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Exploring Links between Tourism and Agriculture in Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Kagbeni VDC, Nepal



A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Tourism Management

at
Lincoln University
by
Laxmi Gurung

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Abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Tourism Management.

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by
Laxmi Gurung

Tourism is widely recognized as one of the world's largest industries (Torres, 2003, p. 546). With approximately one-third of all trekking costs spent on food, creating linkages between tourism and agriculture holds great potential as a mechanism for sustainable development at the village level. This is particularly true for developing countries that have large rural populations highly dependent on traditional farming. For several decades, linking tourism and agriculture to promote sustainable development has been a major focus of the Government of Nepal (GoN) (CR, 2002). Until now, however, the effectiveness of these efforts has not been studied. Therefore, it was considered important to conduct a case study of Kagbeni VDC, a remote village located in the high mountains of the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) of Nepal where tourism was first introduced over 50 years ago.

The field work was conducted in September and October of 2011 using qualitative methodology involving oral history interviews. On return from the field, transcription of the unstructured interviews was recorded in English, coded and analysis accomplished using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (NVivo). Sorting and memoing enabled the data to be divided into five, roughly equal, time periods and characterized into four themes in order to make the data more meaningful.

As documented by the results, a qualitative method proved to be effective in detailing the emerging linkages between tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni. It also enabled a comprehensive picture to be drawn of the economic, environmental, cultural, and lifestyle changes occurring over time stemming from the increase in tourism (from an occasional trekker or researcher in the 1960s to over 30,000 visitors per year at present).

In large part, because of the positive interaction between tourists and local villagers, and aided by GoN inputs (e.g., creation of the ACA, introduction of better seeds in the 1990s and completion of a road linking the village with the outside world in 2006), tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni have become symbiotically linked. Thus, as tourism has increased so has the need for local agricultural products and workers. Now, as a result of the growth in tourism and agriculture, nearly year around employment is available for local villagers at many levels, and villagers who previously emigrated are returning to Kagbeni. In conclusion, the positive linkages between tourism and agriculture documented in this case study demonstrate that, under the right conditions and given sufficient time, these two sectors can coexist and also become a driving force in sustainable development at the village level.

Keywords: Nepal, Kagbeni VDC, Annapurna Conservation Area, tourism, agriculture, traditional farming, sustainable development, case study, qualitative methodology, non-probability sampling, NVivo

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List of Acronyms

ACAP	Annapurna Conservation Area Project
ACA	Annapurna Circuit Area
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CR	Country Report
DADO	District Agricultural Development Office
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoN	Government of Nepal
HMG	His Majesty Government
JTA	Junior Technical Assistant
MDG	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
NTNC	National Trust for Nature Conservation
NTB	Nepal Tourism Board
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NZ\$	New Zealand Dollar
MOAC	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MoTCA	Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation
UNEP	United Nation Environment Programme
UNWTO	United Nation World Tourism Organization
US \$	United Nation Dollar
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development.
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Overview of the Study

The development of tourism destination areas has varied according to place, time and changes in fashion, tastes and national legislation as well as such local factors as topography, climate and land ownership patterns. In many parts of the world improved roads and other infrastructure have opened up the countryside to domestic tourists and advances in sea and air travel provide easier access to international tourism (Harrison, 2001). Over the decades, tourism has experienced continued growth and deepening diversification to become one of the fastest growing economic sectors in the world. International tourism arrivals have expanded at an annual rate of 6.2% for the past six decades, growing from 25 million to 980 million visitors (UNWTO, 2012). As growth has been particularly fast in the world's emerging regions, the share in international tourist arrivals received by emerging and developing countries has steadily risen, from 32% in 1990 to 47% in 2010 (UNWTO, 2012).

Today, the business volume of tourism equals or even surpasses that of oil exports, food products or automobiles (UNWTO, 2012, p. 1). Moreover, the global spread of tourism in industrialized and developed states has produced economic and employment benefits in many related sectors -from construction to agriculture and telecommunication. Thus, tourism has become one of the major players in international commerce and, as such, represents an important income source for many developing countries (UNWTO, 2011).

Although tourism has played a considerable role in expanding global economies by creating opportunities, tourism has often created various problems that have negatively impacted on social and economic development as well as on the environment (Roger & Aitchison, 1998). As a result, the concept of sustainable tourism, which is intended to minimize the negative aspects and contribute to sustainable development by maximizing its positive impact in the host country, has gradually emerged following publication of the report, "Our Common Future" by the UN Commission on Environment and Development in 1982. The aim of the UN report was an appeal to adopt lifestyle and development strategies that would help to harmonise the needs of today and the future as well (WCED, 1987).

In many developing countries, tourism is a leading source of economic growth, foreign exchange, investment and job creation (UNWTO, 2009). Tourism is the single major source of income in 11 of the 12 countries that together account for 80 percent of the world's poor (ICIMOD, 2004, p. 200). Seven of these countries are in Asia – the People's Republic of China, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan and the Philippines. Tourism now is considered to be one of the “new opportunities for encouraging economic development in rural areas” (Luloff et al., 1994, p. 46) and a tool for rural poverty alleviation in the developing world (Ashley et al, 2001).

The UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are a set of agreed on global goals that need to be achieved by 2015 in order to ensure sustainable human security and wellbeing (Rasul, 2008). Elimination of hunger and poverty is one of the eight most important of MDGs and provides a pathway for obtaining sustainable human security. Globally, more than one billion people live on less than US \$1 a day of which 423 million people in South Asian countries live in absolute poverty (FAO/ SAARC, 2008). Among these, Nepal (the subject of this study) is the poorest country in South Asia in terms of Gross National Product (GNP) with per capita income of only US \$320 per year (World Bank, 2008). As a consequence, poverty reduction remains a key challenge in Nepal and globally. As tourism has the potential to direct more net profits and benefits to the poor than other activities (Ashley et al, 2001), tourism can play a significant role in addressing economic development and poverty reduction (Bélisle, 1984).

Among tourism attractions, mountain destinations are considered to be second only to beaches (Walder, 2000). Although Nepal is a landlocked country that shares its borders with China to the North and India to the South, it has eight of ten highest mountains in the world including the tallest - Mt. Everest (*Sagarmatha*). Because of this, in recent years, Nepal has been a favoured destination for mountaineers, rock climbers and people seeking adventure. In addition, Nepal is culturally diverse with over 60 different dialects and is abundantly rich in biodiversity as well as religious and historical heritage.

Nepal was a closed country until 1950, but after the overthrow of the Rana Regime and establishment of democracy in the country, it was opened to foreigners. The development of tourism largely began in 1953 after Tenzing Sherpa and Edmond Hillary successfully climbed Mt. Everest (*Sagarmatha*). However, tourism only started to grow after 1960 with establishment of an International Airport in Kathmandu in 1960 and 43 smaller airports being

connected by domestic flights (Thakali, 1994). Since 1962, the number of tourists has risen from 6000 to 602,867 in 2010 (MoCTA, 2010, pp. 6-8).

Unfortunately, to date, only limited tourism planning and management has occurred in Nepal, and this has led to unequal benefits to the local people, to major social and cultural changes, and to deterioration of landscape (Nepal, 2003). As suggested by Singh (1989), “development should proceed on a moderate pace, stage by stage, allowing sufficient time for the destination community to adjust to a phenomenon that has a tendency to overtake and expand with speed.”

According to statistics reported by Pandey and Pandey (2011, p.1) “more than 66% of Nepal’s [30 million] population are involved in agriculture.” As such agriculture contributes about 36 percent to the Nepal’s GDP (MOAC,2011). In addition, as agriculture and tourism are two major elements of the country’s socio-economic development, linking them together is seen as important in the development of Nepal.

1.2 Research Problem, Goal and Questions

1.2.1 Research Problem

The principles of sustainable development have been used in development and environmental planning and programmes over the years in Nepal (NTNC, 2009-2012). However, Bowen et al (1991) has pointed out that limited research has been done to establish the links between tourism and agriculture and has urged for research to study the relationship between the two sectors in the context of sustainable development. Such research is important in Nepal where the population is still largely rural, agriculture is the predominant industry, and tourism is an important contributor to the economy.

Linking the tourism and agriculture in order to promote sustainable development has been a major focus of the Government of Nepal over several decades (CR, 2002). To date, however, the effectiveness of these efforts has not been studied. The purpose of this research was to explore sustainable development in Nepal by focusing on the linkages between tourism and agriculture through a case study of Kagbeni Village Development Committee (VDC).

Kagbeni is a remote mountain village where tourism was first introduced 60 years ago in 1950. It is located at the northern end of the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) in western Nepal and serves as the gateway to Upper Mustang. Because of its scenic beauty, traditional

farming practices and culture that are among the oldest in Nepal, it now has become a major tourist destination for international trekkers and those seeking religious pilgrimages. As such Kagbeni is an excellent case study site in which to explore the linkages between these two sectors using a qualitative methodology approach employing oral history interviews. The study is important to conduct in order to capture the living history of the changes that took place during the time period of the villagers' lifetimes while most are still alive.

1.2.2 Research Goal and Questions

The goal of this research is to explore the linkages between tourism and agriculture and its contribution to sustainable development in Kagbeni VDC, Nepal. The goal is achieved by addressing four research questions listed below:

1. How have the traditional livelihoods (including agriculture) of the people of Kagbeni VDC been affected by the introduction of tourism since 1950?
2. How do local, district and national stakeholders perceive the impact of tourism on traditional agricultural livelihoods?
3. In what ways has tourism development been linked to agricultural development in Kagbeni VDC?
4. How has tourism and agriculture development contributed to sustainable development of Kagbeni VDC?

1.3 Significance of the Study

The current study makes an important contribution to the field of tourism and agriculture. This research will provide empirical data for the government of Nepal (GoN) on the impact of tourism on agriculture over the past 60 years within a sustainable development context. Specifically, it will help to better understand how one rural village in Nepal has managed the coexistence of these two sectors, to identify the type of linkages and to provide an evidence base for further evaluation of tourism and agricultural development policies in Kagbeni VDC and other similar sites worldwide.

1.4 Thesis Organisation

The organisation of the thesis is based on the Lincoln University guidelines for a master's thesis and consists of six chapters. Following **Chapter 1 (Introduction)**, the major content of each subsequent chapter is briefly presented below:

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on the linkage between agriculture and tourism within the context of sustainable development.

Chapter 3 describes the background for conducting the case study in Kagbeni VDC as it relates to the history of Nepal after 1951 and provides an overview of the case study area, which lies within the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) and Mustang district of Nepal.

Chapter 4 reviews the details of the qualitative research approaches used in social science investigations. It also includes brief comments on the design of the study, source of data, selection of research participants, research tools, and data collection and analysis procedures as well as the ethical considerations and limitations of the research study.

Chapter 5 details the data resulting from the unstructured oral history interviews of participants from Kagbeni VDC, Jomsom and Kathmandu during the field visit conducted in September and October 2011. Each of the five sections of the chapter covers the tourism and agriculture development changes that have taken place in Kagbeni during the designated time periods (1950 to 2011).

Chapter 6 discusses the data presented in Chapter 5 as it relates to the achievement of the research goal, the evolution of the linkages between tourism and agriculture and major factors contributed to increasing tourism. Additional topics addressed include the changing type of relationship between tourism and agriculture over time as well as a brief summary of the benefits and disadvantages of linking the two sectors.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The chapter reviews the literature on Nepal's development strategy and policies as they relate to agriculture, tourism and sustainable development. It describes the framework used in this study, which is based on the sustainable development concept and the Agriculture- Tourism Market Linkage Model developed by Bowen et al (1991). The chapter also includes a review of the spectrum of potential type of relationship between tourism and agriculture as found in the literature.

2.1 Development Strategy and Policies in Nepal

Nepal has nine National Parks, three Conservation Areas, eleven buffer zones, three Wildlife Reserves and one Hunting Reserve (HMG1998). The Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA), which was established in 1986, remains one of most popular trekking destinations in Nepal. In the early 1980s the Government of Nepal (GoN) set about developing a national sustainable development strategy to support and enhance the local community living standard in Nepal. The objective of the strategy was to assist the GoN build up the capacity of local communities and implement the national policies necessary to ensure sustainable community development for the long-term.¹ Subsequently, the sustainable development approach has been adopted into the Forestry Master Plan, Agricultural Perspective Plan and Nepal Environmental Policy and Action Plan by the GoN, nongovernment organizations (NGOs) and international NGOs (NTNC, 2009-2012). Based on the limited data available, implementation of the national sustainable development strategy appears to have been confined to only a few areas.

In 1995, the GoN adopted a new tourism policy for sustainability aimed at promoting Nepal as an attractive destination, improving Nepal's natural, cultural and human environment, and diversifying tourism into rural areas in order to increase employment opportunities. In addition, linking tourism with other sectors, such as agriculture, was included in this new policy (CR, 2002). Subsequently, the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation in 2009 initiated the Tourism Infrastructure Project, which was designed to strengthen the physical

¹ The current sustainable development strategy is based on the integrating the principles of Agenda 21 that emphasizes environmental, economic and social sustainability (UNCED, 1992).

infrastructure of the tourism sector in line with the sustainable development approach (GoN, 2011). Specific activities of this project included identifying sources for income generation and establishing systems for managing infrastructure at the local level (GoN, 2011).

The ACAP was developed to promote sustainable tourism aimed at minimising the negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism and to maximize economic benefits to the local people as well as enhancing visitor experiences (Wall, 1997). The project also works to identify new tourism destinations and to support tourism infrastructure development in order to spread the benefits of tourism not only to the main tourism destinations but also to other regional areas.

To strengthen management of the ACAP further and to promote sustainable tourism, in 2009 the National Trust for Nature Conservation prepared a four year plan (NTNC,2009-2012). The plan is based on the results of achievements made by the ACAP over the last two decades. The plan's vision is to foster "local communities, through their local institutions and organizations, to promote, conserve and manage nature and preserve cultural heritage in all its diversity, balancing their needs with the environment on a sustainable basis for posterity"(NTNC, 2009-2012).

2.2 Agriculture and Tourism Development

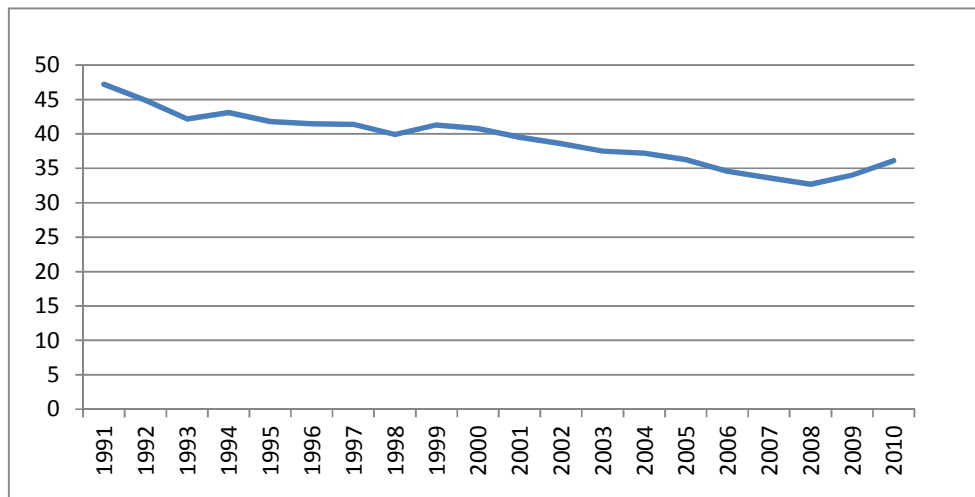
In Nepal, agriculture (traditional) and tourism (contemporary) are two elements of the country's socio-economic development that are major revenue generating industries with multiplier effects on the economy. Both contribute to the GDP by providing considerable employment and rural income generation. In this and the following sections, each of these industries (sectors) is discussed as they relate to Nepal and its development strategy and policies.

2.2.1 Agriculture

Agriculture is the production of food and goods through farming and has played a key role in the development of human civilization. At present, in developed nations agricultural production has increased, food purchasing power has risen, and diets have improved over time (Baha'i,1996). The same is not true in developing countries such as Nepal where the majority of the population live in rural areas, mainly surviving by subsistence agriculture (GoNMOHAP, 2011). According to the Nepalese Census in 1981, 97.1 per cent of the

population depends upon agriculture. In late 1980s, the percentage went down to 90 per cent and today it provides employment opportunities to 66 per cent of the total population (MOAC,2011). Whereas in 1991 the contribution of agriculture to the national gross domestic product (GDP) was 47 per cent (World Bank, 2008), at present it contributes about 36% to national GDP (MAOC, 2011) (Figure 2.1). This declining trend in both GDP and employment shows a moving away from agricultural livelihoods. However, even though agriculture is declining it still remains a major source of income generation in the country.

Figure 2.1: Agriculture contribution (1991-2010) to GDP of Nepal (Source: World Bank,(2011))



In countries like Nepal where agricultural is a mainstream of the economy, an important priority is to ensure the sustainable agriculture and rural development for overall sustainable development in order to reduce poverty. “The main objectives of sustainable agricultural development is to ensure a steady increase in agricultural productivity, enhance food production and security of food supply, develop rural economy, and increase rural people's incomes in order to change poor, backward conditions in rural areas” (DSTSD, 1994, p. 1).

2.2.2 Tourism

Tourism is certainly not a new phenomenon. Early travellers from countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea visited the Egyptian pyramids and Romans headed in large numbers to the Bay of Naples to escape the midsummer heat of the city (Casson, 1994, p. 2; Harrison, 2001). It was not until the mid-19th century (age of the train) and the mid-20th century (age of the airplane) that travel and tourism became affordable to most people (Harrison, 2001).

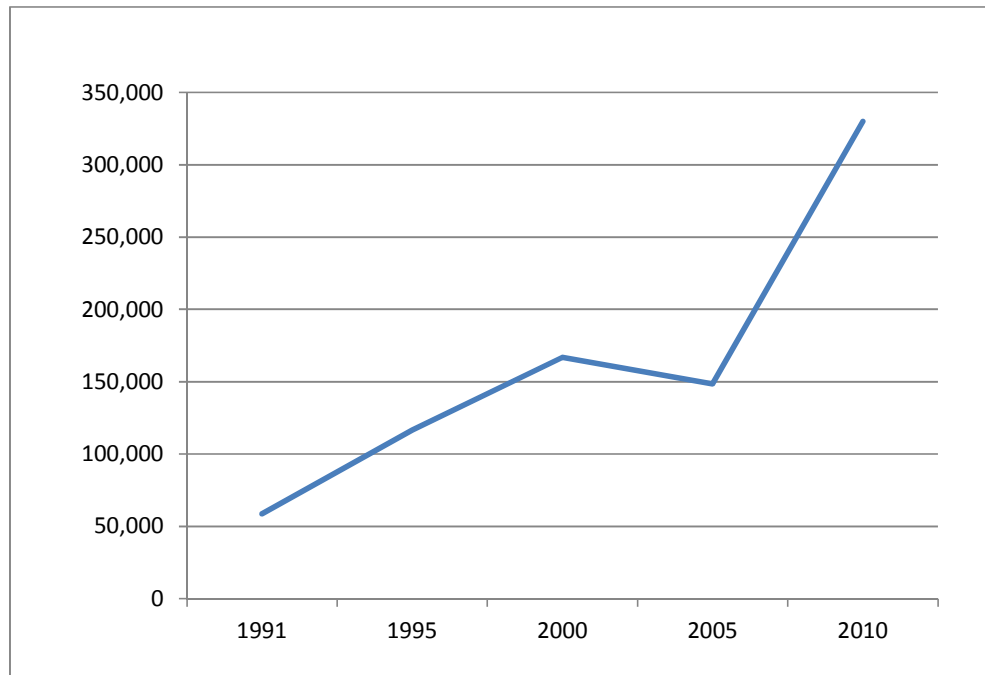
In developed countries, tourism currently is considered to be the largest growth industry with no sign of slowing over the long term (WTO,1998). For example, since 1980, tourism has increased worldwide by an average of 9 per cent annually, reaching 940 million in 2010 and is expected to grow to nearly 1.6 billion by the year 2020 (UNWTO,2010). Also tourism employs over 235 million people across the world, and international tourism generated US\$ 919 billion in export earnings in 2010, up from US\$ 851 billion in 2009 (UNWTO,2010). Tourism is thriving because as more people have more disposal income, travel and tourism become a reality.

