Gurung (16), student, Ghandruk

(3.06 min in the recording)

The local student, Ms. Sabina feels the threat on the culture and tradition of the society because of the tourism. As Ruiz et al., said that with vulnerability, comes threat as well as opportunity. (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). Similarly, with this certainty that tourists possess, the locals also receive a sense of being and conserving. They realize the need of the preservation of their identities.

“Community should be strong, wear local clothes and keep speaking local language. As this is a Gurung village, till 5th grade in every schools here, we should teach local Gurung language to our children.”

Mr. Purna Prasad Gurung (48), local, Ghandruk

(8.17 min in the recording)

Mr. Gurung here agrees that because of tourists, he sees much need for the local preservation. This feeling of local preservation pushes locals to work together in the process of preserving their community hence, strengthening their bond within the community. This shows the significance of the CBT in the overall socio-cultural development of the people in the village (Farthing, 2007) (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011).

On the other hand, people face dilemma in their job holding role due to the irregularity in the management of the CBT. Even if they are willing to participate actively, they are not being able to do so due to the different circumstances hence not being able to keep the constant social status in the community. Also, people from other regions come there to live and work temporarily just for the season. This seasonal migration affects greatly in the overall situation of the community (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011).

“During the seasons, there are no young people in the village, and we cannot take them to our farm”

Mr. Dhan Kaji Gurung, local farmer, Ghandruk

(4.48 min in the recording)

A community is considered to be made up a homogeneous group of people living together in the same region, which might not hold true in all the cases. As Gyimothy et al., suggested that the term locals should be bordered with not only taking it homogeneously but in more complex society (Gyimothy, 2015). This is more true in the context of Nepal as it's a diverse country with even a single village consisting of more than one group of people.

“The government has not done anything for us, Dalits. We want the government to make us equal as Gurung. We have been dominated just because we are Dalits. We live on the same Ward no.10 with Gurungs but whenever any training programs come to the village, we are not notified

about them by the Gurung community. They do not want us to participate, to learn and to grow. We are kept outside from the community and we are not even part of the Aama Samuha (local mothers' group). We can neither say nor do anything. Our voice is never heard."

Ms. Manu Pariyaar (36), Dalit, local farmer, Ghandruk

(1.50 min in the recording)

As, the most of our literature suggest that a community means "having something in common" (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011) . This cannot be justified in the case of Ghandruk. It's a total 180 degree turn to the theories. With regards to Ms. Pariyaar, even having the same common residency, she finds herself separate from the local community which is indeed a Gurung community. Not only that she feels that the community deliberately keeps the Dalits like her away from being a part of the community. With the existence of such discrimination in the same community, the participation of Dalits like her is negligible and hence cannot be considered (Giampiccoli, 2016). Almost all of our literature suggests and characterizes the local participation as an essential for CBT. However, in the case of Ghandruk, Dalits although living in the same locality have no active participation in the community. (Nepal, 2010). Thus, this suggests and argues against the collaboration theory and on the other side, shades light on the power relation and questions the main characteristic of CBT (Getz, 1995).

Another local Dalit expresses how tourism does not have space for them.

"Tourists come and go. Tourism does not do anything for us. They do not come for us and nothing has changed because of them. Whatever they bring, everything goes to the Gurungs."

Ms. Gunu Pariyaar(68), Dalit, local farmer, Ghandruk

(2.28 min in the recording)

The locals' participation as different stakeholders for tourism is considered as the community-based tourism whereas in the case of Ghandruk, Dalits residing there, already in their minds, do not take themselves as a part of the community. Literally, CBT brings the people of the communities and

the tourists visiting them in a close knot so as to develop the community together (Beeton, 2006, s. 16). However, in the case of Ghandruk, a group of people are neither considered as a part of the community nor are directly benefitting from the tourists visiting their place. This reminds of a gap in the literature where CBT gives the definition of the locals. In Eastern societies, there exists different groups of people with different interests within one locality or community making it one complex civil society. The study on this subject with respect with CBT is needed to be done.

6.3.3 Environmental impacts on locals

One of the aims of CBT is to make locals perceive the environment with more pride and with positiveness for its conservation (Simpson, 2008). To its opposite, in the case of Ghandruk, it can be seen that the locals are focused on their own interests, not fully agreeing with the concept of the environment conservation as defined.

In addition to this, ACAP manages the resources of the conservation area. This is the yet another reason for the locals to be aloof in the situation even knowing and understanding the importance and preservation of the environment. They feel that they are just participating for the conservation purposes while the use and the management of the resources is all done by ACAP. Here, the collaboration theory of win-win situation proves to be a deceptive one as the theory looks good only on paper but holds not at all true on reality with the different vested interests of the different groups (Getz, 1995).

“ACAP does not allow us to kill the deer or monkey that comes to eat our crops.”