Tourism has been recognised as one of the most promising alternative livelihood options by creating local income and employment opportunities for poor people (UNWTO, 2007). Being labour intensive, having relatively high multiplier effects and requiring relatively low levels of capital investment, tourism can generate tangible benefits in areas where traditional livelihoods are under stress (Hoermann et al,2010). According to Sharma (Sharma, 2000), however, tourism has both potential benefits and drawbacks. The first and foremost potential benefit is expansion of income and employment opportunities, particularly in areas where such opportunities remain limited. Second, tourism, by increasing foreign exchange earnings can be used to support the development process in the host country. Finally, tourism is seen as a means of infrastructure building and economic transformation of often remote, inaccessible and historically marginalised areas, such mountain areas, and rural communities. Negative effects include environmental degradation (e.g., improper waste management, pollution and over use, social inequities (e.g., limited participation of communities in the planning process) and loss of cultural identity (Nepal, 2000). Thus if tourism is not carefully managed the negative effects can override the benefits.

For developing countries, such as Nepal, tourism has become a suitable and relatively inexpensive development strategy because tourism has the potential to influence and change the use of natural and cultural resources in the country. As such it has become an important policy tool for community and regional development. Moreover, the sustainability of tourism has enabled it to become not only an important economic factor but also a social agent that affects the natural and socio-cultural environment in various ways (e.g., sustainable use of natural resources and improved quality of life of the local people living in communities adjacent to tourism areas). On the basis of the overall potential benefits of tourism, the GoN has encouraged tourism development.

As Nepal has great natural beauty, a diverse climate, unprecedented topography and biodiversity, it has considerable tourism potential. Moreover, Nepal's cooler climate is a major pull factor that draws thousands of tourists from India and other countries in the region each year. For example, since 1962 the number of tourists in Nepal has steadily risen from 6000 to over 600,000 in 2010 (MoCTA, 2010, pp. 6-8) and has generated over US \$ 352 million (2.6% of the country's GDP and 7.2% of the total foreign exchange earnings) in 2008 (Figure 2.2) and US \$ 330 million in 2010 (HMG,2008) In addition, tourism in Nepal has the potential to help reduce outmigration, increase employment opportunities by diversifying and increasing incomes thereby helping to reduce the vulnerability of the poor (NTB,2003).

Figure 2.2: Gross foreign exchange earnings from tourism (US \$ in thousands), years 1991-2010 (Source: MoTCA, 2010)



The decline of the agricultural trend and growth of tourism in Nepal raises several questions such as what has been the impact of the introduction of tourism on agriculture in Nepal? What are the people's perceptions regarding tourism? Is tourism transforming or destroying agriculture? And, are these two sectors competing or complementary with regard to sustainable development? Seeking answers to questions such as these are core considerations in the research study.

2.3 Framework of the Study

An examination of the literature revealed that there is no comprehensive analytical framework for the proposed research study. Thus, to achieve the study's goal there was a need to devise a framework. The proposed framework is comprised of two main components:

- Sustainable development concept, and
- Agriculture- Tourism Market Linkage Model

2.3.1 Sustainable Development Concept

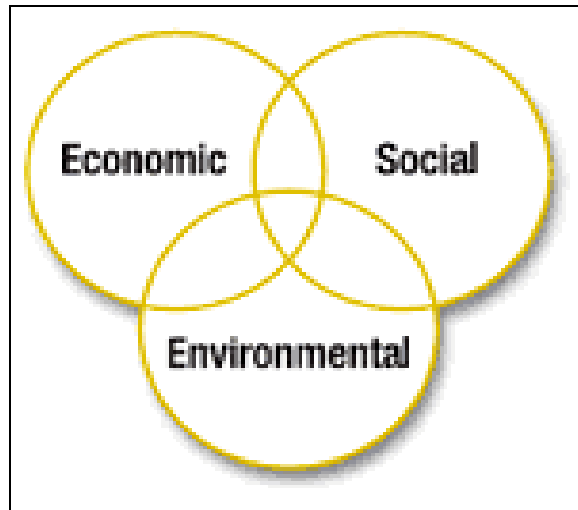
The concept of sustainable development has evolved since 1987 after the publication of “Our Common Future” which is also known as the Brundtland report. According to the UN World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987, p. 23), sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED,1987). The reason this definition has persisted is due its appeal to those concerned about poverty and development, the state of the environment and preservation of biodiversity (Robinson, 2004). As a consequence, over the years, the sustainable development approach has been used in decision making by a number of UN member countries including Nepal.

Following the United Nations World Summit in 2005, the definition of sustainable development was further modified in the “Outcome Document” to include sustainable economic development, social development and environmental protection. These additions have become known as three dimensions or pillars of sustainable development theory. They are interdependent on each other and can be mutually reinforcing as shown in Figure 2.3 (next page). The dimensions are defined as follows:

- **Economic sustainability** focuses on generating prosperity at all levels of society and addressing the cost effectiveness of all economic activity. It is about the viability of enterprises and activities and the ability to maintain them in the long term.
- **Social sustainability** refers to respecting human rights and equal opportunities for all in society. It requires an equitable distribution of benefits, with a focus on alleviating poverty. Social sustainability emphasises local communities, maintaining and strengthening quality of life, recognizing and respecting different culture and avoiding any form of exploitation.

- **Environmental sustainability** involves conservation and management of resources, especially those that are not renewable or are precious in terms of life support (United Nation Environment Programme / World Tourism Organization (UNEP/WTO), 2005)

Figure 2.3: Three dimensions of sustainable development theory (Source: WCED, (1987))



According to Sharma (2000), the concept of sustainable development includes a number of other considerations. First, intra-generational equity is a process of economic growth that is oriented towards reduction of widespread poverty and unemployment. Second, inter-generational equity is a process of economic growth that is accompanied by and contributes to better care and management of the environment so that future generations have access to resources and opportunities at least at the same level as the present generation. Third, it relates to a process of development and economic growth that does not exceed the capacity of the ecologic and social systems so that, in theory, these activities can continue forever. Finally, sustainable development should enable all stakeholders to participate in the process.

The specific goals of sustainable development according to UNWTO (2004) involve:

- work to ensure viable, long term economic growth;
- respect for the socio-cultural authenticity of local communities and conservation of cultural heritage and traditional values; and
- optimal use of environmental resources.

There are, however, several challenges to making agriculture or tourism sustainable. For example, can the rate of growth of tourism be sustained? Or, because tourism is a fast growing industry, it has the potential to create maximum pressure on the environment, culture

and economy at destination sites, especially in developing countries and remote areas. Moreover, to make sustainable, governments must integrate the different motivations and objectives of the industry and the local community in order to achieve common goals (United Nation Environment Programme / World Tourism Organization (UNEP/WTO), 2005).

While one can never be absolutely certain about sustainability, when specific parameters or criteria are selected, it is possible to say whether or not certain sustainability trends are steady, increasing or decreasing. Thus, in attempting to assess sustainability, it is important to clarify what is being sustained, for how long, for whose benefit and at whose cost, over what area and measured and by what criteria? Answering these questions although difficult, means assessing trade off values and beliefs at various levels of the system (Campbell, 1994). For example at the community level, it is possible to weigh up, trade off and agree on criteria for measuring trends in sustainability. But as one moves up to higher levels of the hierarchy (e.g., to districts, regions and nationally), it becomes increasingly difficult to do this in any meaningful way.

2.3.1.1 Sustainable Agriculture

Sustainable agriculture has been defined as agriculture that is environmentally sound, productive, economically viable and socially desirable (Schaller, 1993). According to Schaller (1993), a sustainable agriculture system should not contribute to environmental deterioration but promote resource conservation, cultural diversity and satisfaction of basic needs. This implies that in order to sustain agriculture production, the natural resources of agricultural lands should be conserved, basic needs of the workers must be met and the economic gains should be sufficient to support operation of the farm. Hence sustainable agriculture is a way of producing healthy food that does not harm the environment, is humane to workers, respects animal welfare, and supports and enhances neighbouring communities (Tischner, 2010).

The availability of sufficient healthy food constitutes a basic human need which is still not met for all people worldwide. In 2008, the overall number of undernourished people in the world increased to 963 million, compared with 923 million in 2007 (Tischner, 2010, p. 3). This increase was primarily due to increased food prices. Because the vast majority of the world's undernourished people live in developing countries, such as Nepal, the immediate question is: how can sufficient food for all inhabitants of a growing global population be

secured? The long-term question is, how can food production and consumption be kept within the limits of the carrying capacity the environment?

2.3.1.2 Sustainable Tourism

According to the UNWTO (2004) sustainable tourism is broadly defined as tourism that is ecologically sound, economically viable and socially acceptable to the local communities in the long term. Sustainable tourism development should contribute to the satisfaction of basic needs in local tourism destination. It needs to reduce inequality and absolute poverty in local tourist destinations and help to promote the self-esteem of the local people. Moreover, it should accelerate national, regional and local economic growth, protect the resource base for tourism and create awareness among visitors.

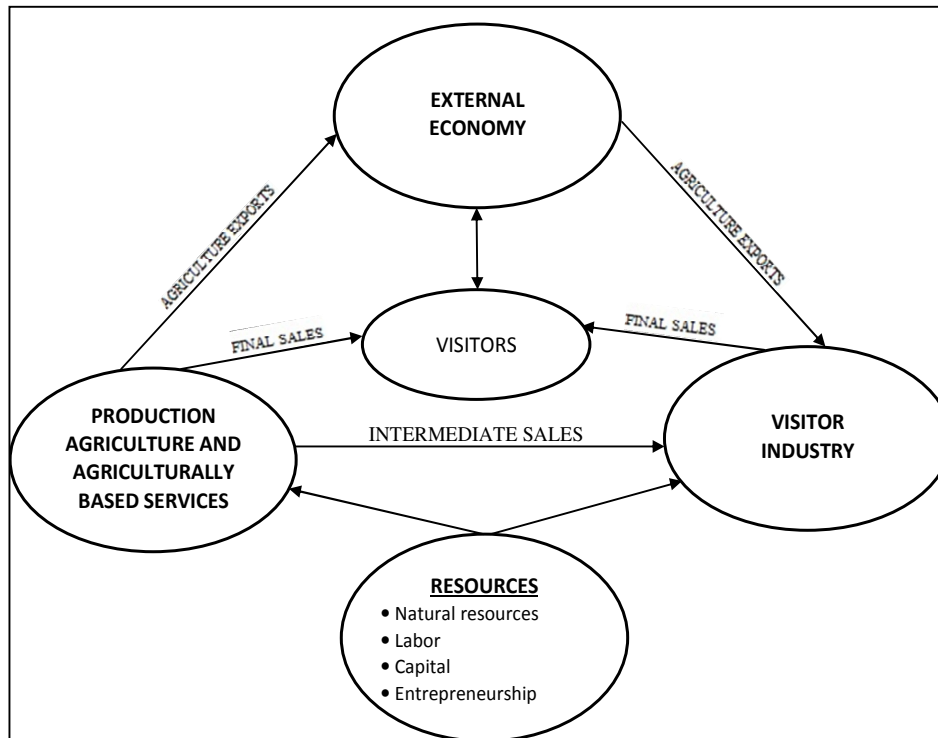
The major contribution of tourism to sustainable development is to the economic prosperity of many countries and local destinations (Ghosh, Siddique, & Gabbay, 2003). The contribution of tourism to the economy of developing countries has facilitated a sustainable development goal. Similarly, tourism is an activity that involves a special relationship between visitor, the industry, the environment and local communities. Moreover, it depends on an intact and clean environment, attractive natural areas, authentic historic and cultural tradition, and a welcoming host. As discussed above, on the one hand tourism can play an important role towards achieving the goals of economic and social development along with environmental conservation (i.e., sustainable tourism). On the other hand, tourism can have considerable negative impact if it is not well planned, implemented and managed (Roger & Aitchison, 1998).

In rural areas, where tourism is increasingly recognised as a facilitator of wider economic, social and environmental development, to be sustainable tourism should be developed in such a way as to minimize its negative impact and ensure a win-win scenario. For harmony between sustainable development and tourism to be achieved, it will depend on the ability of tourism and the destination site or area to accept, absorb and adapt to change (Wight, 1995).

2.4 Agriculture-Tourism Market Linkage Model

The second component of the framework for this case study is the Agriculture-Tourism Market Linkage Model developed by Bowen and his colleagues in 1991. It is a useful model for examining the linkage between tourism and agriculture. As such this model will be useful in interpreting the results of the study (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: Agriculture-Tourism Market Linkage Model (Source: Bowen et al (1991))



As shown in Figure 2.4, the model illustrates the interaction of markets, resources and production between agriculture and tourism. At the top of the diagram is the external economy from which tourists come and to which they return. The arrows represent flows of resources, goods, services and tourists. In this model, tourists are seen to generate direct and indirect demand for agricultural goods and services.

Much of the agricultural goods and services consumed by tourists are provided indirectly through the tourist industry. This includes hotels, restaurants and other services catering to tourists. Farmers usually supply food products to the tourist industry through wholesalers and distributors. The external economy also provides export markets for agricultural products. In addition, if tourists are exposed to agriculture products that are special or strongly associated with the area, this can sometimes stimulate interest in them and increased sales.

One of the most important marketing issues is the availability and quality of regional transport, storage, and the distribution infrastructure necessary to ensure a steady and regular supply of commodities (Torres, 2003). Supply or production-related factors that may foster (or constrain) the development of tourism and agriculture linkages include issues such as

physical conditions, the nature of local farming systems, and the quality, quantity, reliability and seasonality of food or produce production, especially vegetables and fruit (Torres, 2003). Other marketing factors that can limit the linkage include mistrust between local farmers, suppliers and the tourism industry representatives; corrupt marketing networks and the reliance of international tourism on large, external distributors for supplies, including fresh vegetables and fruit (Torres, 2003).

2.5 Spectrum of Studies Involving Tourism and Agriculture

The tourism industry has long recognised the potential to create linkages with agriculture. The possibilities of utilising agricultural products as a means of establishing a strong regional identity for visitors is an important consideration in expanding tourism. Tourists like to visit places where there is a “wilderness experience” or where there is an inherent or exhibited cultural value, historical significance, natural or built-in beauty, or amusement opportunities. Creating sustainable linkages between tourism and agriculture, however, is largely dependent on tourism creating favourable relations within the farming community (Choo & Jamal, 2009).

2.5.1 Linkages between Tourism and Agriculture

Budowski (1976) asserted that three main types of relationship can exist between tourism and environmental conservation, namely 1) conflict, 2) coexistence and 3) symbiosis. Budowski states that ‘conflict’ can exist when the presence of tourism and what it implies is detrimental to ‘nature and its resources’. ‘Coexistence’ is possible when the two activities have relatively little interaction due to either activity being not yet well developed, or because there are barriers that facilitate interaction such as ignorance about the other activity. However, as Budowski (1976, p. 27) notes a relationship characterised by coexistence rarely stays this way as the growth of one industry will induce substantial changes that shift the nature of the relationship towards conflict or symbiosis. Finally, ‘symbiosis’ occurs when both tourism and environmental conservation are structured in such a way that both derive mutual benefits from the relationship.

Budowski’s analysis also provides a useful lens to reflect on the relationship between tourism and agriculture. In the context of tourism and agriculture, the literatures support Budowski’s (1976) notion that the nature of the interactions between tourism and environmentally based activities such as agriculture, can similarly be categorised but with variational to each unique

context. Based on a review of the literature, how tourism and agriculture link together covers a wide spectrum (i.e., from strong to ambiguous to weak linkages). For example, at one end of the spectrum there are studies where tourism and agriculture have been successfully linked for the benefit of the people (strong linkages) (Bélisle, 1984; Ilbery, Kneafsey, Bowler, & Clark, 2003; Telfer & Wall, 1996; Torres, 2003; Torres & Momsen, 2004). Other studies, however, have shown that it is difficult to achieve linkages between agriculture and tourism (weak linkages) (Bowen et al., 1991; Cox, Fox, & Bowen, 1994; Hermans, 1981). As such, they constitute the other end of the spectrum. To complicate the issue, there also are studies that have mixed results (i.e., both good and not so good effects of tourism and agriculture coexisting in the same place) (Bowen et al., 1991; Hope, 1981).

Strong Linkage

Tourism and agriculture linkages represent perhaps the greatest opportunity to channel the tourism industry benefits to the rural poor living in remote areas (Torres & Momsen, 2004). Linking the two allows destinations to retain a greater share of tourism benefits and reduces leakages – particularly with respect to foreign imports as food expenditures can represent approximately one-third of daily tourist expenditures at destination (Bélisle, 1984); (Torres, 2003) and (Telfer & Wall, 1996). Strong linkages can develop between agricultural production and food consumption by, for example, the smaller hotels using a greater proportion of local food products than the larger, upscale hotels (Bélisle, 1984). In addition, a number of researchers have argued that focusing on locally produced products can result in benefits for both hosts and guests. In the first instance, increasing tourist consumption of local foods can generate a multiplier effect that will benefit the local economy (Torres, 2002). Second, concerns about the environmental consequences of transporting food across the globe have led researchers to argue that “buying local” is vital if the tourism industry is to reduce its carbon footprint (Boniface, 2003; Mitchell & Hall, 2003). Third, the promotion of iconic food products at the tourist destination creates an ‘image’ that can help attract new visitors and boost economic sustainability in the long term (Ilbery et al., 2003). Because of the growing competition for tourists at destinations sites, introducing high-value iconic agricultural products can boost tourism at that site (Urry, 1990). Finally, it has been shown that locally grown food products sold through alternative outlets such as farmers’ markets and organic foods stores can encourage traditional farming in communities dependent on farming for survival (Ilbery & Kneafsey, 2000; National Farmers' Retail and Markets Association, 2007); (Tregear, Arfini, Belletti, & Marescotti, 2007); Boniface, 2003 and Ilbery

& Kneafsey, 2000). Achieving a symbiotic relationship between tourism and agriculture when achieved through socially and environmentally responsible actions may offer the greatest potential for new employment and income-generating opportunities for rural populations (Choo & Jamal, 2009).

Ambiguous Linkage

Bowen et al (1991) argued that when tourism becomes established in an agrarian economy, it will drive out agriculture; but such is not always the case. Though tourism and agriculture may compete for human capital and resources, the relationship between the two in rural areas is not always competitive. Rather, the issue is how to effectively allocate resources (Cox et al., 1994). While the introduction of tourism may lead to loss of agricultural land, this can be compensated by an increase in land prices and/or the value of the agriculture products (Hermans, 1981). For example, in his study of agricultural development in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad/Tobago Hope (1981) concluded that agriculture's economic contribution was decreasing as a result of tourism. Although Hope's data was not adjusted for inflation, it revealed that the value of agricultural exports doubled for the four countries. Hence, although tourism may increase costs of agricultural production, landowners and labourers may benefit from the increased resource values of their products through a steady market, better wages and improved infrastructure as well as encouraging local farmers to produce high-value agricultural commodities such as exotic fruits or vegetables (Bowen et al., 1991)).

Weak Linkage

Tourism's detrimental effects on agriculture stems from competition for limited resources, such as labour, land and other natural resources (Bowen et al., 1991). Indeed much of the literature examining tourism's effect on agriculture highlights the shift of resources, particularly land and labour, from agriculture to tourism. To date, tourism development has often been associated with increased demand for imported food, resulting in lost opportunities for foreign exchange income and competition with local food producers. More importantly, tourism typically has failed to stimulate local agriculture, and in some cases it is associated with a relative decline in production (Hope, 1981). Typically, this scenario occurs when much of the agricultural goods and services consumed by tourists are provided from external sources, resulting in local farmers only supplying a few food products (e.g., vegetables and fruits) to the tourist industry. A case study undertaken by (Torres, 2003) in

Cancun Area Mexico revealed that few local food products were produced in the tourism area; most of the food was brought in from other Mexican states. The findings also suggested that the type of food and drinks offered to tourists can have major implications for the economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of rural and remote tourism destinations.