Mr. Dhan Kaji Gurung, local farmer, Ghandruk

(2.15 min in the recording)

“I am born in the mountain. I know how and why to preserve nature. We are so close with them. In the name of preservation, we are not allowed to cut trees at all. But we need to cut few trees for ourselves, for cooking food and for feeding cattle. I cannot see why the Government and ACAP can make it better with right laws and management.”

Mr. Sanjay Gurung (19), local farmer, Ghandruk

(3.33 min in the recording)

As, Gleick explains how one small change in nature can bring fundamental change for people (as cited in (Beeton, 2006)). Similarly, here these people have been in Ghandruk for a long time and the changes that ACAP has brought can be seen as the mis-management of resources as well as an example of what happens when in decision making position, no local is kept, who are the ones getting impacted by it. While Holden, in his article, sees the resource management as another reason why locals lack behind. The locals are not there in the management of the resources, it's the ACAP who does so. Thus, at the end it's the locals who are not benefiting in the long run due to the whole economic reliance on the regional tourism and not on the agriculture, even when the majority of people do farming (Holden, 2010).

"We do farming, agriculture is our occupation. Because of ACAP and tourism, we are not permitted not just to cut any tree but also to put bob wires around our farms. As a result, deer and monkeys eat our crops. Our hands are tied. Sometimes this frustrates me that in the name of the environment, we have to live a harder life."

Ms. Manu Pariyaar (36), Dalit, local farmer, Ghandruk

(3.56 min in the recording)

From the above, it is clear that the literature provided and the findings from the research done in the Ghandruk along with the viewpoints of locals do not match. "People's participation in the Annapurna Conservation Area Project was embraced in order to address the problems of conserving a fragile environment while at the same time improving the livelihoods of the local communities" (Hum Gurung, 2008). This seems to be true only for other stakeholders such as trekking agencies and the hotel owners but not for the locals. This gives the understanding that those who are directly involved in tourism have their opinions leaned towards the conventional way of protection and conservation of the nature and environment without giving any consideration to the impact of it towards the locals.

Meanwhile Ms. Suntari Gurung expresses the following.

“Because of Aama Samuha, the roads are well maintained, and the trails are cleaner. It helps to make this village look more beautiful.”

Ms. Suntari Gurung (52), Aama Samuha, Ghandruk

(3.58 min in the recording)

Talking about her participation in the maintenance of the infrastructure, Ms. Gurung's statement suggests the importance of the role of the locals' participation in the community building and developing process (Gyimothy, 2015). This indicates whenever locals have power and the right to execute it, they can make better decisions fruitful not just to them (locals), but also for the environment and the tourists. While, tourist also plays a role in the Environmental impact and how locals see it.

“Tourists bring a lot of garbage on streets. The plastic water bottles are just everywhere.”

Ms. Rabita Gurung (16), student, Ghandruk

(2.00 min in the recording)

The acts of the tourists lead to the according reaction of the locals and in the similar way, as the deeds of the locals, the reactions of the tourists change. The balance in this, alternatively helps in the socio-ecological management and cultural preservation with the required patience in both the sides during the process (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). According to Simpson “add value to the local environment, generate meaningful contributions to the local economy and enhance the livelihoods, quality of life and well-being of local communities” (Simpson, 2008, s. 5). In the case of Ghandruk, the locals do not feel they are being benefitted from the government and ACAP run environment conservations project as they are not permitted to use any of the natural resources and thus they value less the importance of the environmental conservations. In regards with the local economy, just the stakeholders directly involved with the tourism are receiving the financial profit but the locals including the farmers, and specially the Dalits are far away from the reach to any kind of economic

development. With the existence of the marginalization and discrimination in the society, Dalits are deprived from the benefits of the tourism and hence, their livelihood is still full of struggles in comparison to that of the 'social elites' who contain all the benefits from the tourism till themselves.

Below is the diagram depiction of locals' perspective towards development via CBT and its impact on them.

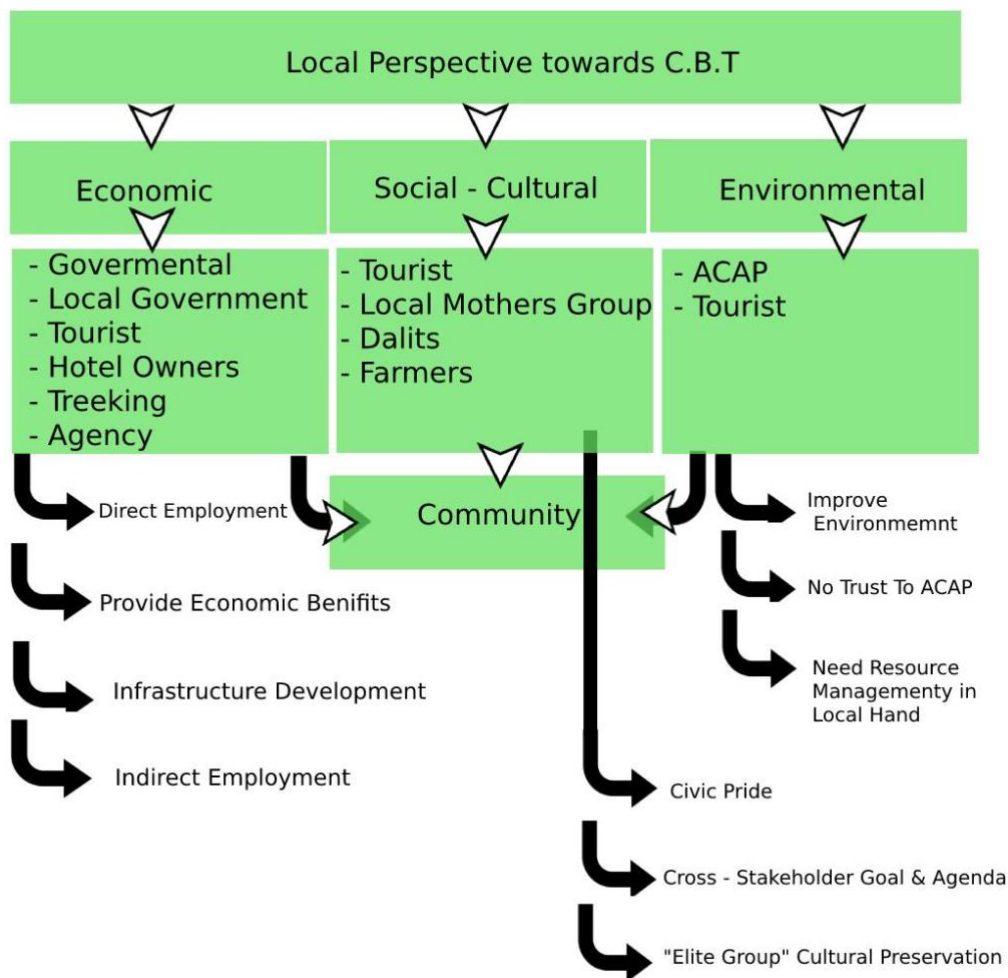


Figure 7 diagram on locals' perspective overview source: own

Now, in the next chapter, we will be discussing the above analysis and further leading to our conclusion.

7. Chapter 6: Discussion

In this chapter, a discussion on the objective of the case is done through the help of analysis, finding and literature review. The main objective can be divided into two parts.

- To understand different stakeholders' perspective on locals and CBT development
- To understand locals' perspective on different stakeholders and development via CBT and its impact on the local community.

Firstly, from different literature and researchers that are studied and observed on chapter above shows different literature shows different sides of development and CBT. However, almost all advocate and agree on the fact that CBT can be one of the tools for development and they do not deny the fact the CBT has an impact either positive or negative on the local community.

From the analysis and literature, one thing is evident, that the meaning of development for the Central Government is different than that of the locals. The Central Government sees through top down approach while locals have more rooted problems and want their own style of development from the bottom. There is a huge gap between them. The positive part seen from the interviews taken and analysis done is that the local Government is more understandable of this situation. They listen to locals as well as the Central Government. Although they have limitations too, however they can still be the tool/mediator between the two stakeholders to generate a momentum in CBT and impacting on development.

On the other hand, Trekking agencies are more inclined towards the preservation of the culture and environment so that tourists get more authentic feeling for them. However, their lobby is based on their interests on what the clients need rather than what the locals want from them.

Similarly, the hoteliers seem to enjoy the similar idea with that of the trekking agencies. They appreciate and help bring the road till the village but now have obstructed the road going further in the fear of losing tourists. Not only that, also the electricity, Wi-Fi and modern Houses came with the lobby of hoteliers and from their investment while keeping in mind the clients'(tourist) need and to fulfill those need. The electricity or Wi-Fi did not come with the interest of the local need, rather it's a byproduct of tourism in the village.

Next is, the ACAP's main aim clashes with the locals. The aim of ACAP is to preserve the environment and they help to bring awareness to the people about it. While, on the other hand, the resource management of the nature in the region is done only by the ACAP without the involvement of the locals. This is the prime reason specially for the farmers, not willing to support the ACAP fully and getting involved as much as needed for the conservation of the nature and the environment. With the influx of tourists, the ACAP can maintain their objective of saving the nature better with the use of the collected entry fees from those tourists. This leads ACAP to focus more on the hoteliers by providing them with the trainings, than the farmers. This is because of the reason that the increase in the number of tourists means the increase in the demand of the lodging and food facilities for them. While ACAP's aim is to conserve the nature with the active involvement of the locals for their benefits, but in order, to fulfill the tourist satisfaction, ACAP considers much to the hoteliers and their opinions than the locals(farmers). This is a weird entanglement as their objective of the conservation of nature and environment can only be fulfilled through locals' support (Dahal, 2012). However, all the other stakeholders who are directly involved in tourism seem to support the ACAP and its aim. This shows a gap between their real aim and their act towards reaching it.