The results of the studies reported regarding the spectrum of the linkages between tourism and agriculture, and their implications, are summarized in Table 2.1 (next page).

2.6 Summary of Literature Review

Because of the importance of agriculture and agriculture as key contributors to economic, social and environmental sustainability in Nepal, the focus of the literature review has been on those topics most closely related to this, namely,

- reviewing agriculture and tourism as it relates to sustainable development,
- developing a conceptual framework for the study, and
- searching the literature for the types of linkages between tourism and agriculture.

In summary, given that Nepal's principal source of income generation is agricultural, and it is a country with numerous attractive, remote tourist destination sites, tourism and agriculture linkages represent perhaps the greatest opportunity to channel the benefits of the tourism to the rural poor living in these areas. However, research is needed to document this as well to determine the type of linkages that potentially could contribute to sustainable development in Nepal.

Table 2.1: Linkage between agriculture and tourism: Meta-analysis of various cited studies

Strong Linkage:	Ambiguous Linkage	Weak Linkage
<p>Linking two allows destinations to retain a greater share of tourism benefits and reduces leakages; (Torres, 2003); (Telfer & Wall, 1996); (Bélisle, 1984)</p>	<p>When tourism becomes established in an agrarian economy, it can drive out agriculture but such will not always be the case (Bowen et al., 1991)</p>	<p>Linkage may compete for natural, human, capital and entrepreneurial resources (Bowen et al., 1991). Tourism's effect on agriculture highlights the shift of resources, particularly land and labour, from agriculture to tourism.</p>
<p>Linkages represent perhaps the greatest opportunity to channel tourism industry benefits to the rural poor living in remote areas (Torres & Momsen, 2004)</p>	<p>Relationships between the two sectors in rural areas may be competitive. How resources are allocated will determine the results (Cox et al., 1994)</p>	<p>Tourism development has often been associated with increased demand for imported food, resulting in foreign exchange losses (leakages) and competition with local food producers (Hope, 1981)</p>
<p>Increasing tourist consumption of local foods can generate a multiplier effect that will benefit the local economy (Torres, 2002)</p>	<p>Introduction of tourism leads to loss of agricultural land while increasing land price (e.g., increasing land prices, land speculation, increased labour costs) and periodic labour shortages may affect agricultural profitability (Hermans, 1981).</p>	
<p>Locally grown food products sold through alternative outlets (farmers' markets) can encourage traditional farming in communities dependent on farming for survival (National Farmers' Retail and Markets Association, 2007; Tregear et al., 2007).</p>		<p>Tourism typically fails to stimulate local agriculture, and in some cases it is associated with a relative decline in production (Hope, 1981) .</p>
<p>Promotion of iconic foods in destination areas create an "image" that helps attract new visitors and boosts economic sustainability in the long term (Ilbery et al., 2003). Smaller hotels use more local food products than larger, upscale hotels (Bélisle, 1984)</p>	<p>Tourism- may increase costs of agricultural production while landowners and labourers may (or may not) benefit from the increased production costs unless there is a steady market, better wages, improved infrastructure and a host of other agricultural-related services. (Bowen et al., 1991).</p>	<p>In the area around Cancun, Mexico, tourism did not result in increase in local food production because most of the food was brought in from other Mexican states (Torres, 2003).</p>

Chapter 3

Case Study Background

The chapter describes the background for conducting the case study as it relates to the history of Nepal after 1951. The chapter includes a brief overview of the case study area, which lies within the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) and Mustang district. In addition, the geographic and demographic features of Kagbeni VDC are described and the most important characteristics of the villagers (e.g., ethnicity, ancient culture and traditions, and occupation) are presented.

3.1 Case Study Area: Kagbeni VDC

3.1.1 Historical Setting

Nepal is a mountainous, landlocked country that shares its borders with China in the North and India in the South (Figure 3.1. It is divided into 14 zones, 75 districts and 3913 village development committees (VDC)² and 58 municipalities (Lamichhane, 2011). The purpose of VDC is to carry out local development functions by mobilising local resources through representation by the VDC.

Figure 3.1: Map of Nepal

(Source: <http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/nepal.html>)



The modern socioeconomic development of Nepal started with the overthrow of the Rana Regime (between 1846 and 1951, Nepal was ruled by an extended family of hereditary prime ministers that was a dictatorship) and establishment of constitutional democracy in the

² Smallest development and administrative unit

country. Prior to 1950, Nepal lacked any system of record keeping of public welfare and accounting as well as basic social, economic and demographic indicators (USAID,1973). Socioeconomic development in at that time was limited, regionally based and largely unproductive, which led to large scale poverty (Devkota, 2007). Although 1950 was considered a crucial turning point for Nepal, since then the country has continued to experience political changes and turmoil, including a civil war between the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the government that lasted over a decade (1995 to 2006). The end result was abolishing of the monarchy and declaration of Nepal becoming a Federal Republic in 2008. These changes have weakened the country's economy, and as a consequence Nepal still remains one of the least developed countries in the world (Devkota, 2007). In 2009, its income per capita was ranked 152th out of 161 countries in purchasing power parity terms (CIA,2009). This combined with a challenging geography and limited resources have resulted in Nepal experiencing an array of problems and uncertainty in its development path.

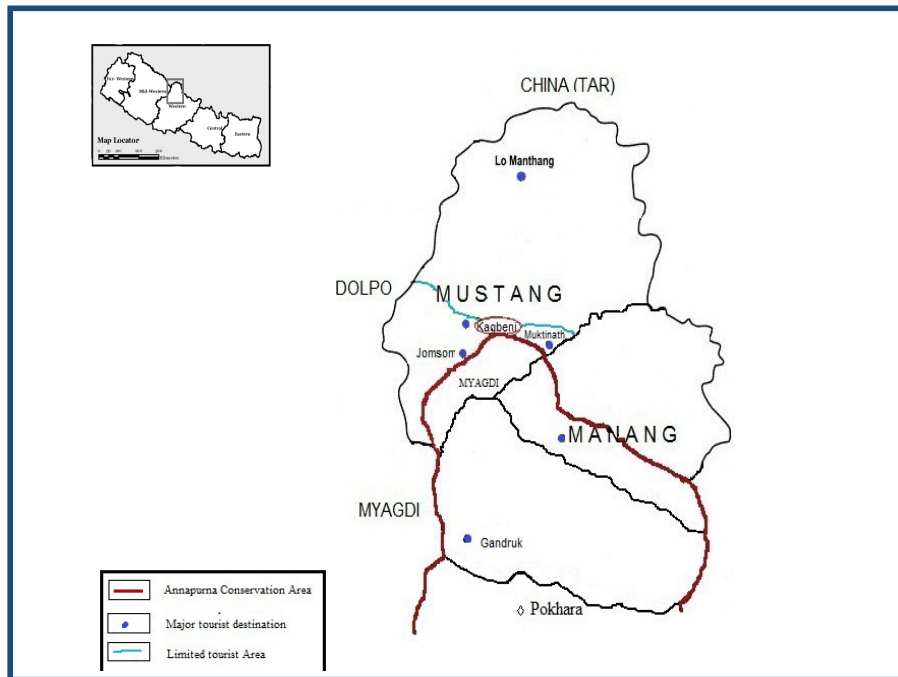
3.1.2 Annapurna Conservation Area

The Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP) is considered a model of sustainable tourism management because over the years there has been an overall improvement in the livelihood of the local population and conservation of the environment as a result of planned and managed tourism. Since 1986, tourism and environmental management have been regulated by the ACAP under the sponsorship of the National Trust for Nature Conservation (Gurung & deCoursey, 1994). The aim of ACAP is to achieve a sustained balance between nature, conservation and socio-economic improvement in the area (NTNC,2011).

The Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA) (Figure 3.2, next page) stretches from the subtropical zone in the South to the dry mountainous area in the North. It is located in the Western Development Region, and is comprised of five districts (Mustang, Manang, Myagdi, Kaski and Lamjung) that contain 57 Village Development Committees and has a total landmass of 7,629 km². It is a region with several high mountains and has more than 300 km of trails traversing high passes and spectacular mountain scenery as well as through the deep *Kali Gandaki* gorge, fast flowing rivers and colourful ancient villages (ACAP, 1996). Since the 1990s, trekking tourism has become a major economic activity in the ACA where it provides local employment to over 50,000 people (HMG,2008). In addition, during this time period the number of tourists has steadily increased from 35,800 in 1990 to 80,000 (ACAP,

2009). Currently about 30% of all tourist trekkers, who visit Nepal, travel to the Annapurna region. Besides tourism, agriculture is the main economic activity in the ACA.

Figure 3.2: Annapurna Conservation Area and Mustang district map with Kagbeni circled (Source: (ACAP, 1996)



3.1.3 Mustang District

Mustang district, the district where Kagbeni is located, comes under ACAP that was launched in 1991 under the sponsorship of the National Trust for Nature Conservation. This is the district where the Himalayan Mountains merge with the Tibetan Plateau. The district shares its northern border with the Tibet Autonomous Region of China, Manang district to the east, Dolpo district to the west, and Myagdi district to the south (Figure 3.2, above). It occupies an area of 3,573.58 sq. km. and altitude ranges from 2,000m to 8,000m. The district experiences extreme temperatures from 26° C in the summer to -9° C in the winter and has an average annual rainfall of 184 mm. The *Kali Gandaki* is the major river flowing through the district from north to south. In the district, agriculture with animal husbandry (76.8 per cent) is the major occupation of the people while an increasing number are involved in tourism (8.6 per cent) and trade with the southern Nepal and India (3.1 per cent) (DADO, 2009/2010).

The population of the area is 13,850 with an almost equal proportion of males and females (DDC, 2011). Mustang is one of the most sparsely populated districts in Nepal. The population growth of Mustang is only 0.47 per cent (DADO, 2009/2010) and the average family size is 5.4. Despite this, the district is rich in ethnic diversity of which 62.2 per cent are *Gurung* (the largest ethnic group) while *Thakali* (24.5 per cent), *Damai-Kami* (8.2 per cent), and others (5.2 per cent) make up the remaining ethnic groups in the district (DDC, 2011). The majority of the people are Buddhists (90.8 per cent) followed Hindu (9 per cent) (DDC, 2001).

Mustang district, which is located in the Trans-Himalayan region, is divided into two areas: Upper Mustang, a protected area where only travellers with a permit from the Nepalese government are allowed to travel, and Lower Mustang which is open to all tourists. Mustang, district is rich in natural beauty and bio-diversity. Tourism development started in Mustang in 1950 but arrival of considerable numbers of trekkers began only began after the *Khampa* (Tibetan refugees) left the district in 1974. According to Thakali (1994, p. 70) the *Khampa* occupation was a key factor that slowed down modernisation and tourism development in Mustang for over the decade. Since the departure of the *Khampa*, the number of international tourists visiting the district has risen from 6,000 trekkers to nearly 30,000 in 2010 (ACAP, 2010).

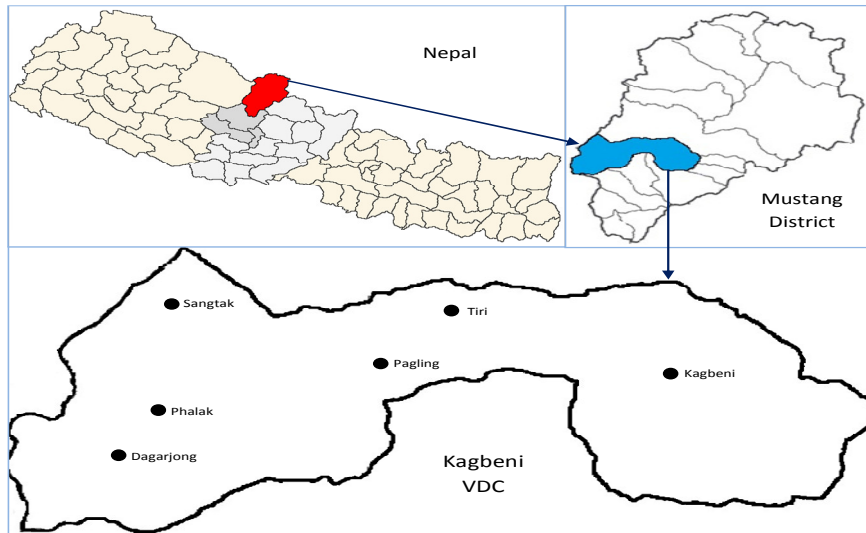
3.1.4 Kagbeni VDC³

Within Mustang district, Kagbeni is the gateway to Upper Mustang (Figure 3.3, next page). Until recently this medieval village, which dates back to the 16th century, was the northern most area that foreigners could visit without a permit.

The village is located at an altitude of 2800 meters above sea level and has a high-altitude desert climate similar to that of the Tibetan Plateau. This, coupled with the traditional Tibetan culture and isolation of the village, has created an environment that is still largely unspoiled. As a result, the majority of the villagers have been able to maintain their traditional farming practices as well as many aspects of their ancient culture and a lifestyle that date back to the 16th century.

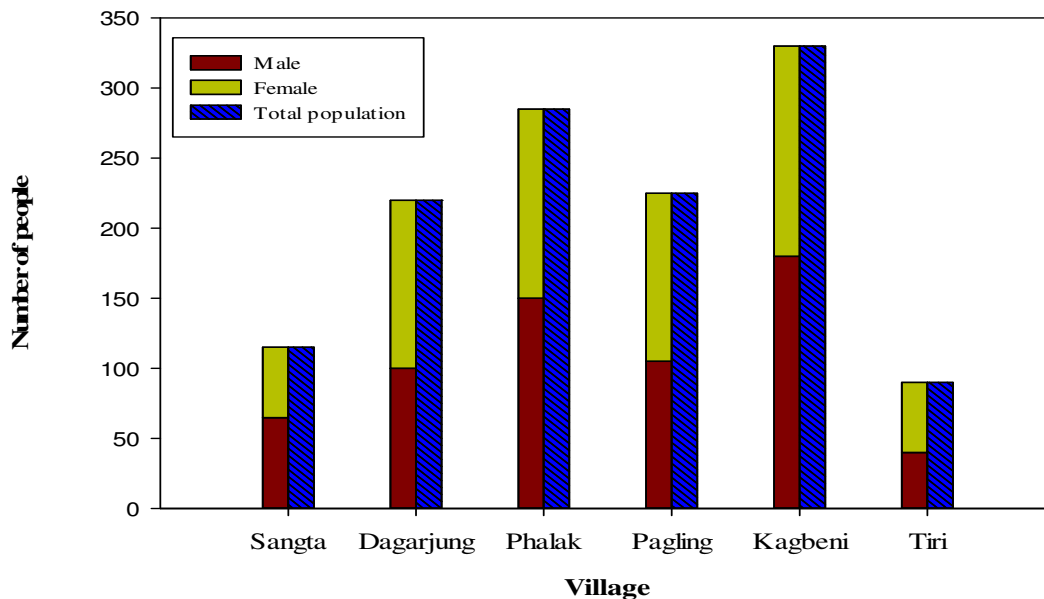
³ Kagbeni VDC consists of six small villages: Kagbeni, Pagling, Phalak, Dagarjung, Tiri and Sangtak.

Figure 3.3: Map of Kagbeni VDC (Source: DADO, 2009/2010 and <http://mapsof.net/map/nepal-districts>)



Kagbeni is one of the main tourist destinations in ACA and has a total of 216 households and a population of 1260 (Figure 3.4) (DDC, 2011).

Figure 3.4: Total population of Kagbeni VDC (Source: VDC, 2011)



The major occupation of the people of Kagbeni is agriculture. Because the soil is fertile and a good source of water is available, the villagers harvest two crops a year. The main agriculture products are naked barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), buckwheat (*Fagopyrum esculentum*) while the cash crops for export are apples, beans, potatoes and a variety of fresh vegetables.

Kagbeni village serves as the main junction to four major tourist destinations:

1. Muktinath, a holy shrine, and Manang district to the east
2. Jomsom, the Mustang district headquarters to the south
3. Lo Manthang in Upper Mustang to the north⁴
- 4 Dolpo District to the west⁴

In addition, Kagbeni has a majestic landscape (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Kagbeni village (Source: Photograph Phenchok Tsepten Gurung, 2011)



It also has two rivers, the *Kali Gandaki* and *Jhong khola* nearby, and is the gateway to *Damodhar kunda* and Muktinath, two holy places for Hindu and Tibetan Buddhist worshippers. As a consequence, tourism has become a major source of income for the villagers. Unfortunately, the other five villages in the VDC – Tiri, Pagling, Phalak, Dagarjung and Sangtak – are not located on the four major trekking routes. As a result, they have not benefited as much from tourism as has Kagbeni.

In summary, Kagbeni is a major tourist destination and its traditional farming practices and culture are among the oldest in Nepal. As such it represents an excellent example in which to conduct this case study.

⁴ Lo Manthang and Dolpo are only open to a limited number of trekkers who are required to pay an entry fee (US\$ 500 for a minimum of 10 day trek) and US\$ 50 per day for any additional days.

Chapter 4

Methodology

This chapter describes the details of qualitative research approaches used in social science investigations. It includes the research design, source of data, selection of the research participants, research tools, data collection, transcription and data analysis procedures as well as the ethical considerations and limitations of the research study.

4.1 Research Design

According to Ritchie & Lewis (2003, p. 3), “qualitative research is a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to phenomena like actions, decisions, beliefs, values and so on within their social settings.” To achieve the objectives of this research a qualitative research design was adopted. Qualitative research provides an in-depth understanding of the research participants through learning about their social settings, their experiences, perspectives and histories (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 3). A main feature of qualitative research is to describe and display social phenomena as experienced by informants (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Qualitative research methods do not produce quantified findings or have measurement and hypothesis testing as an integral part of the research process (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Rather, these methods are used to study “people in their own natural setting and endeavours to interpret their experiences in terms of the meanings that the people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3).

A qualitative methodology was determined to be best suited for this research study for three main reasons. First, the focus of this research is to explore the linkages between tourism and agriculture development over time rather than to test preconceived hypotheses. Second, this methodology is best suited to develop an understanding of local perspectives on tourism and agricultural practices and how these have evolved over the last 50-60 years and are linked to the sustainability of Kagbeni VDC. And third, Kagbeni VDC is an ancient village where oral communication is still the most important and realistically the only means of determining the local knowledge, thoughts and experiences of the people. As such, a qualitative research methodology employing oral history interviews seemed best suited for collecting and recording the voice of local informants on the research topic.

Oral history refers to the knowledge, thoughts and experiences that are passed on in the normal course of social life by word of mouth, supplemented by graphic representation with regionally and socially coded meanings (Lowenstein, 1992). This is a direct method of recording people's memories of past events and of seeking a personal account of important events and their perception in their own words (Dunn, 2005, p. 61)). Use of this method was successful in collecting in-depth information on Kagbeni VDC as well as producing a comprehensive picture of the process of economic, social and environmental change that has occurred in Kagbeni VDC since the 1950s as a result of the increase in tourism. Most of the respondents who narrated the story had seen and experienced the changes through the course of their lives. Moreover, the informants were from all walks of life and represented a broad spectrum of people (men, women, old and younger people) who had lived and seen Kagbeni VDC change over time and thus were able to provide a wide view of the study objectives.

4.2 Source of Data

Secondary data in this research were collected from various sources such as workshop and conference reports, books, journal articles, websites and published or unpublished theses. Other statistical information also was collected from the Mustang district profile, the Annapurna Conservation Area Project office in Jomsom, the District Agricultural Department office in Jomsom, the Nepal Tourism Board and the National Trust for Nature Conservation in Kathmandu.

Primary sources consist of eyewitness testimony and stories described by people who experienced particular historical events and era (Sacks et al, 2009, p. 34) such as first-hand information. Oral history interview technique was used in collecting primary data for this study. Though oral history is unstructured, an interview guide was developed and followed in order to avoid aimless or superficial interviews. The interviews were conducted with local residents (farmers, entrepreneurs, teachers, lodge owner and local leaders) as well as with district level officials and national level experts from various ministries and NGOs who were knowledgeable regarding Kagbeni VDC (see Table 4.1).