Tourism has certainly, given benefits to the people of Ghandruk economically, and CBT has played the very important role in the place. Over the people benefitting from the tourism, the farmers and the marginalized are the least benefited ones. It can be seen from the analysis that CBT has not helped much to the poor and the marginalized people to grow and develop, with one exception of the

marginalized group(women) who has found their voice with the help of CBT. Due to CBT and with the help of the ACAP, the local mothers' group has been formed which has helped the local women to be empowered, to have their active participation in the decision makings and developing projects. This shows how CBT can positively impact on the community if decisions are made keeping all stakeholders in mind with their involvements.

Another issue is related to the cultural preservation of the people of Ghandruk and how can it can be achieved. The Locals seem to be very concerned on how the tourism is negatively affecting their local culture and traditions. On the other side, the hoteliers seem to be inclined to provide the clients with whatever they feel will satisfy their needs. In the process of that, they are building modern concrete houses with modern facilities instead of the local stone thatched houses which used to be one of the identities of the village. The hoteliers are one of the powerful participants in the community, so these decisions seem to be one sided without collaboration with the locals. For this to stop. The locals also fear that the local language is dying down, along with the young locals adopting new language and behavior brought by tourists. This, in one way can cause locals to stay away from CBT while on the other way, can help also in the preservation of their culture. This can be seen with the example of the locals' attires which have been replaced by the modern clothes nowadays but have now been commodified. People visit Ghandruk to wear these attires, take pictures and many of them post them in Instagram. These all can actually encourage locals in the preservation of their customs and traditions, becoming more aware of the both positive and negative impacts of tourism.

Farmers, among the many local groups seem to be frustrated on how the tourism has negatively affected the society around them. There has not been a proper channel for them to sell their products, to get the needed equipment from the Government and during the high tourist seasons, there is scarcity of manpower to work in farmlands as people are more inclined to earn extra money working as porters. On the top of that, ACAP has kept these locals away from the management of the natural resources even though they are the ones working for the conservation. From the analysis, it can be seen that new ideas and policies need to be formulated addressing the issues of these locals(farmers). For that, the farmers' opinions and suggestions should be considered by ACAP while making policies for the conservation of the nature and environment and their usage and management. As the agriculture is another most important economic resource after the tourism for the people of

Ghandruk, the Government should provide the necessary trainings and equipment to them so as to empower the farmers and help them with the necessities to protect their farms and crops. All the stakeholders including the farmers should be involved while making decisions regarding CBT.

While the roads have certainly created the buzz among all the stakeholders, the locals feel the road is beneficial and keep it as a parameter for the development however, the ACAP and trekking agency believe that the alternative road to reach Ghandruk will have been better preserving the old trekking route and nature. On the other hand, the hoteliers want the road only till Ghandruk, but not beyond Ghandruk while the Government has the policy to reach all villages of Nepal. In this different interest groups with different sets of goals, there still seemed to have a collaboration and understanding to find an alternative trekking route from Nayapul to Ghandruk as well as from Ghandruk to Ulleri. This can be seen as an achievement that CBT can create with bringing all the stakeholders with different sets of goals, together to plan and work for one single purpose helping to develop the region and the people.

CBT possesses some challenges as its main characteristic emphasizes on the participation in the case of Ghandruk. From the analysis, there is an existence of the 'elite group' which has more power with them and the 'marginalized group (Dalits)' which has no voice. Below is the discussion on the barriers and opportunities done in detail about it.

The important discussion is on one of the local groups 'Dalits' who are the minority in the community. Among all the interviews taken with different stakeholders, none of them mentioned about Dalits. The local teacher wants to promote the Gurung language, some talks about preserving the traditional Gurung thatched roof houses, others want to save Gurung attires through the commodification, but no one seems to have recognized Dalits' existence and their culture and tradition. Generally, Ghandruk is considered as a Gurung village. Central Government focused it as a jewel of Gurung heritage. These have led to the overlooking of the Dalits identity, their social status and the contribution they can make for the society and the environment through CBT as being an important part of Ghandruk.

Systematically, as a part of the social structure, this caste system has existed since hundreds of years keeping few castes in the lower part in the hierarchy of the social caste system in the society. CBT can neither be considered the reason for this existed bias between the group of people in the community nor has CBT helped for the development of this marginalized group. However in the literature of few researchers like (Gyimothy, 2015; Dahal, 2012), they have discussed on how CBT can help to give them their voice and recognize their existence within the community, and help to put an end to the bias participation.