4.3 Selection of Research Participants

Non-probability sampling, including purposive sampling, was used to select potential villagers from the study site for oral history interviews. Babbie (2011, p. 207) defines purposive sampling as "a type of non-probability sampling in which the units to be observed

are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgement about which ones will be the most useful or representative.” A local gatekeeper was used to identify initial participants followed by use of the snow-ball technique to select other participants. “Snow balling is the process by which one participant recommends that the researcher talk with another participant,” (Babbie, 2011, p. 208).

A total of 30 participants were interviewed including local residents, district and national level experts (Table 4.1). The experts were selected on the basis of their experience and knowledge of the research topic. The age of participants ranged from 37 to 86 years in order to capture information across younger and older generations. Twenty residents of Kagbeni VDC were interviewed. This number was considered sufficient to represent the community as regard to the research objectives and the available time and resources. Similarly ten experts, five each from the district and national levels, were selected in order to obtain their knowledge and opinions regarding the effect of linking tourism and agriculture for sustainable development from a district and national perspective.

Table 4.1: Categories of participants

SN	Categories	Profile	Number of participants
1.	Local residents	Villagers, local leaders (<i>Mukhiya</i>), farmers, hotel owners, mother’s group, youth group, teachers, government officers	20
2.	District level experts	Leaders, planners, officers involved in tourism and agriculture planning and development	5
3.	National level experts	Current and retired officers, anthropologists and historians involved in governmental and NGOs	5
	Total		30

4.3.1 Local Residents

Twenty local residents were selected for unstructured oral history interviews. Local participants were village leaders, VDC members, farmers, lodge owners, shop owners, teachers, government officers, priest, tourist guide, elderly, youth and mothers’ groups. The categorisation of interviewees and their background is provided in Table 4.2. The majority were villagers who were permanent residents such as a VDC leader, farmers, hotel owners,

and representatives of mothers and youth groups. The teacher, priest, tourist guide and government officer were temporary local residents who had been working in Kagbeni VDC for many years and had sufficient information to speak knowledgeably about the study area.

Table 4.2: Categories of local residents

SN	Categories	Gender		Number of Participants
		Male	Female	
1.	Farmers	5	2	7
2.	Hotel owners	3	3	6
3.	Village leader	1	-	1
4.	Mothers group	-	1	1
5.	Youth group	1	-	1
6.	Teacher	1	-	1
7.	Priest	1	-	1
8.	Tourist guide	1	-	1
9.	Government	1	-	1
	Total	14	6	20

4.3.2 District Level Experts

Five district level experts were interviewed in Jomsom, the district headquarters of Mustang district (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Categories of district level experts

SN	Categories	Profile	Gender		Number of Participants
			Male	Female	
1.	Government officers	Involved in local governmental department such as planning, implementing policies and undertaking the execution of public administrative duties at district level	3	-	3
2.	Local NGO officers	Involved in district level NGO such as tourism planning and development process	2	-	2
		Total	5	-	5

These participants were selected based on their ability to represent their organisation and knowledge of the research objectives. They represented both governmental and non-governmental organisations such as the District Agriculture Development office, the District

Development Committee and Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP). The interviews with district level experts were useful in generating opinions on the effect of linking tourism and agriculture for sustainable development from another perspective.

4.3.3 National Level Experts

Five national level experts were selected for unstructured interviews (Table 4.4). Those selected were from governmental, non-governmental and private organisations involved in tourism and agricultural planning and development such as the Nepal Tourism Board, the National Trust for Nature Conservation, World Wild Foundation of Nepal, the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperative Nepal and The Organic Village Pvt. Limited. The national level experts' interviews were conducted in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. These decision makers' perspectives on the effect of linking tourism and agriculture for sustainable development at the national level proved to be very useful and informative.

Table 4.4: Categories of national level experts⁵

SN	Categories	Profile	Gender		Number of participant
			Male	Female	
1.	National level leader	Member of parliament involved in formulating, coordinating and deciding on policies for public administration at national level	1	-	1
2.	National level NGO and International NGOs officers	Retired and currently involved in tourism planning and development process or wild life or natural resources management	3	-	3
3.	Entrepreneur	Involved in private organisation, such as agricultural, to improve the lives of remote people through the appropriate market creation of community-based agro- products and sustainable mobilisation of local resources.	1	-	1
		Total	5	-	5

⁵ The profile of each of the participants by code name is presented in Appendix F.

4.4 Research Tools

4.4.1 Interview Method – Oral History

Oral history is one of the various forms of unstructured interviewing methods. This method has been successfully used in human geography to track and understand changes (what happened, how, why and what things were like from a personal perspective) across spatial and temporal scales (George & Stratford, 2005). The oral history method also provides an opportunity to understand the informants' experiences of the past. Oral histories have been used extensively in developing countries where local people are believed to carry non-written knowledge of their surroundings based on their experiences and observations of their surroundings (Nightingale, 2009). As such, the oral history technique was useful in seeking first-hand information on the study site, determining any changes in agriculture practices, and obtaining opinions regarding tourism and its impact on the community and agriculture based on the knowledge and experience of the informants.

Two separate interview guides were prepared – one for the local residents and another for the experts. In addition, each guide was divided into two parts: orientation questions and common questions. The orientation questions were constructed to obtain background information while the common questions were designed to elicit information on various study topics such as the impact of tourism on agriculture or the relationship between the two sectors (see Appendices C and D for details).

The data collection procedures were pre-designed to anticipate and accommodate the collection of data into distinct historical categories. Such a design was viewed to be appropriate since the literature review revealed that the status of access to Kagbeni VDC has changed over time. For example, Nepal was a closed kingdom before 1950. A lack of access to Nepal before 1950 meant reduced tourist numbers in any of its VDCs including Kagbeni. Access has long been recognised in the literature as a crucial component of tourism expansion (Gunn, 1994). Pre-defined time periods were assigned by the researcher according to, among other things, changes in access. In reviewing the history of Kagbeni, it became apparent that the five time periods detailed in Chapter 5 (Results) were of significance. The five time periods are: Independent but Isolated; Airport and Increasing Connectivity; Development; Integrated Management and Contemporary Status. In the field, therefore, respondents were usually asked to comment on events and activities according to the above pre-defined time periods.

4.5 Data Collection Procedure

All the interviewees were approached personally and the interviews were scheduled according to respondents' chosen date, time and location. Communication in the local dialect helped to create good rapport with the interviewees and gain their confidence, both of which made obtaining useful information easier. (For the local villagers, the information sheet was translated into Nepali.). In addition, All interviews were conducted with written consent of the informants (see Appendix A), and each informant was given a pseudonym in order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity. According to Sack et al, (2009, p. 88) interview is never simply a record of the interviewee telling a story but the interviewer shares authority in the interview therefore, it is important for both interviewer and interviewee to sign a release form transferring rights to the interview to the organisation sponsoring the projects.

Prior to conducting the interview, a research information sheet was given to all participants to read in their local dialect (and verbally explained in the local language to those who could not read) (Appendix B). The information sheet contained detailed information about the research including the purpose of the research, the nature of the information to be collected and the anticipated outcome of the study. It also included a summary of the rights of a study participant, assurances regarding confidentiality and anonymity, the approximate time required to conduct the interview and consent to record the interview. Finally, all interviews were conducted using one of the interview guides.

The field research was conducted during the months of September and October 2011. Each interview lasted thirty minutes to an hour and took place in informants' homes, farms, work station or office depending on wherever the interviewee felt most comfortable. During the interviews, the informants were asked about their experiences and what changes that they have noticed regarding agricultural practices since 1950. In addition, notes were taken by the interviewer to highlight certain information, to capture non-audible occurrences such as gestures and the body language of the informants, and as a backup record in case of technical failure of the recorders. All notes were transcribed verbatim on the day of the interview.

4.6 Data Analysis Procedure

On returning from the field, transcriptions of the unstructured interviews were recorded in English and coded. The transcriptions included any notes (memoing) taken by the interviewer as well as the spoken words. After transcription and coding, the data were then sorted into

various categories or themes and analysed using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (NVivo). “Thematic analysis is a tool that helps in identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data and is useful in describing and organising the data set in detail,” (Nightingale, 2009). Sorting, coding and memoing enabled the data to be divided into five, roughly equal, time periods and characterized into four themes, thereby helping to make the data more meaningful.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

As oral history involves deliberately entering to other person’s life, ethical consideration is important according to Sacks et al, (2009, p. 42). “The purpose of Human ethics is to protect the rights of the individuals participating in tourism research, guarding the standing scientific community and assisting the further development or enhancement of society via ethically determined findings” (Jennings, 2010). In accordance with this, all the ethical considerations required for this research were submitted to Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (LU-HEC) at the beginning of August 2011 (see Appendix E for more detail) and the field work carried out only after approval from LU- HEC. In conducting the field work, the HEC requirements were strictly followed as detailed.

4.8 Research Limitations

There are several limitations associated with this study. First, it is recognised that the sample size of 30 participants from one of 57 VDCs in the ACA region may be considered too small. Due to time and resource constraints, the inclusion of a larger number of respondents from more than one VDC was not possible. Although the sample size was small, nevertheless the author believes that the respondents represent a wide range of perspectives at the community, district and national levels. The author also believes the breadth and depth of each interview was comprehensive enough to enable compiling a rich pool of information and insights regarding the research problem.

Second, because the average age of respondents is quite high (59 years), with at least three respondents over age eighty, the memory loss that accompanies increasing age potentially could be considered a limitation of the study. However, the consistency of the accounts and time frame reported from one interviewee to another suggests that memory loss was not a significant factor.

Third, this is a qualitative study of the perceptions of villagers and district and national experts over a 60-year time period. Therefore, no attempt has been made to quantify (in statistical or numerical terms) the economic aspects of the interaction between these two sectors (e.g., economic leakages). The author also recognises that the analysis represent only one way of exploring the research problem and that there are other approaches using different forms of data that may be appropriate and applicable. And lastly, because the data is limited to the study of one VDC, care should be taken in generalising the results to other VDCs or areas.

4.9 Chapter Summary

A qualitative research methodology was used to determine the emerging linkages between tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni VDC over time (1950 to 2011). An unstructured oral history interview technique in combination with a case study approach was used for gathering empirical data. Non-probability sampling, including purposive sampling, was used to select 20 villagers and 10 district and national experts for interviewing. All interviews were conducted using a previously developed and vetted guide to avoid aimless or superficial interviews. Subsequently, data were transcribed in English, coded and analysed using NVivo, a thematic software programme that enabled the data to be clustered into five time periods (themes) and then categorized into four sub-themes. The confidentiality and anonymity of the research participants were maintained by various means (e.g., use of pseudonyms and data coding). Ethical considerations according to LU-HEC guidelines were followed throughout the study and the limitations of study findings are presented.

Chapter 5

Results

This chapter presents data resulting from interviews of participants from Kagbeni VDC, Jomsom and Kathmandu during the field visit conducted in September and October 2011. Each of the five sections covers the development changes that have taken place in Kagbeni from the 1950s to the present. The results of this study document the evolution of the linkages between tourism and agriculture during five distinct development periods:

- Period 1: Independent but Isolated (1950-1962)
- Period 2: Airport and Increasing Connectivity (1963-1975)
- Period 3: Development (1976-1992)
- Period 4: Integrated Management (1993-2006)
- Period 5: Contemporary Status (2007-2011)

5.1 Period 1: Independent but Isolated (1950-1962)⁶

5.1.1 Context

During this period, Kagbeni was isolated in a hidden valley of the Himalayas and the people had little or no contact with the outside world. This was because Kagbeni was between a four and eight days' walk from Kagbeni to reach the nearest city, Pokhara. The primary means of transport were *jhopas* (hybrid of yak and cow) because travel by horse was too expensive. According to Dolma, an elder woman, "*Horses were luxury and only the rich could afford to keep them, we were poor people and had no road, no electricity, no education, no health care, we were so poor and we were living in very minimal conditions.*" To get from one village to another, most locals walked.

During this time, very few villagers moved out of Kagbeni as many believed life beyond their village was harsh and full of danger. Some feared the rugged topography and harsh climate conditions such as snow, rain and wind. "*If we happened to go to Jomsom, we used to think that we may not return,*" stated Tashi, an elderly man. In addition, as reported by Evi, who is 80 years old, "*Though the village was free from the Rana regime, the locals were practicing a*

⁶ Appendix G contains a translation of the local dialect words used in Chapters 5 and 6 into English.

16th century lifestyle. There were no basic facilities like roads, communication, health care and a school.”

As most villagers did not travel much, agriculture (farming) was the main source of livelihood and income for families. The major farming activity of Kagbeni VDC involved traditional (subsistence) farming, livestock rearing (animal husbandry) and harvesting forest products like wood. Three elders, Palsang, Tsono and Tashi said that whatever was grown was used either to feed their families or for feeding their animals. By contrast, the women spent their time doing household chores or weaving traditional dresses like *gho* (local gown), *kiti* (woman folk wear this behind their back), *kawu* (belt) and *somba* (local boot) (Figure 5.1). *”In the past, we women folk used to weave our own clothes for both men and women. We did not remember buying clothes. We wear woollen stuff made from yak or goat wool or skin,”* stated Dolma. According to the locals they never knew there were other clothing materials like cotton or nylon, and they never heard about clothing shops or markets where you could buy such goods.

Figure 5.1: Women performing local ritual (Source: Author, 2011)



At this time, many of the villagers strongly believed in the supernatural power for curing diseases. As stated by Evi, *“I gave birth to 10 children, out of them only 3 sons survive. We did not have any medical facilities, we just believe in God and whatever happened we used to think that it was God’s choice.”* If any villagers felt sick or ill the local lamas (monks) were called and they chanted to remove the evil. There was also an old belief that when a person got sick, a bad spirit had entered the body. If he or she dies then that was considered his karma. None of villagers had any knowledge about science or medicine at this time. Due to the physical hardships and lack of medical facilities, the life span of many villagers was

short. As a result very few celebrated *tharchang*, a celebration at age fifty-five marking retirement from social responsibility. “*We used to celebrate tharchang at the age of fifty five but very few locals could survive up to this age due to harsh life style. Therefore we changed the year to fifty,*” stated Tsomo, a 72 year old woman farmer from Kagbeni.

In this period, education was considered a luxury; therefore, many of the locals never had an opportunity to go to school. As such, many elders could not read or write. In addition, they could not speak any language other than the local dialect “*which is very similar to Tibetan, the difference is rhythmic,*” said Tenzing, an 84 year old farmer. Because of contact with local lamas in the monastery, some people could read Tibetan.

Despite the hardships and isolation, most villagers used their time away from work and chores to interact and socialize among their friends, especially during the time of rituals, festivals or village functions. They liked to feast and celebrate at these festivals such as the *Dashyang* (archery), *Chongu* (the New Year) and *Yartung* (horse) festivals that were held during the off season after or before the farming seasons. According to Palsang, an 86 year old farmer, “*Yartung, a summer festival is celebrated just after completing the harvest of kar [summer] and starting of nag [winter] crop. Chungu, which is celebrated after finishing nag work, is a winter festival was and is a time for relaxation. And dashyang, a spring festival was celebrated to bring prosperity for male folk and success for the coming year.*” These festivals served to keep the villagers’ cultural identity. As Palsang, one of oldest respondents and a farmer stated, “*We considered culture as an important part of our life and our identity; in each festival both men and women dance, drink and sing.*”

Due to the strong traditional and cultural background, the people practised the caste system. Most of the caste discrimination takes place during community ceremonies. The higher caste has their own sitting row at the front of the line, the middle caste at the middle line and the lowest caste at the back. This seating arrangement was made in order that each caste had a separate *chaang* (local beer) bowl (no sharing between castes). Ethnic groups like *damai* (tailor) and *kami* (blacksmith) were considered untouchable. As such, their entrance into the local people’s houses was forbidden.

According to many interviewees, community work was organised by *Ghemba* or *Mukhiya* (local leader or head of village). They were selected by the community based on their age and experience as described by Pemba, a lodge owner and government official, “*Ghembas [or*

Mukhiya] decided how the community would work. They were also considered as managers of village rules and regulations. They also settled villager conflicts. They took care of most of the social responsibilities of the village. They administered community work such as building bridges, trails, irrigation canals and organised rituals and festivals. If anybody failed to follow the laws they would be given penalties or fines. All Ghempas were well respected in the community, whereas Hrolu [Mukhiya’s helpers] assisted with other [lesser] community activities.”

Though life was simple, the locals seemed to be very content. Life at that time was described by several interviewees as follows, “*None of us was eager to know beyond our sight, maybe we were too ignorant and uneducated or not so ambitious. We did whatever we were told to do, and followed the same pattern till someone found a new idea. So we were happy with one livelihood and a simple lifestyle.*” Because the villagers were completely isolated from the outside world at this time even though the country was free from the Rana regime, life of the Kagbeni people was slow, traditional and agriculturally based. It was disconnected from the rest of the world. The isolation, however, was broken in 1962 with construction of an airport in Jomsom, the Mustang district headquarters, which was less than a day’s walk from Kagbeni. (The details and importance of this are presented in Section 5.2.1.)

5.1.2 Agriculture Development

Most of the older interviewees stated that there were not many opportunities for work other than subsistence farming and forestry during this time. The villagers, therefore, relied heavily on agriculture and animal husbandry for their livelihood. According to Dolma, “*Nye [naked barely] takes 6-7 months to grow and gyappre [buckwheat] 3-4 months. According to the climatic pattern of Kagbeni, nye was grown in winter and buckwheat in summer. Our life consisted of getting up every day and collecting firewood, fetching water and looking after our field work.*”

Table 5.1: Agriculture seasons as reported by local villagers

Crop	Agricultural season	
	Sowing	Harvest
Nye (naked barley)	November – mid December	May – June
Gyappre (buckwheat)	Mid July-mid August	October – November

Traditional agricultural practices were used entirely at this time. People ploughed fields manually with the help of *jhopas* (hybrid of yak and cow). The main purpose of domesticating animals was to produce manure, which together with leaves, was used as fertilizer. The entire canal system that was used for irrigating the fields was manmade. Cultivation and harvesting tools for agriculture were all made by the local blacksmith. In addition, the villagers used their own seeds for planting even though production from them was limited. Nothing was brought in from outside. And finally, the lunar calendar was used for sowing, harvesting and for planting the first crop. In addition, it was used to determine irrigation dates and when to store crops.

As mentioned above, the major crops were *nye* and *gyappre*. These foods were the staple diet of the locals and several varieties of foods were made from them. *“When we were young, we did not know about rice, sugar and tea, most of the time we ate a variety [of food] made from nye and gyappre. We did not have vegetables like cabbage or potatoes. Only some local radishes. We did not know how to grow other varieties of food so we only depended on nye and gyappre,”* said Palsang, an elder farmer. Because tea or coffee was not known or available, instead the villagers consumed *chaang* (local beer) from early morning followed by *chhuma* (buckwheat, local radish and dry meat mix stew), *dido* (buckwheat porridge), *gyang* (buckwheat pancake) and *tsampa* (flour made from roasted barley). *“The food consumed was not too sophisticated but involved ordinary stews such as mixture of some dry turnip leaves and wheat flour,”* stated Evi. They ate the same food every day, every month and every year.

Much of the *nye* was used for making *chaang* (beer) and *rakshi* (liquor). *“We need lots of alcohol, chaang and rakshi. These were very important for all kinds of occasions. Without this liquor no house could operate. Every house must have those alcohols to welcome a guest or visitor. Having those brews also signified the wealth of the people in the village. The availability of liquor meant more production from the farm. Another way of displaying wealth,”* stated one interviewee. The economic status of a person or family during this period was based on the production of their farm and the seeds they were able to keep for next year’s cultivation. (Locals were considered poor if they were unable to keep enough seeds for the next cultivation.)

The villagers believed in worshipping everything related to agricultural practices and rituals were performed before sowing seeds and at harvest time. While most locals believed in living harmoniously with their environment, they were very superstitious. For example, they

believed they had a strong connection with their land because it provided them with food, shelter and identity. *For ages our land has been providing us food and we worship it, and most of our cultural activities were related to farming. They relate to the sowing, harvest, cultivating and irrigation times. We have festivals before and after each type of farm work both in kar and nag in order to respect our land,*” explained Palsang. As a consequence, many rituals were performed in order to get good agricultural production. For example, locals performed *tempa tsultrim*, a ritual based on the belief that carrying holy books from a monastery helped farmers get rid of pests in the field. *“Can you believe there were thousands of pests hovering around the farm every year, [but] after tempa tsultrim, the pests disappear immediately. That was the power of our holy book,*” exclaimed Evi and Tashi, two elderly people from the village.

Because agriculture at this time involved heavy physical labour, men generally worked on the farm and were the main bread earner of the family. Hence, they were considered the head of the house and made most of the decisions. Another interesting aspect of this period was that due to the fear of fragmentation of ancestral (family) land, most of the villagers’ practised fraternal polyandry where all the brothers in the family married one woman. *“We believe in polyandry because our land is mountainous and very limited for cultivating. If the brothers divided the land then our ancestral property would shrink into smaller sections so to preserve our forefather’s property from breaking down, we practised polyandry,*” said Tenzin, who is now 84 years old and shares a wife with his brother. Traditionally, each family had its own piece of land which is passed down from one generation to next. According to the locals, the eldest brother inherits the main household. If the younger brothers (two or three) wished to join him in a polyandrous marriage, then they were eligible for equal rights regarding the ancestral property. If they chose not to, the land had to be divided among brothers; thereby shrinking the ancestral property. At one time, polyandry was very common in Kagbeni, but the practice is now gradually decreasing.

5.1.3 Tourism Development

Tourism in Kagbeni in this period was in an early stage of development. Although the Government of Nepal allowed tourism in Mustang district at this time, there were no plans and policies from the government on how this would be managed. Because tourists, usually foreigners, were rarely seen, if locals happened to see them then they would try to avoid them. According to Tashi, who was 78 years old, *“We were playing near a river when we saw*

one white man with many followers camping. We did not go very close because we were so scared and when the white guy wanted to take our picture, we ran away because they looked so different from us. When the tourists wanted to take a picture of the villagers, they used to run away thinking that foreigners were beasts.”

During this era, tourists visiting Kagbeni were explorers or researchers. For example Toni Hagen, a Swiss geologist, made his exploratory journey into Mustang in 1953. None of the study respondents, however, knew about this, and these events can only be traced from the literature (Hagen, 1960). Many of the older respondents never got an opportunity to meet a foreigner, they only heard about them from the stories told by other fellow villagers. It is clear there was little or no interaction between the locals and early visitors during this time. In large part this was because they looked so unfamiliar to each other and did not speak a language the locals understood. As such, they remained complete strangers. An additional barrier that prevented interaction between the early explorers and researchers visiting Mustang was the fact that they brought in all their own provisions and equipment with the help of porters. Thus, based on the limited experiences of the respondents, learning and sharing between visitors and the locals was out of question during this period.

5.1.4 Relationship between Agriculture and Tourism

The relationship between the agriculture and tourism during the 1950s and 60s was, to all extent and purposes, non-existent. Although a few foreign tourists passed through Kagbeni, agricultural production was limited in variety and was barely enough to provide for the local families. As such, there was little or no thought of selling agricultural goods to tourists. *“First of all we did not have sufficient food to eat ourselves so how could we sell. Also I did not think they [tourists] would eat any of our food because they could not digest it. Our food is very harsh like our life here during that time [laughs],”* said Palsang. Another local (Mingma), a trader who migrated to Pohkara 30 years ago and later returned to village to start a tourism business, added *“We never interacted and never knew what they [tourists] ate; I never knew they would ever buy our produce.”* During this period agriculture and tourism were completely disjointed and local farms did not benefit at all from the visiting tourists.

5.2 Period 2: Airport and Increasing Connectivity (1963-1975)

5.2.1 Context

In 1962, construction of an airport in Jomsom, the Mustang district headquarters, connected the people of the region, including Kagbeni villagers, with the outside world. The airport was built by the International Red Cross to support humanitarian aid for the large number of Tibetan refugees (*Khampa*) in Mustang district who had escaped from the Chinese invasion (Hagen, 1994). Tashi and Palsang described the situation as follows, “*Around 6000 to 7000 Khampa [Tibetan refugees] took shelter in the Mustang district somewhere around the early 60s. We were so scared of them because they were warriors that had escaped from the Chinese. We assumed them to be ferocious, angry Tibetan militants, but they were quite friendly people.*”

Prior to arrival of the *Khampa*, the barter system was the main means of trade for most locals. Only those locals whose farms generated excess produce could choose to go for trade outside the region. Karma, one of the well-established businessmen in the village shared his experience, “*When I was 14 we used to go to Pokhara and Bhutwal [lower Nepal] taking our jhopa, donkeys and horse in winter. In Bhutwal we used to buy small daily goods and sell them in Pokhara. This lasted for 6 months. When spring begins we buy rations from the profits we made during our trading and returned home before farm work started. Once farm work is completed we again go to Lo Manthang [Upper Mustang] for another trading where we exchange our grain for wool and salt.*”

Figure 5.2: Local farmer with his grandson (Source: Auther, 2011)



Those locals whose farms generated only limited produce were also dependent on going to the forest to harvest firewood to satisfy their family's everyday needs. Arrival of large numbers of *Khampa* significantly changed things for local villagers. "*The wealthy individuals had investment for trade but poor people like us had no income so most of us go to the forest, cut juniper tree and sell them to Khampa. In return they used to give us money or other rations like rice and sugar,*" stated Lhakpa, a farmer. In addition, for a number of years, Kagbeni was used as the main hub for distributing food rations for Tibetan refugees. The *Khampa* set up small shops and for the first time gave monetary value to local produce. Hence, the locals were able learn about trade involving money alongside the traditional barter system.

The impact of the *Khampa*'s entrance into Mustang had both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side the locals could see the monetary value in their agricultural and forest products and learnt new ideas in trading. For example, as the locals started moving beyond the villages for trade, they brought back goods from lower parts of Nepal and India such as new foods, utensils and clothes. "*We started to visit India every winter for trade and this has helped us to earn sufficient money during this time. For Rupees 3000 (Nepalese currency) was a huge investment in sweater business during this period. I remembered early 1970, we bought a house with eight fields for Rs. 1,500 and exchanged our old house for a donkey, isn't it so funny (she laughs),*" narrated Tsomo, a farmer and the first villager to start a sweater business in Guhati, India that is still in business. The major negative impact was greater pressure on the forest as massive amounts of firewood were being used for cooking and heating purposes for the thousands of *Khampa*. For more than a decade this was a huge threat to the environment. This also encouraged local people to cut firewood haphazardly for their own income.

Along with the refugees, the Nepalese government also introduced a number of changes. For example, during the same period, a primary school was set up in Kagbeni that was funded by Nepalese government. Because the classes were conducted in the Nepali medium, this helped locals to become familiar with the national language. At that time, the introduction of education was a completely new phenomenon and very few people took the opportunity to attend school. As noted previously, the locals did not seem to value education. As a result many of the older respondents interviewed remain unable to read or write. Also, it was clear that it was only a handful of male students who had an opportunity to study. Females were

almost completely restricted from education. As stated by Zomba, the first girl to attend school, “A school was established around 1962, during that time there was a rumour that the school was only for male children but not for females. After 5-6 years, girls were encouraged but very few went during this time. I was the first girl who attended school there and studied for class three [primary level], after that I had to leave because of my responsibilities to my husband.”

Communication with the outside was attempted during this time through the introduction of couriered mail following the establishment of a post office in Jomsom. However, because most of the villagers could not read or write, it was not found to be useful. Moreover, because road access was not established, outside communication remained limited. In addition, although the presence of the *Khampa* in the district brought more outside people into the region, they had little impact on the traditions and language because both cultures were similar.

In 1974, the *Khampa* refugees had to leave the district after notification from the Nepalese government. Though the *Khampa* occupation was to some extent an obstacle for the development of Mustang, the overall impact was positive. Because of their presence, the locals became aware of the monetary value of their agricultural products. Before then, they considered them monetarily valueless. The presence of the refugees in Kagbeni also encouraged some villagers to move outside their limited world for additional income.

5.2.2 Agriculture Development

As documented in secondary sources, the Nepalese government launched several new crop initiatives in the district during this period. For example, in 1966, a nursery farm was set up at Marpha, a small village in Mustang, to improve farm production in Mustang. From this farm, improved seeds for growing vegetables and fruits were distributed to each village. In addition, a Junior Technical Assistant was assigned to teach farm management to the farmers. Due to language barriers, or possibly the inefficiencies in communicating with the villagers, many locals ignored implementing the new protocols. As such during much of this time the government initiatives were ineffective. “I remember when the *Khampa* were around some Nepali guys came here with few bunches of sticks and told us to plant them in our farm but we never paid attention, after they left we used them as firewood but if we had not neglected them then we would have heaps of apples by now [he smiles],” explained Kesang, a middle-

aged farmer from the Phalak village. On hearing this, another respondent, Zomba, added, *“Actually we were very ignorant. Forty years back when we saw your father [author’s father] planting those apple sticks (pointing to a nearby apple tree) we used to laugh; now we realised your father was a wise man. He did investment in those sticks and see now your bara [walled kitchen garden] is full of apples, plums, apricots and many fresh vegetables. This is the result of his investment for the future. Your orchard is the oldest in the VDC.”*

The few who did follow the government instructions benefited from the *Khampa* purchasing their produce. For example, the locals exchanged *nye* and *gyappre*, including *tsampa* (roasted barley flour), *chaang* and *rakshi* brewed from *nye* for money or bartered with the *Khampa*. *“When the Khampa were around, we got Rupees. 7 for nye and Rupees 6 for gyappre per pathi [approximately 3.2kg per pathi], before that we did not know how to place value on them,”* emphasised Evi. In addition, some women started a *chaangma* (a local bar) to sell *chaang* and *rakshi* from their homes. When the locals finally realised the monetary value their produce had, they started to pay attention to the GoN’s initiatives aimed at improving agriculture production. With time production increased as a result of farmers learning to build a *bara* (fenced-in farm area) to protect their new crops from animals.

Many respondents noted that they learnt to eat the new varieties of vegetables due the influence of the *Khampa*. *“We saw Khampa planting potatoes and cabbage in our fields and had also seen them preparing meals from these vegetables. When we tasted their vegetables and liking them, we decided to prepare them ourselves.”* However, Pemba, a farmer, lodge owner and government officer who was the first to complete a school-leaving certificate from the VDC argued that, *“I don’t think agriculture improved with the entry of the Khampa. It was at the same time when the Nepalese government sent support to improve our agricultural pattern that the Khampa were around. The government introduced improved seeds and fruit trees so that locals could benefits from agriculture as it is our main livelihood. They provided us seeds for greater production.”*

In summary, for Kagbeni and other villages in the region, the period between 1963 and 1975 marked the beginning of contact with the outside world, realisation by the local villagers of the monetary value of their produce, and awareness of exchanging goods for money, not just for barter. Through the *Khampa* occupancy, the locals learnt to prepare vegetables like cabbage and potatoes and to eat them. It also marked the beginning of the Nepalese government’s involvement in introducing farmers to new crops. Although the locals were

hesitant at first to implement them, when the villagers found economic benefits from the improved seeds they increasingly accepted them. Doing this helped the locals to produce additional crops.

5.2.3 Tourism Development

During Period 2 (1963-1975), planning and policies on tourism were still in the early stages. No government initiative had, as yet, been developed. Also, because of the Khampa occupancy in the district, there were very few international visitors. According to some respondents during this time they used to imagine tourists as a wealthy and powerful people. *“Once I was herding goats, and I saw a white guy with many other people walking towards Jomsom from a distance. I did not know Nepali or English to communicate with them, so I was left with so many unanswered questions like who were they and why did they come here,”* explained Palsang. Mostly the tourists at this time were foreign explorers and researchers from elite groups who came to the region and then wrote articles or books about their experience. For example, Michel Peissel in his book mentioned his journey in Kagbeni in 1964 (Peissel, 1968). He also described in this book the details of the exploratory journeys of the Austrian climber, Herbert Tichy, and the Italian professor, Giuseppe Tucci. But, other than this, there continued to be minimal interaction and impact on the local culture and economy.

Communication was the major barrier as none of the locals could speak any language other than the local dialect. This created problems in all interactions and made the flow of information and ideas difficult. Hence, tourists and the locals remained at a distance which limited the development of tourism in the region.

5.2.4 Relationship between Agriculture and Tourism

The relationship between agriculture and tourism during this critical period in Mustang history was still tentative. Although the Nepalese government attempted to improve local agricultural production of the area by setting up a nursery farm in Marpha and distributing improved seeds and fruit trees by government officers, no government attempt was made to initiate tourism development. In large part, this was due to political constraints resulting from the *Khampa* occupancy that lasted for several years. From their contact with the refugees, the locals did come to learn that their agricultural produce had monetary value, not just for barter, and to grow and consume new foods. But, because most villagers only spoke the local dialect,

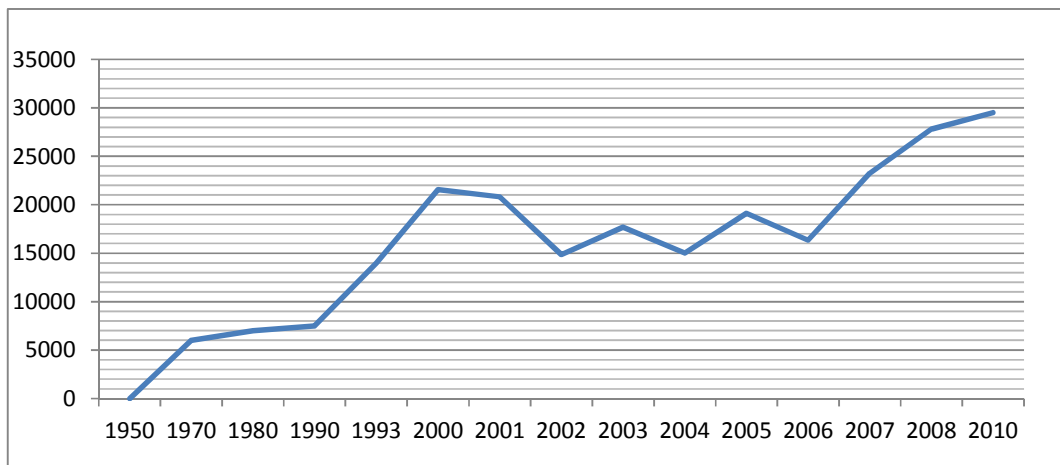
they were unaware of what international tourists eat and their requirements. Lhamo, a lady farmer stated, “We grow little vegetable and fruit in our bara, we never thought of selling that to tourists because they did not come to ask us and we did not think they will ever eat our foods.” Taken together, because of these factors – limited communication and few tourists with exception of the *Khampa’s* – agriculture and tourism had yet to flourish in Kagbeni.

5.3 Period 3: Development (1976-1992)

5.3.1 Context

According to the respondents, the arrival of significant numbers of international trekkers began soon after the *Khampa* occupancy ended in mid-1970s. This was confirmed by Tashi, an elder farmer and leader, who stated, “When the *Khampa* were around we hardly saw a tourist in Kagbeni. They started to come after the *Khampa* left. Since then we saw more groups and independent tourists.” Hence, the daily Royal Nepal Airlines flight became a main link between the district and the outside world. According to the record compiled by the police security post, Jomsom was visited by 6,000 and 7,000 international tourists annually in the 1970s and 1980s and to over 14,000 by 1993 (Figure 5.3). As shown in this figure, the number of tourist decreased and remained level at about 15,000 from around 2000 to 2006 during the height of the civil war.

Figure 5.3: Tourists’ arrival in Mustang district (Source: ACAP, (2010)⁷



As a result, tourism began to become an additional livelihood for the local people of Kagbeni because prior to construction of the airport in Jomsom, “*Trekking to Kagbeni then was a ten*

⁷ Note: the time scale (x-axis-years) is not linear. Rather it reflects years when data were available. As such, it cannot be smoothed out.

to fifteen days and later decreased to four days walk from Pokhara,” explained Raj, a tourism expert.

At this time, tourism was a new concept, and the majority of the local population still predominantly practised agriculture. Along with tourism, the locals were involved in small trade activities, such as selling petty goods like sweaters (garments) made in India. *“My husband was first to start a sweater business in Kagbeni, we still do the same now and my children are following the trade. Since we cannot leave our agriculture, this business is good for our farm. In the winter we can go to India and earn money and when the farm work starts we can return back. The profit can be enough to buy another six month’s worth of groceries for the family members back home,”* said Lhamo, 65 year old farmer.

Another informant, Karma, described being a small trader this way, *“On the way down [to India] to conduct trade we carried and sold high altitude herbs, some bear bladders and upon returning we purchased our yearly groceries, rice, oil, kerosene, spice and so on, from the profit we made during our winter business sales. This helped to lessen pressure on local produce requirements,”* As a result, over next two decades, the sweater business became popular in Mustang during the farming off season. This helped those locals who were not in the tourism business to generate additional income.

Because most villages in Mustang faced food shortages in winter, Kagbeni also became a central hub for overnight stays for *lobas* (local travellers) from Upper Mustang who were headed down to south for trading. *“We never got any formal education on how to start any of our businesses. We learnt through experiences and by observing others. I didn’t know how to calculate, but following my husband and being involved in his business I learnt. Most of us like to go together so that one person can share and teach other from their experiences. In sharing, if someone fails in the business, we can also know why he fails. This helps us to take precautions. We fail many times and get up again, in this way we learnt and became successful in our businesses and shared this with new comers,”* explained Karma. The increase in local travellers further helped the villagers in Kagbeni generate additional income by selling produce like *dido* (local buckwheat meal), *chaang* and *rakshi* to these travellers.

In an attempt by the GoN to increase communication with the outside world, a post office was established in Kagbeni around 1985. Unfortunately, according to several study respondents, it was not successful because the mail took two to three months to deliver and

often letters were lost. In addition, the low literacy of the locals made many villagers hesitant to use the system and contributed to the failure of the post office.

Another interesting development experience was an attempt to electrify Kagbeni by generating electricity using a wind mill. The project was established by the Danish Government as an experiment. The project created excitement among villagers; however, the excitement was only temporary when attempts to harness wind energy were thwarted by excessive wind velocity (Nepal, 2008). One respondent, Phem, a young entrepreneur who is now 37 years old, described the experiment this way. *“When I was a kid, Danish AID came to support the wind mill electricity project in Kagbeni. I was so happy to see electricity come to the village because we were tired of studying by kerosene lamps. The excitement disappeared after a month when one arm of the windmill broke due to heavy wind. After that, our life returned to a dark world. Neither the government nor any other party took interest in that project [fixing the wind mill].”*

Compared to earlier decades more students were seen attending school, but still the numbers were small and very few girls were encouraged to attend. *“The locals were still not aware of education. They preferred to send their children to [do] farm or community work rather than to school. We had to visit each house and request them to send their kids to school. Some villagers understood why and sent their kids to school, but some were very difficult to convince,”* explained Pandav, a teacher who was transferred to Kagbeni from Myagdi. A positive development during this period was upgrading the school from standard five to eight. In addition, according to some respondents, there were a few fortunate children who now were able to attend boarding school (high school) in Kathmandu, the capital city, as a result of increased income from tourism and other activities.

During this period, the impact of traders travelling to India had considerable effect on the local culture. For example, as more people travelled to India, the returning travellers started to adopt more of the Indian culture. As a result many locals now preferred to wear imported readymade clothes rather than their homemade ones. Also, the local yak boots originally used by everyone disappeared following the introduction of modern canvas shoes from China and India. There also was a shift in the food consumption pattern from eating buckwheat to rice, sugar and tea while oil and kerosene increasingly became the alternative fuel source for heating and cooking. The positive effect of this latter change was that it somewhat lessen the demand for wood cutting, thereby preserving the forests. It was also during this period that

some of the locals started migrating to cities in the south and India in search of a better income and life style.

An interesting observation made by several interviewees was the belief that the environment is changing. *“The memory of vultures flying around when I was small is still fresh and unforgettable in my eyes. In the past, when somebody died in our Buddhist culture, the carcass was divided into four parts [water, wind, fire and earth] and offered to other living beings, almost immediately hundreds of vultures would surround the dead body. But these days we hardly see these birds coming down. I think this is not due to tourism but the effect of climate change,* said Tenzin, a local farmer. (At present most of the funerals are performed by cremation.)