From the Government to the local community, all seem to identify Ghandruk as a Gurung village and this minority group of people seem to belong nowhere. The social construction of the eastern society is complex and not homogeneous as the western ones and many of the researchers are from the west (Whitney-Squire, 2010). This is one of the reasons for having a gap between the literatures and the reality in Ghandruk. From the research here, it can be seen, that a community coming up with singular solution to any development project becomes thin and hard to execute as there exists more interest groups working within the community (Whitney-Squire, 2010).

Another reason for CBT to not have as much impact as wanted, seems to be 'local participation biasness' (Gyimothy, 2015). Talking about the local mothers' group, they have few Dalits women as the members only to fulfill the quota for the Aama Samuha and the ACAP's Village Development Committee. Their participation does not matter, and their words are never contemplated. None of them can ever be the chairman of the local mothers' group. Dalits, since have always been less privileged, are not educated enough to understand much about the concept of development. This is observed during my research that due to their ignorance they get easily influenced on their decisions. They are not willing to tell their own minds out feeling that their voice has never been heard nor ever would be heard. As a result, they are not involved in the tourism of the village.

With the years and years of dominance, these people are made to feel that they are not a part of the community and cannot contribute to the community. With this kind of psychology on their minds, it is hard for the CBT to benefit them in the contemporary situation. It is though evident that

CBT can definitely be a tool for the empowerment of the Dalits. This can be possible only with their active participation in CBT.

8. Chapter 7: Conclusion

From the above research, it has been found that different stakeholders have different interests in CBT. And, CBT plays a very important role for the benefits of these all stakeholders and in the development of the community and its people. Having said that, it is still not able to get the participation of all the people in the community and hence not able to develop all group of people in the community. Thus, all the stakeholders need to have equal role in development via CBT no matter their social, economic or physical status.

The Central Government has a top down approach to look at the development where they see development in numbers such as GDP, whereas the locals have a grounded approach to look at the development where they see the education, physical infrastructures, their cultures as signs of development. The Local Government, understanding both the needs of the local people and the policies of the Central Government, can act as a mediator between the locals and the central government that can interlink them. Further as locals see the development in different perspective like in Bhutan, may be its time to redefine the development (McCarthy, 2018).

Trekking agencies, hoteliers, teahouse owners, ACAP, all of them are not happy with the dirt roads that have been constructed in Ghandruk. They fear that this will lead to the decrease in the number of the tourists visiting Ghandruk. At the same time, the local community, and the local Government is happy about it and, especially the Locals consider it as the basis of the development.

CBT is formed by ACA as a pilot project of ACAP with the involvement of the locals of Ghandruk in order to develop the region sustainably. However, in reality, this is not all true, as the benefits of CBT has been limited just to the ones who are directly involved in tourism mainly 'social elites' keeping the farmers and specially, the Dalits away from any kind of benefits. From the research, it can be concluded that the equal power distribution between all the locals specially to the

marginalized 'Dalits' and farmers is a must with the active and un-bias participation of all the local groups in the community, for this the collaboration within and from outside is essential as suggested by Getz et. al., in their literature (Getz, 1995).

Having said that, of course, Dalits along with all the locals have also been able to make their lives little easier with the developed roadways. Along with the roads, tourism has also helped in building new schools and the only health post which does have created difference in the lives of Dalits.

These marginalized people 'Dalits' have been the less privileged ones since hundreds of years in the society of not only Ghandruk but whole Nepal. Because of this hierarchy in the caste system of the Nepali (Hindu) society, Dalits are still being neglected. In the case of Ghandruk too, Dalits have been overlooked by the other stakeholders from the central government till the local government, including local groups such as the local mothers' group. It can be seen from this research that CBT has certainly helped the local women (also the marginalized group) of Ghandruk. Likewise, CBT can also help Dalits to get empowered and give raise to their voices. For this to happen, at first the social construction in Ghandruk need to change.

Another issue which locals are concerned about is, about the effects of the foreign culture brought by the tourists in the village. Along with the rise in the tourists, commodification of culture in Ghandruk is enormous and from our research, all the stakeholders show concern about it. However, they seem to be more aware than ever before, to preserve their culture. And they want CBT to provide the help in order to conserve the local tradition and culture.

Further as the literature suggests and from the analysis also, it can come to the term that different stakeholders have different goals and interests, and in order for all the stakeholders to come together as a unit to collaborate, including all the marginalized locals, can be achieved through CBT. As the stakeholders are more independent and, their goals and interests vary, only the collaboration between them can help to create a win-win situation for the stakeholders. This can lead to the more local participation giving much needed exposure to Dalits and farmers, helping them to tackle the

negative impacts they face through CBT and gain much benefits from CBT. Hence, the impacts of CBT on the marginalized people and locals need to be reconsidered.