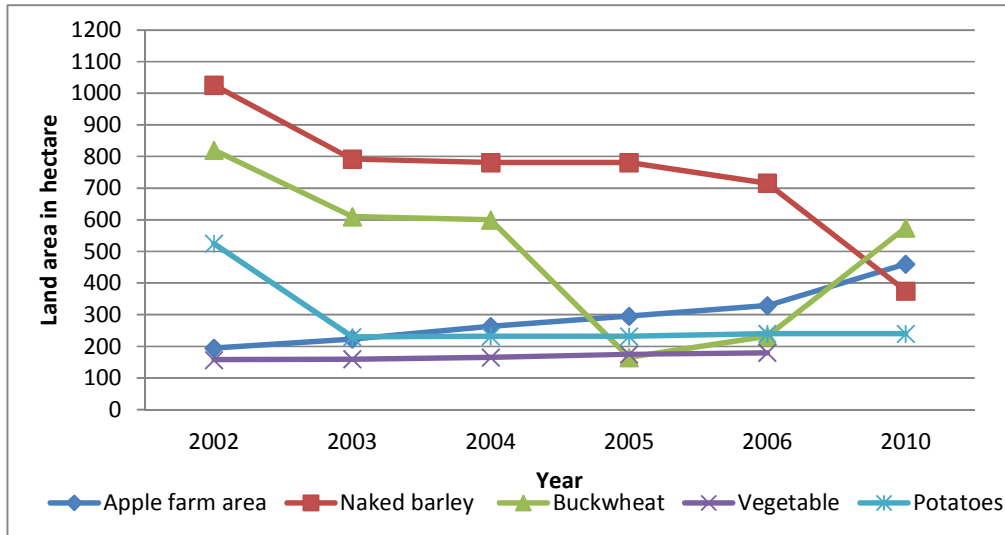
5.3.2 Agriculture Development

Although agriculture remained the main livelihood, some locals became directly involved in tourism while others became ‘small traders’ during this period. According to interviewees, most of the locals still followed the same rituals for agriculture such as *tempa tsultrim*. In addition, traditional farming practises continued to be used (e.g., no chemical fertilizers or pesticides used), but the impact of increasing contact with the outside world began to change what was planted and harvested. For example, locals started increasing the production of potatoes, beans, wheat and other vegetables for family consumption. Several of the new crops, like potatoes and beans, were grown during *nag* (summer) season which resulted in reduced production of *gyappre* (buckwheat). *Nye or oowa* (naked barely) production, however, remained the same till early 2000 because no alternative crops could be grown as a substitute during the cold winters. Gradually the *nye* crop was replaced by maize and *soma nye* (barley) as shown in Figure 5.4 (next page).

The consumption pattern of food also began to change because of what the small traders learnt from their trips to the south and India, coupled with the food needs of the foreign tourists. For example, some teahouse owners began preparing Indian *dal* (lentil sauce), *bhat* (rice) and *tarkari* (mixed vegetable curry) from *nye* and *gyappre*. In addition, some began selling these new foods to tourists. *“I clearly remember selling dal bhat at 2 Rs to tourists 30 years back,”* recalled Dolma. In addition, the locals started to prepare porridge from *nye* flour, *daprak* soup from dried buckwheat leaves, pancakes from buckwheat flour and ‘Kagbeni bread’ from wheat flour for tourist consumption. Interestingly, as shown in Figure

5.4, the use of buckwheat significantly increased from 2006 to 2010. This was due the increasing acceptance by tourists of the new foods made from buckwheat. By contrast, the use of barley dramatically decreased as tourist preferred other foods such as rice.

Figure 5.4: Cultivation pattern in Mustang district (Source: DADO,(2009/2010))



Despite improved farming methods, some increase in food production, and several new crops like vegetables and fruits that changed the types of food locals and tourists ate, there remained little market for locally grown produce during this period. As a result many farmers began to see tourism as a lucrative business, and some decided to leave agriculture altogether and go into tourism or become a small trader.

5.3.3 Tourism Development

In the early period of this decade, visitors to Kagbeni were predominantly researchers and scholars while in the latter part of this period they were replaced by elite international trekkers and adventurers. Sidney Schuler was the first foreigner researcher (anthropologist) who spent a great deal of time living in Kagbeni. *“When Sidney was around none of us in the village had a lodge. She taught your father [the author’s father] how to start a dormitory lodge and also how to prepare simple dishes. After two years she brought two sponge mattresses to me to start a lodge. She also helped me put glass windows in my house, can you see [pointing to window]. That’s her gift, we still have that window,”* stated Khandu, an early woman tourism entrepreneur.

According to several interviewees, early in this period when tourism began in Kagbeni there were no proper lodges, only small tea houses and private homes that were without a toilet or water facilities. Despite the lack of proper lodges during the early period, tourists still visited the village. *“My kitchen was my work station and I used to spend nearly 14 hours [a day] in smoke from the fire and all my clothes were dirty with smoke. By the end of the day my whole face was black. Most of my guests spent lots of time at our kitchen. We used to talk about our life and problems and sometimes joke with each other. Sometimes, they would teach us the new forms of food preparation and recipes for local variety. I did not know how to calculate the cost, but the tourists did that themselves and gave us the exact amount,”* explained Khandu. During this time, both guest and host shared a single room. For the host, it was a work station and for the guest, a living room. *“Around 30 years back, we used to have few individual tourists. They used to bring their own sleeping bags and other stuff. We did not have beds or separate rooms. All the guests or tourists slept in our kitchen room and the food provided was what we normally ate. If any tourist wanted to shower we would heat water and give it to them in a bucket,”* recalled Dolma, a lady who turned her home into a tea house. Because in early the days of tourism few villagers could communicate with the tourists in English, most communication took place using sign language. *“And the kitchen or living room was a good ice breaker for sharing information,”* emphasized Khandu.

The importance of sharing information, ideas and culture was captured by Andréas de Ruiter, a German tourist who travelled to Nepal during this period, *“Inside the Annapurna lodge in their big kitchen many people can sit, drink butter tea and listen to the beautiful songs while the sisters are cooking. The Annapurna lodge is definitively my favourite lodge on the whole ACA circuit and many people stay for days, even when they had not planned to stay at all before.”* For those respondents who remembered sharing their home with tourists, there also was considerable sharing of cultures, especially through recipes and cooking methods. These experiences, however, were limited because there were not many individual trekkers and few lodges or tea houses.

Early on the locals used to think the tourists, who were largely foreigners, were alien, but as time went on their (the villagers) views became more positive as they experienced greater levels of contact. As a result, most respondents who remembered this time period felt the changes brought about by tourism were largely positive and considered tourism a blessing.

This was because tourism provided new opportunities, including employment of locals as it grew, and helped to improve the lifestyle of the villagers.

Figure 5.5: The author with local women: (Source: Author, 2011)



5.3.4 Relationship between Agriculture and Tourism

During this period, the number of tourists increased dramatically. As shown in Figure 5.3, by 1993 over 14,000 tourists arrived in Jomsom annually, many of whom trekked through Kagbeni. Early on the majority of tourists were international group trekkers who purchased most of their food items, including vegetables, eggs, milk, meat and other perishable foods, from trekking companies in Kathmandu or Pokhara prior to starting the trek. In addition, these group trekkers stayed in camping sites provided by the trekking companies. Dondu, a local leader and tourism entrepreneur explained the situation as follows: *“Group trekkers have whole lot of crew who can carry all their requirements for trekking from Kathmandu. They bring everything from the city, even vegetables and fruits. This showed us that our produce was of inferior quality, and this does not encourage us much so we do not try to sell [our produce] to them either.”* At this time, most villagers did not directly benefit from the increase in tourism from group trekkers. Their only benefit at that time came from selling craft items and souvenirs. In addition, because of communication problems, many did not consider selling agricultural products to the tourists. Therefore, during the early years of this period, tourism had little impact on the local economy.

It was not until the 1980s that the locals started selling food items to individual tourists staying at small lodges and tea houses. *“We started to sell our [farm] produce to the tourists so that they eat just like us. Some of them liked it but many did not so they taught us how to prepare food the food they like. Although we are in the tourism business, we were not yet meeting the tourists’ expectations,”* explained Dolma. At these small lodges and tea houses, only local foods were prepared and served early on. *“We prepared mostly local produce such as Tsampa porridge, daprak soup, fried rice, buckwheat flour pancakes and Kagbeni bread that were made from locally produced nye and gyapre. We learnt from tourists and began to change what we prepared for them,”* stated Khandu.

The link between agriculture and tourism during this period was tentatively developing, primarily the result of the increasing integration of local foods being used to feed the foreign tourists. *“In the beginning I was wondering what the tourist would eat. Sometimes Sidney [anthropologist] would eat our staple foods like tsampa and gyang [buckwheat flour pancakes]. We never thought a foreigner would eat this or with us. I think tourists are good because they teach us new recipes like porridge from our tsampa and dry buckwheat leaf soup,”* recalled Khandu. Most of the respondents shared their embarrassment, that although they had had *tsampa* and dry buckwheat leaves for a long time, they had never known how to prepare them for tourists until they were shown how by the foreigners. Hence, during this period the locals started to understand western tastes and learnt to alter how they prepared the foods in order to satisfy the tourists. In turn, some tourists were eating the local foods and liking them.

5.4 Period 4: Integrated Management (1993-2006)

5.4.1 Context

Even though tourism was possible in Kagbeni from the mid-70s, the major flow did not really increase until after the establishment of ACAP in 1991 and the ACA circuit that included Mustang district (Figures 3.2 and 5.6) (ACAP, 2010).

The ACAP was introduced to improve the livelihood of locals and to introduce sustainable tourism in the region. Before this there were no proper lodges, only traditional houses turned into a tea house without toilets or water facilities. In addition, the foods available were of the local variety that many trekkers disliked. Therefore, very few tourists were seen entering the village.

Figure 5.6: Annapurna Conservation Area office in Kagbeni (Source: Author, 2011)



With promotion of ACA circuit, however, the physical beauty and cultural heritage of Kagbeni, which is similar to Tibet, aroused the curiosity of tourists from all over the world. Thus, after 2000 the pace of tourism increased. In addition, because Kagbeni was the gateway to Upper Mustang, it drew many tourists and became the overnight place to stay for many tourists. As a result, *“The number of tourists increased and those who can afford started to build small hotel or lodges, people started to sell local made handicraft and also started to integrate local produced food with western flavour and sold [other items] through the lodge or tea house. This is how tourism in region turned into lucrative business for some people,”* explained Dawa, a young farmer.

During this period, the government of Nepal installed two telephone lines in the Kagbeni VDC. This vastly improved communication with the outside world. In addition, every village in the VDC was connected with electricity and a small health post was opened in Kagbeni VDC to provide basic first aid to the locals and the visitors. Although most children now were able to get primary level education, still very few got a higher education in private schools in the cities. Finally, by the government setting up offices in the VDC there was an influx of Nepali outsiders, such as teachers and government officers.

Because the economic benefits of traditional farming and/or being a small trader were not sufficient to meet most families' needs, many villagers out-migrated to the cities in hope of a better income. *"In past the main income was only from agriculture and some small trade. This was not enough for a family as number of mouths increased so we have to move out of this place for income"* recalled Phen, a young tourism entrepreneur and farmer. Hence, the whole decade of the 90s was considered a migration period. As a consequence, farm land was increasingly left barren, not only because of out migration but also because some villagers, who were now heavily into tourism, could not do both and had to stop farming. And finally, at the end of this period (2006), Kagbeni was connected to Pokhara by a road from Jomsom, but the road could only be travelled by four wheel drive vehicles, buses and trucks.

5.4.2 Agriculture Development

The first half of this period was marked by locals continuing to eke out a living from subsistence farming because there was only a limited market for their products. In the second half, the increased numbers of tourists, many of whom now travelled individually or in small groups (two or three) were increasingly staying in the more modern local lodges and tea houses. As such, this led to an increased demand for both foods made from traditional crops (naked barely and buckwheat) but also from many new crops. *"In the past the major [crops] were barley and buckwheat, then over a time it was extended to local potatoes, beans and other vegetables,"* stated Abhishek, an agriculture and business expert. As a result of the increased demand, many lodge owners were now encouraged to grow more and different produce such as carrots, tomatoes, rye, Swiss chard, lettuce, spinach and spring onions along with cabbage, beans, potatoes and cauliflower. In addition, they (the lodge owners) started to prepare and sell new food items prepared from recipes learnt from tourists. Many of these new foods could be made from traditional produce with only minimal modifications. For example, from buckwheat pasta, pancakes and soup could be made; from apples – pie, *momos* and dumplings as well as brandy and cider, and from naked barely – tsampa porridge, *chaang* and *rakshi*) as well as many other foods.

The increased demand for new foods made from local farm products encouraged farmers to reclaim much of the land abandoned previously by out-migration and to adopt new farming practises in order to grow the increased variety of produce required. Also, due to tourists increasing acceptance of the new foods made from the local produce, lodge owners were able

to decrease the need to bring in food and produce from outside the region, thereby decreasing costs (and increasing local income).

Most of the new food items sold were vegetarian due to the shortage of meat. The only local meats came from yak or goats, both of which were new to most tourists. With time, however, many tourists started to like the taste of goat and yak. Thus, a market for domesticated livestock developed and farmers were now encouraged breed livestock for profit. *“We hardly sold any goats in the past. They are like a pet, but in the early 90s, we got a price of Rs.1200 for one goat. That was a great price and I started to grow more goats. By 2000, I started to raise around 200 goats,”* stated Tsering, a local farmer. At present Kagbeni has highest number of livestock in the district.

5.4.3 Tourism Development

Because tourism was a new form of livelihood in Kagbeni, many villagers during that time period found it to be overwhelming and confusing. New infrastructure was not developed, instead traditional homes were turned into tea houses or dormitory style lodges. *“If I go back to 1981, we hardly see a lodge which is sizeable or modern. It was more like a house turned into a dormitory and tea houses,”* expressed Lama, a tourism and conservation expert who has been in the village since his childhood.

Group trekking was organised through agencies that arranged the trek and camping sites. By contrast, independent travellers were those who did not use any agency but stayed in local tea houses or small lodges. Group tourism involves more equipment and supplies than for the individual trekkers. Also group tourism requires large support crews. As such, the larger lodges benefited from these groups of tourists staying with them while the smaller lodges or tea houses benefited from porters and other staff staying with them. Hence, tourism helped the local people generate income even early on in this period. As Zomba stated, *“Most our tourists are from America, Europe, Australia and Asian countries. They come here to provide business for us. We provide them good accommodation, food and landscape; in return they bring us money and ideas.”*

Tourism also encouraged many women entrepreneurs from the villages, and their efforts contributed to improving family income. *“In the past, our main work as women was in the house and did not contribute to the family income because we never knew any other kind of business. But after tourism, most of the lodges are run by women so now we contribute to the*

family income.” This was seconded by Khandu, “*My husband and I divorced when I was quite young and I started this hotel independently. By running this lodge I was able to buy a couple of fields and modify this old house into rooms with an attached bathroom. As a result, I was able to raise my son and send him to boarding school. So whatever development occurred here in Kagbeni, it is due to tourism. Also seeing a single woman like me running lodge encouraged many to adopt this occupation.*” As a consequence, tourism has led to an increasing cultural and economic independence of many village women who run the lodges and tea houses.

During this period tourism was still considered a blessing because it provided additional income; however, it largely benefited only a few villages, such as Kagbeni, according to most respondents. “*The people from Kagbeni are lucky, they did not need to go for trade for additional income like other villages, they have the tourism business at their doorstep. Many times I request Kagbeni people to sell me some piece of land but nobody was interested in selling,*” exclaimed Guru, a middle-aged political leader. This view was confirmed by Tsomo, “*In the past we were poor so we had to sell our property if we were indebted. These days we are ok so no question of selling because the land is becoming valuable.*”

In summary, most respondents believed that tourism has had a positive impact on the economic development of the region, even for the local lodge or small tea house owners, shopkeepers and horse or mule owners. “*Sometime tourists need to ride horse or need to transport goods, then this provides income to those horse owners or porters. So small or big almost all people in community benefit from tourism,*” emphasized one interviewee (Pemba). Tourism, however, did not benefit all the locals in the VDC, and this led to inequality in the distribution of economic wealth among the people in the VDC.

5.4.4 Relationship between Agriculture and Tourism

It was during this period (early 2000) that the relationship between agriculture and tourism became a reality. The linking of the two industries was a new concept among the local people. Most locals were uneducated, lacked management skills and often only spoke and understood their local dialect. As such integrating tourism into the traditional lifestyle of the locals was a struggle characterized by learning from the tourists, experimenting with new ideas and concepts and frequently failing in their attempts to make tourism profitable. An example that illustrates one of the major problems, namely, the need to grow and use local

foods rather than import them was summarized by Karma, a farmer and new entrepreneur, as follows, “*After the introduction of Annapurna Conservation Area circuit and the Upper Mustang trekking route, the number of tourists increased. As more were coming, we started to invest in a lodge and restaurant because it brings more cash to us than agricultural. However, in order to maintain customer satisfaction we felt we should import as much [vegetables and fruits] as possible. Because tourism took up so much of our time, we decided to leave some portion of our land barren and remaining was leased out. After a few years, I felt very frustrated because even though we worked day and night our economic status was not much improved. Therefore, one day I just happened to share my problem with some tourists while having dinner. They explained after hearing my story that we should not import so much food and return to farming for food products. That was a great eye opener for me because at that time I was even buying nye and gyapre from other farmers. Immediately I started to cancel my lease contract on the land and started to practise agriculture again. I also shared this information among my relatives and friends in other villages.*”

To further illustrate the importance of linking local agriculture and tourism for success, the failure of a major business deal in 2005 served as an eye opener for local lodge and restaurant owners. According to many informants, in the autumn of that year a businessman from the capital city, Kathmandu, came to Kagbeni for the purpose of purchasing apples. The local price of apples was Rs.10 per kilogram (NZ \$1=Rs.59), but the businessman was willing to pay Rs. 20 per kg. The villagers were excited about this and sold every apple available to the businessman. (The apple season was between the end of August and October following which any excess previously was stored until March or May when next tourist season begins.) Because all the apples had been sold, the shortage of apples in the village started in the month of December. Moreover during next tourist season, there were no local apples to make pies or momos or cider. In order to meet the demand for these products from tourists staying at the lodges and tea houses, the restaurant owners flew to Pokhara, the nearest city, where they purchased apples at Rs.50 per kilogram and then flew the apples back home at a transport cost of Rs.40 per kg. By the time the apples reached Kagbeni the final cost of the apples was over Rs.100 per kg (there was some slippage along the way as well). Plus some of apples were damaged during shipping. From that day onwards, the lodge owners realised that local products are much less expensive than imported products, and they reduced importing as much as possible. Moreover, to meet the increased need for local agricultural products, the villagers started to cultivate land that had been left barren after the introduction of tourism or

was not being farmed due to outmigration. Doing this, led to increased production of apples and other agricultural goods in the Kagbeni area. This event is seen as the turning point for lodge and restaurant owners in understanding the importance of linking local agriculture with tourism if both are to be profitable.

Another learning event involved understanding that tourists can adapt their food tastes to local products and even come to see them as ‘valued added’ products. In the early phases of the tourist movement, tourists usually contracted with trekking companies and trekked in groups. These companies made all arrangements for the tourists including bringing in all the food stuffs. As such, initially the locals were led to believe that their traditional foods were inferior and would not be accepted by the tourists. This myth was disproved by the following. According to, Phen, a young entrepreneur and farmer, *“I opened my lodge and eatery place called Yac Donalds in 2002. An American friend gave me the idea to name the eatery after the one in the USA and to sell Yac Donald meals. The meal included a burger bun made from local buckwheat, grilled minced yak meat, local potato fries and a green vegetable salad grown in our bara. I never promoted or even advertised this but some tourists tried the Yac Donald meal and passed the message on to other tourists by word of mouth. Now many tourists come to Kagbeni just to try a yak burger.* Based on this, the locals started to prepare foods to meet tourists’ demands by blending western tastes with local agricultural products thereby creating new “value added” foods like Yac Donalds and Mustang coffee (raksi and coffee). As a result, use of locally grown produce has become an important element in the marketing of tourism in Kagbeni and in determining visitor satisfaction. Thus, a strong bond now exists between the local agricultural sector and the tourist industry in Kagbeni.

5.5 Period 5: Contemporary Status (2007-2011)

5.5.1 Context

In 2008 following end of the civil war, the monarchy was abolished and the country formally became a federal republic. While previous governments had not shown much interest in the development of Mustang district, the situation changed dramatically during this period based on the regions increasing attractiveness to international trekkers and as a major pilgrimage site in Upper Mustang for the Nepalese. Due to the growth of global tourism, the development of new infrastructure in Mustang now is considered to be the fastest in Nepal, and with it has come many changes in Kagbeni including significant economic growth,

increased literacy, improved health, motorized transport and instantaneous contact with the whole world via the Internet and Skype.

According to many respondents, the main livelihoods of locals have gone from agriculture to tourism, small traders and overseas jobs. Now most of the villagers have adopted multiple livelihoods because all are seasonal to a certain extent, but tourism is considered most lucrative as it generates more income. *“Sometimes, we feel lucky. Most of time the agriculture work does not fall during tourist season; therefore, this helps us to adopt multiple livelihoods and it is easier to find labour for both industries,”* said Kesang, who also added, *“We being farmers benefit from linking agriculture to tourism because we can sell our produce to tourists directly or to lodger owners and get cash to help support our families.”*

A major infrastructure development completed in 2006 was construction of a road from Jomsom that now links Kagbeni to Pokhara. The road shortened the time it takes to reach the nearest major city (Pokhara) from a 4-day walk to one of only a few hours’ drive. Completion of this road has increased international trekking and domestic pilgrimages greatly because the major trekking routes to Upper Mustang pass through Kagbeni (see above, Figure 5.3). Although there are no official records of tourist travel, *“Last year [2010] around 20 jeeps entered Kagbeni on each day of a major Hindu festival and each jeep can carry 14 passengers,”* stated one jeep owner. In addition, the traditional mode of animal transport has been replaced by jeeps, tractors and motor bikes (Figure 5.7), and air travel to Jomsom (the nearest airport) has gone from 1 flight per day (sometimes) to 9 to 12 flights per day regularly during the trekking seasons in the spring and autumn.

Figure 5.7: Local transport replaced by motorbikes (Source: Photograph Samir Newa, 2010)



Many local villagers, however, are concerned about the negative impact of the road system on tourism in the area. Already trekkers complain of the dust kicked up by the jeeps and other vehicles. In addition there is concern about the potential loss of the pristine nature of the area, especially the sacred areas that now can be reached in hours, not in days or weeks as in the past. And finally, there is the risk of increased crime because you cannot control who is coming and going anymore. These are just a few examples of the concerns that will need to be addressed in coming years.

The socio-economic conditions of the VDC also have dramatically changed during this time as well. These days every lodge and household has a telephone. The lodges now have Internet service that tourists pay to use, but is available to locals at a much lower (subsidized) rate. *“When I installed a V-sat Internet connection in Kagbeni, I was the first in the district and it cost me nearly five lakhs (NZ \$ 8,500)⁸ which was very expensive, but I got a return of investment because of tourists. Plus now I am connected to the outside world,”* stated Phen. Moreover, now each family member from 14 to 70 years old has a mobile. Said Dolma, *“I got the mobile and did not know how to dial, so my granddaughter taught me. I think the mobile is handy these days. Now we don’t have to go from the house to get and give messages, so it saves lots of time [showing her Nokia hand set].”* This comment was followed up by Zomba explaining that now, *“We can Skype and see our people in USA or Japan. Before to make an international call we had to walk to Jomsom, but now it is easy with Skype. In the past when we have to order goods from Pokhara we had to send a letter that takes months or sometime doesn’t reach there, so the mobile and Internet have made life much easier.”*

As regards health care, the previous small health post has been shifted to a bigger facility. Along with this there is a separate homeopathy clinic. The school was upgraded from Nepali to English. (Because English is the predominant language used to communicate with tourists, it is an important skill to possess for tourism-related jobs.) At present there are 150 students, and the school has hostel facilities and a computerised class room supported by Government of Nepal in collaboration with Governments of India and Japan. In addition, there now is a separate school for monks. This was established in 2009 in order to preserve the ancient culture and religious knowledge as well as the 600 year old monastery (*Kag Chode*). *“In the past we do not have a school and most of our young monks have to go to India to get enlightenment. In our culture it is mandatory to send the middle son to be a monk if we have*

⁸ September 2011(NZ \$ 1 is equivalent to Nepalese Rupees 59)

three sons. This practice is still kept in order to preserve the old culture, knowledge and religious practises,” explained Phen.

According to informants, the out migration of previous years has been reversed and many people are returning back to the VDC. This is due to increased employment opportunities in the village. *“I returned back from abroad in 2002 because many tourists are coming and people are earning money in many different ways.”* said Phen. Also many low land (*Terai*) workers are coming to Kagbeni for seasonal employment as porters, painters, carpenters, or domestic workers. *“Things are changing, when I was young we go to Pokhara to do labour work such as carrying stone. These days it’s the other way round; lower land people are coming to Kagbeni for labour work,”* explained Tsomo. Further, some low land workers described the benefits of employment in Kagbeni this way. In the tourist season they work as a porter, but in the off season they work as carpenter or painter or farm labour which helps them to stay employed the year around. *“These days the people who own both a lodge and agricultural land are considered to have a as high economic status in the VDC because these two industries need each other and provide dual income,”* stated Abhishek.

Improvements in lifestyle include the use of alternative energy such as solar for water heating and cookers as well as kerosene and gas stoves for cooking. *“Another advantage is cooking now is much cleaner and smoke-free. This has improved the health of people due to fewer respiratory infections,”* stated Lama, a tourism and conservation expert. In addition, the ACAP has successfully introduced hydro-powered ozone water purifiers in Kagbeni, Jomsom and Muktinath to allow villagers to have safe drinking water and to sell clean water to trekkers thereby helping to reduce the problem of what to do with the empty plastic water bottles. The water purifiers help villagers earn cash incomes while preserving the environment and saving tourists money as well. Finally, as result of improved health the life expectancy of the villagers has increased, hence these days *tharchang* now is celebrated at age 65, not 55 or even 50 as in earlier periods.

In summary, in few short years since 2006, the villagers of Kagbeni have moved from the 16th to the 21st century in terms of socio-economic development and many other areas as well. These changes are largely due to the success of international tourism being linked to local agriculture. The question now remains, however, can it be sustained?

5.5.2 Agriculture Development

Agriculture is still the main economic activity of VDC. While people in other areas of Nepal are shifting to modern farming techniques (i.e., use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides), traditional farming practices are still maintained in the Kagbeni VDC and Mustang district. Moreover, the locals still maintain a strong connection to the land and belief that traditional practices help to hold the culture of Mustang together. An added benefit is that not only has such farming attracted thousands of long distance migratory birds like the Demoiselle crane but also it continues to draw many international tourists to the village. The main crops are still nye (naked barely) with barley, wheat raised during *kar* while the *nag* crops are *gyappe* (buckwheat), potatoes, beans, maize, local turnips and radishes. Most of the fruits like apples, apricots and vegetables are grown within a *bara*.

Agriculture and animal husbandry also have become more profitable as tourism has increased and roads to get the crops to market have been built. Whereas in the past the price of *nye* (naked barely) was Rupees. 7 per pathi now it has gone to Rupees. 160 with similar increases for other crops as well. The big difference now is that because of the increased demand from tourism most of what is grown is consumed locally and receives the best price. In addition, local farmers have recognized the need to increase production of good and healthy food and continue to convert barren land into bigger *bara* (i.e., a fenced in area to protect the crops from animals) in order to grow more cash crops. The cash crops now include apples, buckwheat, *oowa raksi*, beans, potatoes and fresh vegetables (cabbage, carrots, lettuce, green leafy vegetables, tomatoes, onions and so on). Apples from Mustang, which are of good quality because of the elevation in which they are grown, are particularly in demand, “*Apples are in great demand because they are of good quality, nutritious, home produced and there are not enough to meet the demand. Thus, while the price of apples in Kagbeni is Rs 60 per kg if sold in Kathmandu the price is Rs.150. This includes 20% of transportation cost. And the rest is profit for seller*” explained Raja, and agricultures. He also added, “*In the past, most Nepalese apples actually were imported from India and China. If Mustang can produce more than the present apple production, it is possible to compliment the urban market. This is because when the Indian and Chinese apples season are off, then the season for Mustang apples begins. This will help local farmers to be economically sustainable.*”

The situation with animal husbandry is even more revealing of the impact of tourism on this community. Whereas in the past there was little or no market for meat from goat or yak,

Kagbeni VDC now has the highest number of livestock in the district. *“The population (people) of the VDC is currently 1275 whereas if the animals were divided among locals then each person will tentatively get approximately 6 animals which is quite a large number,”* exclaimed Kalyan, a government officer, VDC secretary. This comment was then expanded on by Pemba, *“This year we got a price for a goat of Rs.9000 (NZ \$ 153) during Dasain [one of the biggest Hindu festivals where devotees sacrifice animals]; therefore, it’s worthwhile to rear livestock. It’s good business; we grow them for few years and sell them because these days’ meat and dairy product are very necessary for lodge and restaurant owners.”* In addition not only are animals needed for meat and dairy products to meet the demand for tourism but also to meet the growing demand for manure for growing crops.

Finally, the road linkage to Pokhara is another blessing for marketing the farm products of Kagbeni. Now, most of products like apples, vegetables potatoes and buckwheat are sold directly to buyers, lodges, tea houses and shops or transported to cities. So tourism has had a major impact on agriculture production in Kagbeni VDC and Mustang.

5.5.3 Tourism Development

Tourism in Mustang, especially in Jomsom, nearly doubled (from 8,000 to 14,000 per year) during the decade following establishment of the ACAP in 1991 and promotion of the region by the government (see above, Figure 5.3). As a result, Kagbeni has become one of the most visited tourist destinations in the district after Jomsom. This increase, however, was just the beginning as once the road linking Jomsom and Kagbeni was completed in 2006, tourism dramatically increased to nearly 30,000 per year in less than four years (2010). *“In my opinion, at present, the number of tourists visiting Kagbeni for breakfast and lunch has multiplied more than eight times since the 1970s, the number of overnight tourists has increased five times and the length of stay from one day to three days has doubled,”* stated Khandu. In addition, among the 216 households in the VDC, 22 have a small hotel or lodge, 10 have shops and 10 small tea houses. Moreover, once again all households in the VDC are involved in farming. And, for those farmers who do not have a lodge or tea house, they now grow vegetables and other farm products in addition to naked barely and buckwheat. Because of the increased demand, they have no problem selling their produce to local hotels and restaurant owners, and any surplus is exported to Pokhara or Kathmandu. As expressed by Tashi and Dondu, *“Tourism provides us additional employment and income by opening a lodge, tea house and shop. It exposes us to western ideology and helps us to learn new ways*

to manage lodge hotel. It and also helps us upgrade living standard and increase our economic status.”

Because international tourism at this level is based on the interaction of people from different cultures, it can contribute to changing beliefs, values and social ideology, especially in traditional cultures. Some of the most interesting positive changes brought about by international tourism in Kagbeni have been: empowerment of women, increased community participation in decision making and a decline in the caste system. As regards the first of these, two female respondents, Tsono and Zomba, related the following: *“Agriculture is more physical work, so we women could not do heavy activities. Also being a small trader was impossible because women leaving home were considered bad; therefore most jobs were done by males. Now, however, if you have drunkard husband, we don’t have to tolerate all harassment because tourism has given us an opportunity. Now we can contribute equally with men, and these days who will listen to men if they try to suppress us [they laugh].”* Dondu, also a young political leader then added, *“In the past most of the decision making was taken only by elder people and they never listen to us. We know elders are experienced, but sometimes they are very conservative and cannot think of adopting new ideas and changes. Now things are changing.”* And finally, until now being a blacksmith, cobbler or tailor was a lower caste occupation. These people were untouchable and were not allowed to enter other villagers’ houses. Because the villagers now have to depend on them during the peak tourist season, the caste system is gradually disappearing.

Some study respondents expressed concern regarding, what they consider to be negative effects of the tourism boom, namely, the loss of cultural identity (demonstration effect) because of many villagers have now started to imitate western life styles by wearing jeans and T-shirts and introducing western music into the traditional festivals, rituals and cultural programmes (Figure 5.8, next page).

This has led to disruption kinship and traditional activities. For example, many of the traditional practices, as well as the ancient culture and life style of the locals, are not being followed and are in danger of being lost. These respondents were concerned that if these traditional practices are lost, then tourism may diminish because they are major reasons why international tourists visit Kagbeni. Other concerns expressed by interviewees are that over time villagers have become increasingly money oriented. Finally, because of the massive

increase in air and ground transport infrastructure, even more people will be visiting Upper Mustang in the next few years. As a consequence, this will put even greater stress on this fragile mountain environment.

Figure 5.8: Wedding ceremony then (on horseback) and now (on motorcycles)
(Source: Photograph Phenchok Tsepten Gurung, 2010)



On a more practical level, local villagers expressed discontent with the ACAP for designating Kagbeni as the site for storing the refuse made by tourist groups visiting Upper Mustang. *“All the rubbish from Upper mustang generated by foods consumed by tourists now is brought to Kagbeni to be dumped. Because we do not have any system for recycling or disposing of the waste, we have approached the ACAP many times but have never found any solution. We as a village have to take care of our own place. At present we burn everything including plastics. So far the trash from Upper Mustang is limited so we can handle it, but if number of tourists’ increases then we will have a serious problem,”* exclaimed the village Mukhiya.

5.5.4 Relationship between Agriculture and Tourism

As tourism in Mustang district, especially in Kagbeni VDC, has continued to increase rapidly since 2005 (see above, Figure 5.3) it has had multiple effects on the economy, culture and lifestyle of the local villagers. One of the most important effects has been resurgence of traditional farming. Before the advent of tourism, traditional farming was subsistence only and was gradually declining as locals either switched to becoming a ‘small trader’ or out-migrated.

Early on, tourism and agriculture were only minimally linked. This was because in the beginning the trekking companies carried everything the tourists might need or want with them. This including all food items – even perishable fruits and vegetables. Also, because almost none of the villagers spoke or understood English, and most spoke only the local

dialect, communication was challenging initially. And finally, even if a trekking company wanted to 'buy locally' the agricultural products available at that time, primarily barley and buckwheat, were not acceptable to the international tourists tastes. As one informant stated, *"Before tourism, there were two harvests in a year [barely and buckwheat] with few vegetables grown in the bara [kitchen garden]. However, once tourism started to come, then people started to grow more food and cash crops. Also, if you look at the proportion of land being farmed these days it has increased in Kagbeni VDC. So tourism has had a positive impact on agriculture."*

Over the past five years, the situation has dramatically accelerated. Aided by extensive government promotion of tourism through the ACA program since 1991 and coupled with completion of a road from Pokhara- Jomsom to Kagbeni in 2006, international tourism has become increasingly popular for trekking or pilgrimage to Mustang. In addition, the way in which tourism is managed has changed as well. Now even tourist groups have shifted from camping out to sleeping and eating in the new local lodges and tea houses that cater to them. Also, now most trekking companies prefer to purchase local food products as much as possible. *"These days our trekking company knows that agro goods produced in Kagbeni and Jomsom meet the standard of our elite trekkers. We feel much easier that we don't have to carry loads of our trekking food all the way from Kathmandu. Now most of the perishable goods such as fresh vegetables, apples, potatoes, beans, and meat are available in Kagbeni. This saves lots of money in transporting goods plus most of the agro goods in Mustang are considered chemical free,"* explained Mahadev, a trekking company worker and a guide. Most informants also agreed that to further decrease the import of food items from the cities, which are still high, farmers need to produce more fruits, vegetables and meat products. In addition, owners of lodges and restaurants need to continue to experiment with new recipes using local foods that are appealing to the tastes of tourists. They also need to do a better job of marketing these specialized foods, such as Yac Donald burgers, by branding any new specialized foods 'as homemade' or 'home grown' or 'chemically free' so that they are recognized as safe and nutritious and so that their value will grow.

As described in the previous sections of this chapter, the process of arriving at this stage has been long, marked by trial and error, and characterised by mutual learning involving both tourists and the locals. Ultimately, however, linking tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni has been largely beneficial to both sectors. This is because both businesses are seasonal, peak at

different times (i.e., agriculture in the summer and winter while tourism is in the spring and autumn), and both are labour intensive. As a result, together tourism and agriculture have come to provide nearly year around employment for locals at many levels from farm workers to lodge and teahouse staff. Thus, to a large extent, tourism and agriculture now are symbiotically linked in Kagbeni (i.e., as tourism increases the need for local agricultural products and workers increases as well). The rise in tourism has also brought families closer together. *“At the moment our lodge is run by our whole family. One of my two husbands looks after livestock as we have around 300 goats and another looks after farm work. My son, daughter-in-law and myself take care of our lodge as it is one of the biggest in the village. We provide services to nearly 200 people during peak season. Being a big family is bonus because all members are employed and we do not need to go for small trade,”* explained Zomba.

Animal husbandry has also benefitted from this linkage. For example, according to several informants, most of the increased numbers of livestock in Kagbeni are due to the importance domestic animals play in tourism. *“Animals such as horse, mule, jhopa and donkey are hired for tourists to ride and transport. The cow and goat are used for dairy and meat consumption for tourists. All of this helps the owner to gain economic benefit from the tourist sector. [Also], the manure from the animals can be used for better production of the crops,”* emphasised Dawa.

Of the many benefits to villagers and the community resulting from linking tourism to agriculture, two of the most compelling are the following. According to informants, linking the two sectors has rekindled interest in traditional farming for the young, which until recently was rapidly declining, and has encouraged both young and old to work together and learn from each other. As explained by Pemba, *“Because agricultural is more of physical work, many youth did not show interest in it, but when it became linked with running a lodge in tourist season they began to help with the farming during the off season. In this way they can learn our ancestral occupation. This has helped all of us to contribute to the family income and learn from each other.”* In addition, Mahindra explained that linking the two sectors is changing the food habits of the local villagers as well. *“In the past I hardly see any vegetables grown and eaten in Mustang. When we visit we don’t get any vegetables with a meal. Tourism has made us aware that the hotel owners need to provide more vegetables and the farmers need to grow them. These days many locals grow fresh vegetables for family*

consumption as well as to sell. This is a positive impact of tourism and agriculture in Mustang..”

Several study respondents, both local and expert, agreed that in all tourist destination sites, such as Kagbeni, agriculture should go hand-in-hand with tourism to diversify the tourism benefits and help ensure long-term sustainability. As explained by Lhakpa, “*Kagbeni is a tourist destination so the people in Kagbeni will directly benefit from tourism but then these days people from off villages [those not on trekking route] start to get benefit indirectly from selling their farm products such as apple, vegetables to the lodges and tea houses. This helps farmer to have cash in hand. If there is no tourism in Kagbeni, then farmers in other villages in the VDC would have no place to sell crops.*”

5.6 Chapter Summary

The case study results, which are based on oral interviews with local villagers and selected district and national experts, detail the introduction and expansion of tourism in a remote area of Nepal over more than five decades. Aided by various GoN inputs (e.g., creation of the ACA introduction of improved seeds, and connection of Kagbeni to the outside world via the road and telecommunications) and despite politically generated setbacks, over time tourism has increased in this ancient village. The study results also document the gradually increasing impact of tourism on the economy, culture and lifestyle of the local villagers. Finally, in exploring how Kagbeni VDC in Nepal has benefited from the evolving links between agriculture and tourism, the study demonstrates that, under the right conditions and given sufficient time, these two sectors can establish strong, mutually beneficial linkages and become a cornerstone in sustainable development at the village level.