9. Limitation

This research had been done between January 2019 till May 2019. This is a limited timeframe for the collection of the required data and the analysis of the locals' perspective. The collected data lacks the data related to GDP, the budget for ACAP and CBT in Ghandruk from the government of Nepal including the precise number of tourists both local and international visiting Ghandruk.

10.Future Implication

Peoples' perspective itself is a huge complex idea to deal with so, relating the locals' perspective to CBT and the development, and to see its impact on them is obviously a complex study. Through this research, it has been found that the marginalized people are not being able to receive enough participation and benefits from CBT. The existence of discrimination between the people in the community in Ghandruk has created this unevenness for all the locals regarding the participation in CBT due to which the marginalized people (Dalits) are more sceptic towards CBT. Meanwhile, it is still recommended that CBT can be the incentive that can help in the development of all the locals and the village of Ghandruk as a whole.

Although the findings apply specifically to Ghandruk, its significance can be analyzed internationally too. This study provides with the different aspects of different stakeholders on development via CBT, and how the development theory along with that of CBT needs more adjustments regarding the situations of South Asia. Not only that, this study can further clarify on how CBT can help develop the marginalized group of people with the even share of power between all the stakeholders. CBT's so-called characteristics for all kinds of societies should be ruled out and new studies should be done so as to make it accessible by all the locals in every different settings of the society in the world, and in this case to help Dalits through CBT.

This research has further helped in understanding the CBT and development through the locals' and other stakeholders' viewpoints. The much research is needed to be done about the development of the locals with regards to the tourism particularly CBT to obtain the better overview

on the actual development of the contemporary period of time and hence can receive the frequency trend of development in the future.

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Appendix 1

As, the purpose for constructing the semi structured questions is to get the perspective of locals and other stakeholders on development via CBT and to look at the impacts that CBT has on the locals. In order to do so, two sets of questions were prepared. One for the different stakeholders and another for the locals. These questions are only the part of the same theme while I have changed the questions according to the stakeholders or the locals.

The interviews of Mr. Hikmat Singh Aiyaar, Senior Director of Nepal Tourism Board, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shrestha, Office Assistant, Local Government, Ghandruk, Ms. Bhawana Subedi, Nurse, Ghandruk, Mr. Purna Prasad Gurung, Vice Principal of Shree Meshram Baraha High School, Ghandruk, Ms. Suntari Gurung, Ms. Manu Pariyar ,local, Ghandruk along with few other local peoples' interviews including Dalits' are recorded as videos and voice recordings, which are uploaded in the AAU Library. Below are the transcribe of few stakeholders and locals

Karma Lama

Age: 60 Male

MD lama randonneés trekking

1. What do you think about tourist and tourism in the Annapurna Conservation Area?

Tourism in the Annapurna Conservation Area is popular and successful with the tourists because of the quick and easy access to the beautiful views of the high mountains and the many villages with different ethnic groups on the trail. It has always been a popular destination because of its diversity in the landscapes and the people.

2. How popular is Annapurna Conservation Area among the tourists those come to your company?

It was the most popular destination for our company's tourists which are mostly French nationals because Annapurna 1, was conquered in 1950 by Maurice HERZOG (French) and it was the first above 8000m ever conquered. But the popularity is also because of it's diversity and the possibility of trekking with gradual increase in altitude. But recently due to many motorable dirt roads constructed through the villages on the trekking trail, the most popular trek demands from our tourists has shifted to the Manaslu Conservation Area combined with the Tsum Valley area. However, we still do have many tourists going for the Annapurna treks but demanding shortened itineraries to avoid the motorable roads.

3. What do you think about the development of the Annapurna region due to the tourism in the area?

It has of course developed the area economically in the last 20 years. We can see it from the number of hotels and lodges that has increased in many villages and many of whom are now providing rooms with better facilities. But the locals need to be encouraged and informed through programmes regarding sustainable tourism, protection of the environment, bio diversity etc. They need to be conscious about constructing traditional houses or concrete houses with traditional house designs and not ugly concrete blocks of houses.

4. What do you think about the effect of tourism in the lives of locals living in the Annapurna Region?

The effect of tourism mostly has been good economically for locals involved directly with tourism compared to those not involved in tourism. However, most of locals of villages on the trekking trails are involved in tourism because generally almost all the houses in these villages are lodges or tea shops for tourists. Most of the locals affected by tourism in this area have their children sent to good schools in the cities.

5. In your opinion, do you feel that the tourism has positive or negative effect on the locals of the Annapurna Region?

I feel that tourism often has positive and negative effects specially in an underdeveloped country like Nepal. The positive effect as I said before is that the locals have certainly improved economically, they have better living, some even have constructed houses in cities like Pokhara or Kathmandu and sent their children to good schools in the cities and with road constructions, the access to hospitals are more rapid.

The negative effect is that with financial economic growth most of them migrate to the cities, the younger generation hardly come back to their villages and there are only older people in so many villages. So the local culture and tradition in many villages tend to fade away. There is also the pollution of the environment which needs to be controlled by locals. Annapurna Conservation Area, the Tourism Board should regularly provide training programmes to the locals regarding sustainable tourism, protection of environment and bio-diversity. Similarly, the Trekking agencies should organise programmes to inform and train their staff to protect the environment and the local culture and traditional customs which can be a source of tourism.

Nepal is a cash driven society, not only money but also our informal trade is useful in the CBT. We also have many hotels that we book by mouth. No paper work is done and still, we have given best services. If I say to my client about this, they feel it's so unprofessional but to work with these people, the informal economy and informal ways to deal with them is essential.

6. Among the tourists visiting in the Ghandruk through your company, how is the impression of tourist on Community tourism?

Most of the tourists like and prefer Community tourism because they feel more closer to the community, the local culture and traditions.

7. What do you think is the role of the trekking companies between the tourists and the locals in the Annapurna Conservation Area?

The role of the trekking companies is to see that the tourists have a comfortable and enjoyable trek and that they see and assist local cultures and customs. The trekking agency Guide should be

competent and professional in making the connection between the tourists and the locals. The tourists should be informed about local culture and customs – what to do and what not to do. That they are here not to change Nepal but to take back pleasant local memories of Nepal.

8. What do you think about the impact of the newly constructed roads in the Annapurna Region on the locals and on the your company?

The newly constructed roads are welcomed by the locals because it gives them quick access to the cities, to schools, to hospitals and for business. They can import necessary goods on lesser costs. But many villages on the roads have lost their businesses because people drive directly from one point to another and no more stops in their villages. On our company, many tourists complain about walking on the roads and many now want to be driven by jeep or bus.

9. Annapurna Conservation Area has always been popular among the tourists so there will always be many tourists visiting this region. In your opinion, how should the flow of the tourists be in this region specially in Ghandruk so that the region can develop sustainably preserving its culture and community?

The flow of tourists should be controlled to develop sustainably preserving its culture and community. The locals, Annapurna Conservation and the Trekking agencies should work together for a controlled flow of tourists and for a sustainable tourism.

Mr. Milan Gurung

Age 82, Male

Hotel owner, Milan Hotel, Ghandruk,

1. What do you think about tourists and tourism?

Tourists are very good for us. We earn money from them.

2. How much are you affected by tourism?

As I have a hotel, my whole life depends on this.

3. What is the positive impact of CBT in Ghandruk?

There was no school before. Because of tourism, school came, clinic came, new houses with attached bathroom is now normal. So came the electricity and wi-fi. People have houses in Pokhara and other big cities. There is development even when we had 10 years of Maoist insurgency. But still government could have done a lot more.

4. What is the negative impact of CBT if there is any?

I cannot see any negative impact. We have been developing because of ACAP and community-based tourism.

5. How do you see the locals affected by CBT?

We are locals and all homes are homestays. We have cooks and housekeepers in the high season so all the locals can earn in that time.

6. What can be done so the whole community can benefit?

If more tourists come, we can earn more and spend more. Then the whole community would be benefitted. Also, the conservation of environment helps tourists to feel like staying at home.

Ms. Lali Gurung

Age 47, Female

Care take, Old Gurung Museum, Ghandruk

1. What do you think about tourists and tourism in ACAP?

Tourist is good for everyone. But it depends on how much of tourists can we afford to keep.

2. How much are you affected by tourism?

I think everyone is affected by tourism in Ghandruk.

3. What is development for you?

Development, I cannot see it. Now it's all about money. The old stone roofed house, which is our heritage, is being replaced by tin roofed and concrete houses. Young people do not speak our language, do not wear our clothes. Many people have left farming. The shops are expensive as they are targeted to tourists only. I find people going just after money. I see, no more the Community benefitting from the tourism. People perform 'Lhosar' dance any time for tourists. I don't see what tourist bring, they bring nothing good, money is not development.

4. What is the positive impact of CBT in Ghandruk?

The road has come, and the people are more educated now. For me that's the positive impact.

5. What is the negative impact of CBT if there is any?

There are many impacts I see because of tourism.

6. How do you see the locals affected by it?

I am also local. I was born here and have been here all my life. Life was very simple before. But now being much dependent on tourists, life has changed a lot here. The houses are no more stone hatched. Young people do not respect their own cultures and traditions. They do not wear traditional clothes anymore. They prefer listening to English music more and hence, the traditional music is gone and the traditional Gurung dress is now used only for taking picture in 50Rs.

7. What can be done so the whole community can benefit?

More awareness for the young people for the conservation of culture, and heritage is needed. The government should take the responsibility and ACAP should give back the nature management to us, locals.

Mr. Bishnu Poudel

Age 39, Male

ACAP Ranger, Ghandruk

1. What do you think about ACAP and tourism in Ghandruk?

ACAP has played a huge role for the conservation of Ghandruk and tourism has helped to finance for the protection and improvement of lifestyle of the people in Ghandruk.

2. How much has tourism affected in Development in Ghandruk?

Tourism has a huge impact on Ghandruk. Development should be sustainable. The Preservation of culture of people and Environment is development in my view. This road construction is a national policy of connecting one place with another, but I feel the Government fails to manage the resources as they did not make enough cooperation with the locals. This is not development. Also, the farmers in this place should be given education, knowledge to work together with nature and for

me that is real development. For this ACAP, hotel owners, travel agencies have to come together for the CBT to grow in more sustainable way for the benefit of everyone.

3. What is the negative impact of CBT in Ghandruk?

The hotel owners do what they want, and they have much influence on what next to do. Either, it's about the construction of a road or the expansion of a clinic, the hotel owners have their influence on all and the locals are mere spectators.

4. How do you see the locals affected by it?

Locals are affected with whatever happens in this place. Either about the construction of the road or about more tourists coming here or about the preservation of local environment and the wild life. All these have impacts on locals and our principle is to help locals get the best out of CBT.

5. What is your future plan for locals so they can get more benefits?

We have, first of all, our policy and we work on it. We are trying to work with the locals mothers' group, hoteliers, farmers to understand their needs and also making sure that the tourists also benefit from ACA while travelling.

Mr. Dhankaji Gurung,

Local farmer, Ghandruk

1. What do you think about tourists and tourism in Ghandruk?

I really don't know. Perhaps it's good for few people but not much for me.

2. How much are you affected by tourism?

During the high seasons there are no young people in the village. And we cannot take their help to work on our farms and look, our farms are barren.

3. How much change have you seen in Ghandruk due to this?

These young people don't wear our clothes. They put on their head phones and walk around. They are on their mobile phones all the time. This is all because of tourists. They are destroying our culture, and no one seems to care about it.

4. What is development for you?

Development? Hotel owners are the ones earning, we farmers are the ones losing. Animals eat our crops and we are in trouble. Economically, we are the ones who go down always. If we hire workers for farm, we can only pay up to 800 NRs per day, but hotel owners and travel agencies give porters up to 1500 NRs. So, we cannot even compete for the manpower and there is no one to listen to us.

5. What do you think the government or ACAP should do to improve this condition?

The government does nothing. In these many years, I haven't seen government doing anything. I don't trust them. It took so long for the road to come here and even the road is so bad. ACAP before, used to be very effective giving us trainings and helping us in other things. But since last decade, I think their focus has been on other villages than Ghandruk. ACAP does not allow us to kill the deer or monkey that comes to eat our crops. They think that we don't know how to protect wild animals?? My hundreds of generations have lived here. We have been protecting this place since then. Not ACAP.

6. Then what should be the solution in this condition, so that CBT can help you?

If ACAP let us manage the natural resources and hotel owners also help us to protect our farmlands, then CBT can actually help all the members of Ghandruk.

Mr. Subash Gurung,

Age 53, Male,

Farmer, Ghandruk

1. What do you think about tourists and tourism in Ghandruk?

I think tourists are good for any society. It brings prosperity in the society.

2. How much are you affected by tourism?

I think everyone in Ghandruk is affected by tourism. This village is known for its tourism.

3. How much change have you seen in Ghandruk due to tourism?

Before it was good. Now because of so many Nepali tourists, I heard that hoteliers like Nepali tourists more than foreigners.

4. Why is it like that in your opinion?

Because of the roads, now people come here to Ghandruk in short packages. They come in the morning and go back at night. This does not help in the local economy much but does help the big corporates in city only.

5. What is development for you?

Development for me is getting new seeds for my farmland. New machines and pesticides, and the availability of pesticides can help me grow cash crops so, I can sell my vegetables to hoteliers and hence can give my children a better life.

6. What do you think is the role of the Government in development?

The Government if they want, they can do a lot, but I think the central government is corrupt, so they do nothing for us, and this local government is so much influenced by hoteliers that they never listen to us.

7. What is the solution for all this so the development can be achieved via CBT, in your view?

If the young people need not have to leave this country and are rather emphasized to live in the country and work in the farmlands. This can be the first step. If the education is very good, then people can be encouraged to stay here. I think tourism can bring economy for us but for this all, the government should make better plans collaborating with the local people like us too.