Chapter 6

Discussion

The focus of this chapter is the examination of the data presented in Chapter 5 as it relates to the evolution of the linkages between tourism and agriculture over five time periods (1950-2011). Specific topics to be addressed include documenting achievement of the research goal, evolution of tourism in Kagbeni, including discussion of the key factors contributing to the rise in tourism, the changing relationship between the two sectors over time, and benefits and disadvantages of linking the two sectors.

6.1 Goal of Research

The goal of this research has been to explore the historical linkages between tourism and agriculture based on the living memory of the villagers of Kagbeni VDC, which is located in the upper region of the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA). To accomplish the research goal, qualitative research methodology employing oral history interviews was used to obtain primary data from local villagers alongside parallel data from district and government level officials. As documented by the results, much can be learnt from case studies regarding the evolution of the interaction between tourism and agriculture.

While several international reports (Kuo, Chen, & Haung, 2005); Torres, 2003 and Bowen et al, 1991) suggest a symbiotic relationship between tourism and agriculture, until now this has not been studied in such a remote location and across a such a relatively long period of time. Given that linking tourism and agriculture in order to promote sustainable development has been one of the major activities of the GoN for many years, it was considered important to conduct this research in a remote area of Nepal, such as Kagbeni, where the population is still largely rural, traditional agriculture is the predominant industry and tourism is a considerable contributor to the economy.

6.1.1 Achievement of Research Goal

To gain a better understanding of these linkages in Kagbeni VDC, data from the oral history interviews were used to obtain first-hand information in order to answer four research questions:

1. How have the traditional livelihoods (including agriculture) of the people of Kagbeni VDC been affected by the introduction of tourism since 1950?
2. How do local, district and national stakeholders perceive the impact of tourism on traditional agricultural livelihoods?
3. In what ways has tourism development been linked to agricultural development in Kagbeni VDC?
4. How has tourism and agriculture development contributing to sustainable development of Kagbeni VDC?

Analysis of the findings provided important insight into each research question. For example, the interviewee responses document how the traditional livelihoods of the villagers have changed over time (question 1). By 2011 many villagers now have multiple livelihoods (e.g., lodge or tea house owner, farmer and/or small trader of goods outside the district) from which they generate income. The evolution of the relationship between tourism and agriculture and the villagers' perception of the impact of tourism on traditional agriculture over time (question 2) is presented in section 6.3 and summarized below in Table 6.2. As regards question 3, tourism has been a driving force in moving traditional agriculture practices in many new directions (e.g., more and a wider variety of crops, marketing of cash crops, expanding animal husbandry to meet the requests of tourists for meat). Finally, from several points of view agriculture and tourism, as they have evolved, are increasingly contributing to the development of Kagbeni VDC (question 4). Thus, the results of this case study document that the research goal has been achieved, including provision of sufficient data to address the four research questions adequately.

6.2 Evolution of Tourism over Time

Tourism has had a major impact on the lives and economic welfare of the local villagers in Kagbeni, especially over the last two time periods (1993-2011). As shown above in Figure 3.2, prior to 1970 (Periods 1 and 2), there were relatively few tourists travelling to Mustang district and Kagbeni VDC. Moreover, those who came were mostly explorers, anthropologists and researchers who brought in all their provisions, including food, as well as their guides and porters from outside the district. Interviewees reported that the arrival of increasing numbers of international trekkers did not begin until after the *Khampa* (Tibetan refugee) occupancy ended in 1974. In fact, the major increase in tourists did not occur until

after establishment of the ACAP in 1991 and the global promotion of trekking the ACA circuit by the GoN (Period 4: 1993 to 2006).

Because Kagbeni is the gateway to Upper Mustang and the main junction of the ACA circuit, many tourists were drawn to it, and the village became the overnight place to stay for many tourists. Subsequently, with completion of the road linking Kagbeni to Pokhara via Jomsom, the number of tourists arriving in Mustang district, including Kagbeni, rose dramatically during Period 5 (2007 to 2010) to nearly 30,000 annually. Thus, it was during this time that tourism became a major contributor to economy of Kagbeni as well as becoming increasingly linked with local agriculture.

How much longer this rapid growth rate can continue will depend on a number of factors identified and recorded in the interviews, such as the impact on the environment, pollution, or loss of ancient traditions and practices. At some point in the not too distant future, the number of national and international tourists that can be reasonably accommodated each year will be reached. Without a significant increase in basic infrastructure (e.g. water, sewage and waste disposal systems), deterioration of the environment and loss of cultural identity as well as other negative effects will render Kagbeni less attractive as an international tourist destination. Therefore, planning for sustainable tourism is necessary if the negative effects are to be minimized. In addition, because in the past political instability (e.g., the Maoist insurgency from 1995-2006) has negatively affected the growth of tourism Nepal, especially international tourism, the possibility of further changes in the government must be factored into any planning.

6.2.1 Key Factors Contributing to the Rise in Tourism

The interviewees identified a number of key intrinsic and extrinsic factors that have, and continue to, influence development of tourism in Kagbeni. These factors are summarized in Table 6.1 (next page). Of the key intrinsic factors, which are described in detail in the interviews, all have contributed to making Kagbeni a highly desirable destination for many types of tourists – from researchers and anthropologists to international trekkers and wealthy Nepali seeking to get away from the crowds of Kathmandu or to worship in the holy shrines in Upper Mustang.

In terms of tourism development, all of the intrinsic factors identified in Table 6.1 may have a positive effect on increasing tourism, and may continue to support its development. The

same, however, is not true regarding the extrinsic factors. For example, the dust and fumes created by the private and commercial vehicles on the recently completed road linking Kagbeni to Pokhara, which closely parallels the trekking route, already has discouraged international trekkers who seek a more remote, rural environment to visit (5.5.1).

Table 6.1: Key factors contributing to the increase in tourism in Kagbeni VDC

Intrinsic Factors
- Environment (majestic mountains and rivers; unusual flora and fauna)
- Remote and isolated area (until after 1950-60 no access to outside world)
- Medieval village dating back to 16 th century (no electricity or telephone)
- Ancient language, culture and traditions
- Gateway to Upper Mustang (Muktinath-holy shrine)
- Traditional farming and animal husbandry
- Development of local value-added foods
Extrinsic Factors
- Airport built in Jomsom (1962)
- Tibetan refugees introduce monetary system in Kagbeni (1960- 1974)
- Government interventions (1966 – 2010)
- ACAP and ACA established (1991)
- Foreigners permitted to enter Upper Mustang (1992)
- Road built linking Kagbeni with Pokhara (2006)

6.3 Type of Relationship between Tourism and Agriculture

While both sectors have the potential to work together non-competitively, most often this does not happen (Torres, 2003) and Telfer & Wall, 1996). Based on the literature, three types of possible relationships have been observed (strong, ambiguous or weak). The type of

relationship in each of the five time periods is discussed in the following paragraphs. In addition, the community's perception of what has happened over time is summarized at the end of this section in Table 6.2

As reported in Chapter 5, tourism in the 1950s and until the late 1970s (Periods 1 and 2) was limited and exclusively nature based. The few researchers or trekkers who travelled to through Kagbeni to Upper Mustang mainly did so by contracting with commercial tour groups in Kathmandu or Pokhara. During these early times, the tour group provided all the necessary equipment and supplies, including fresh fruits and vegetables, and even porters to carry everything. In addition, the tourists stayed in camping sites provided by the trekking companies and rarely ventured into the village (5.3.4). On top of that, because none of the locals could speak any language other than the local dialect, communication was reported to be a major barrier preventing interaction between tourists and villagers (5.2.3). This precluded any type of meaningful interaction and made the flow of information and ideas difficult to impossible. Hence, tourists and the locals remained socially distant, which limited not only the development of tourism but also any opportunity of linking it with agriculture. As a consequence, linkages between tourism and agriculture during these early times were weak because "*tourism failed to stimulate local agriculture...[and] "little agriculture was produced in tourism area"* (5.2.4).

Because tourism was a new concept and more lucrative economically, it outpaced agricultural in competing for "human capital and entrepreneurial resources" (Bowen et al., 1991). This competition hampered the local economy as imported produce were in greater demand from the tourism sector and competed with local food producers (Hope, 1981). As result, many farmers abandoned farming during these times and moved south to Pokhara or India for better opportunities. Thus, their lands were left uncultivated (5.3.2).

During the Development and Integrated Management periods (3 and 4), the flow of tourists increased dramatically, such that by 1993 over 14,000 tourists arrived in Jomsom annually, and many of them trekked through Kagbeni on their way to Upper Mustang. Where in the past tourists stayed primarily in campsites provided by the tour group with whom they had contracted, increasingly single and small groups of trekkers began staying in local tea houses and small lodges (5.3.4). Most importantly, trekkers began eating local foods and liking some of them. Thus, farmers who in the past had no market for any small surplus they produced now were able to sell their excess (mostly naked barely and buckwheat initially) to local

lodge and tea house owners. During this period, villagers, most of whom also were farmers, began growing different foods (e.g., vegetables and fruit) in their *bara* to sell to the tourists. Thus, the first a real linkage between tourism and agriculture began through the increasing use of local foods to feed foreign tourists. The linkage during this period could best be described as moving from weak to ambiguous, with both sectors just beginning to realise the need of each other.

It was during the later part of Period 4 (1993 to 2006) that the relationship between tourism and agriculture became much stronger. Although linking the two industries was a new concept to the local people, they quickly came to realise the benefits. For example, increasing use of locally produced foods, rather than importing them from outside Mustang District, significantly decreased costs to lodge owners while at the same time generated revenue for farmers. In addition, because of the remoteness of Kagbeni, packing in food for international tourists was expensive for the commercial trekking companies. As such, they welcomed the opportunity to purchase any available local food products, especially vegetables, fruit and meat. As a result, farmers not only were encouraged to grow more and different foods but also to raise and sell livestock to meet the increased demands of tourists (5.4.4).

Consequently, to meet the increased need for local foods, farmers started to cultivate land that had been left barren for many years or was not being farmed due to out-migration during the earlier years. And finally, as the years passed during Period 4, the local people learnt from their experience that the interests of both sectors could be served. For example, the local farmers from Kagbeni began to produce high-value agricultural commodities such as apples and vegetables (Bowen et al., 1991). This created a steady market for produce the tourist industry was more than willing to buy. The above events are seen as the turning point for villagers in understanding the importance of linking local agriculture with tourism so that both could grow and be profitable (5.3.4).

As documented in the interviews, the process of arriving at this stage had been long, challenging and characterised by mutual learning involving both tourists and the locals. To date, linking tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni has been largely beneficial to both sectors. This is because both are seasonal, but peak at different times (i.e., agriculture in the summer and winter while the tourist season is in the spring and autumn), and both are labour intensive. As a result, tourism and agriculture together have come to provide nearly year around employment for locals from farm workers to lodge and tea house staff. Thus, tourism

and agriculture now are symbiotically linked in Kagbeni (i.e., as tourism increases, the need for local agricultural products and workers increases as well) (5.5.4).

Table 6.2: Community perception of linkages between tourism and agriculture by time period

Periods and Time	Linkage	Literature	Community Perception	Relationship between Tourism and Agriculture
Period 1 (1950-1962)	Weak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism typically fails to stimulate local agriculture (Hope, 1981). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subsistence agriculture predominates Very limited number of tourists type (researchers & explorers) No interventions from GoN Community not active in tourism due to lack of knowledge No interaction between guests and host 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-existent
Period 2 (1963-1975)	Weak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Little was produced in the tourism area (Torres, 2003). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agriculture predominant Limited number of tourist (explorer and researchers) Some interventions from GoN in agriculture Community still unaware of tourism Guests and host were not introduced 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disjointed
Period 3 (1976-1992)	Weak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relationships between the two sectors in rural areas are not always competitive, rather, how to effectively allocate resources (Cox et al., 1994) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agriculture still dominating Significant increase in tourists in organized camping groups; very few independent tourists Informal interaction between guest and host increasing Community becomes eager to learn and adopt new ideas from tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism not a threat to agriculture activities
Period 4 (1993-2000)	Weak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Linkage may compete for natural, human, capital and entrepreneurial resources (Bowen et al., 1991) Tourism development often associated with increased demand for imported food and competition with local food producers (Hope, 1981) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predominantly agriculture but adding cash crops Tourist mix changing from organized camping to independent international trekkers staying local tea houses and small lodges. Locals increasingly engaged in tourism; learning through trial and error Stronger interaction between host and guest Recognitions of need for different types of foods to satisfy tourists desires 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism influencing agriculture Agriculture changing Tourism competing agriculture for employment
	Ambiguous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism may increase costs of agricultural production, steady market, improved infrastructure and a host of agricultural-related services. Agriculture encourages local farmers to produce high-value agricultural commodities (Bowen et al., 1991). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ACA P and ACA circuit established with Kagbeni gateway to Upper Mustang (1991) GoN intervention seen as growing (new seeds and trees) Value of animals for meat for tourists recognized Farmers begin to grow different crops (vegetables and fruits) Conversion of homes to tea houses and small lodges for increasing number of tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism growth out pacing agriculture Gradual increase in land being cultivated Animals now seen as having commercial value
Period 5 (2007-2010)	Strong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Linking two allows destinations to retain a greater share of tourism benefits and reduces leakages (Bélisle, 1984); (Torres, 2003); (Telfer & Wall, 1996) Promotion of iconic food products in order to create an “image” which will help to attract new visitors and boosts economic sustainability in the long term (Ilbery et al., 2003) Smaller hotels use a greater proportion of local food products (Bélisle, 1984) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agriculture shifting to cash crops and selling animals for meat Increasing use of local foods, including value added foods (YakDonalds) by tourists GoN interventions for infrastructure development (road connecting Kagbeni to Jomsom completed in 2006) Tourism growing faster due to improved air and ground infrastructure Organized tea houses and lodges thriving Year round employment encourages return of those who out migrated in past Stronger interaction between tourists and hosts Beginning recognition of negative aspects of tourism on environment, culture and traditions Improvements in education, health care and telecommunication perceived benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Symbiotic relationship between tourism and agriculture emerges Two different industries Non-competitive (farming-winter and summer; tourism-spring and fall)

6.4 Benefits of Linking the Two Sectors

A half century ago, Kagbeni was a remote, medieval village located high above the *Kali Gandaki* River. It was the gateway to Upper Mustang and the Tibetan border, which trekkers were not allowed to enter until 1992, and then only with a special permit. The around the 16th century Tibetan monastery (*Kag Chode*), the inhabitants of the village, most of whom were *Gurung* or *Thakuris*, spoke or wrote no English and eked out a meagre existence through subsistence farming. They had no basic facilities like roads or electricity, no school, no formal health care and no way to communicate with the outside world. (What little they knew about the world was learnt from the few returning villagers who dared to supplement their income by becoming ‘small traders’ and annually trekking to the south and India to do business.) Most of the villagers followed Tibetan Buddhism and some practised polyandry. Life was hard and it was difficult to live beyond the age of fifty. However, although life was simple, the locals seemed to be very content (5.1.1). (At present the age of *tharchang* is sixty five, evidence that healthcare is improving as life expectancy at birth increases.)

Now, some 60 years later, Kagbeni is a thriving village that is rapidly connecting with modern times. Because of new GoN infrastructure development, most notably completion of the road connecting Kagbeni with Pokhara, the Mustang district is growing faster than anywhere in Nepal. Moreover, the number of tourists and trekkers continues to increase. With all this have come many changes including significant economic growth, increased literacy, improved health, motorised transport and instantaneous contact with the whole world via the Internet and mobile phones (most locals aged 14 to 70 has a mobile phone [5.5.1]).

Now most villagers have adopted multiple livelihoods (agriculture, tourism and/or being a small trader) because all are seasonal to a certain extent, but tourism is the most lucrative. Moreover, according to informants, the out-migration of villagers from previous years to the south (Pokhara) or Kathmandu has been reversed and many are returning back to Kagbeni. This is due to increased employment opportunities in the village and surrounding farms. And lastly, now many lowland (the *Terai*) workers travel to Kagbeni for seasonal employment as porters, painters, carpenters and many other jobs.

Today, of the 216 households in the VDC about 60 households benefit directly from tourism while many of the others benefit indirectly through various activities. As stated by Mahindra, a tourism expert, “*Some benefit is gained from renting horses or by selling agricultural*

products in markets or to tea houses. In a small village like Kagbeni, if the direct benefit goes to around 60 households I think it's seen as a positive impact on development," Hence, it is clear from the case study findings and literature review that strong linkages between the two sectors have developed over time and the benefits have become more widespread (Bélisle, 1984). As a result of these linkages, the villagers have been able to gain a greater share of the wealth resulting from tourism in Mustang district in general and Kagbeni VDC specifically.

In terms of health care, the previous small health post has been shifted to a bigger facility with a homeopathy clinic. The small primary school built in Kagbeni during Period 2 (1963-1975) has been upgraded to a secondary school and the language of instruction shifted from Nepalese to English in order to standardise the education system in the region. In addition, the school has hostel facilities and a computerised class room.

Improvements in lifestyle include the use of alternative energy such as solar energy for water heating, cookers and gas stoves for cooking. *"Another advantage is that cooking now is much cleaner and smoke-free. Both of which have improved the health of people due to fewer respiratory infections,"* noted Evi, an elder interviewee. In addition, the ACAP has successfully installed solar and hydro-powered ozone water purifiers in Kagbeni, Jomsom and Muktinath. This improvement enables villagers now to have safe drinking water and to sell clean water to trekkers thereby somewhat reducing the increasing problem of what to do with the empty plastic water bottles.

Through the interaction of people from different cultures tourism has contributed to changing some of the beliefs, values and social ideology of the villagers. Three of the most important changes reported by interviewees were: 1) the empowerment of women (e.g., greater role in income generation and input into how it is used); 2) increased community participation in decision-making activities affecting the village (e.g., now each year three *Mukhiya* are selected whose ages are: 20-35, 35-45 and 45-60 and whose purpose is to settle village conflicts and manage other civic activities); and 3) a lessening of the caste system. The first two of these changes are detailed in Chapter 5. As regards the third, until the large scale emergence of tourism, being a blacksmith, cobbler or tailor was a lower caste occupation. As such, these people were not allowed to enter villagers' homes, lodges or tea houses. Because villagers now have to depend on them for their skills, especially during the peak tourist seasons, the caste system to a large extent is decreasing (5.5.3).

6.5 Disadvantages of Increasing Tourism

Although the rise in tourism has brought many benefits (5.4.3), no social change is without some costs. Because international tourism provides additional income to villagers, most informants still consider it to be a blessing. However, even in the 1990s (Period 4) it was recognized that tourism largely benefited only a few villages, such as Kagbeni, that are located at key places along the major trekking routes (see above, Figure 3.2). *“The people from Kagbeni are lucky. They did not need to go for trade [outside the district] for additional income like other villages in the district as they have business at their doorstep. Many times, I requested Kagbeni people to sell me some land, but nobody was interested in selling,”* exclaimed Guru, a national political leader.

Because tourism has not benefited all VDCs, this has led to local and regional inequality in the distribution of economic wealth. In addition, much of the profit gained from tourism in the ACA still goes to outsiders (e.g., the tourism and trekking companies in Pokhara and Kathmandu and to their foreign owners). For example, while the amount of locally produced food provided to tourists has increased significantly since the mid-1990s, local food still only provides about 30 per cent of the foods international trekkers require. Importing the remainder (70 per cent) to satisfy trekkers’ appetites is expensive for local tea house and lodge owners and is a challenging problem for the locals. Finally, during this period the desire for foreign goods (e.g., western style clothing and mobile phones) by local villagers is already creating problems. Because of their high cost, the majority of locals, who still are subsistence farmers, cannot afford them. As such, interviewees have reported an increase in local crime.

The negative impact of tourism, however, really did not hit Kagbeni until Period 5 (2007-2011). During this period the number international tourists arriving in Mustang, many of whom trek through Kagbeni, increased to nearly 30,000 per year in 2010 and will possibly continue to increase. Key concerns now include the impact of tourism on the local environment through pollution and deforestation; loss of their ancient cultural and traditions; and the rapidly changing life styles of the locals (e.g., western dress and behaviour), especially the youth.

According to one informant, *“Pollution, deforestation [timber for new houses], degradation of natural resources and waste management are due to the increase in the number of*

tourists.” In addition, some informants attribute the growing interest of villagers in western values and life styles to the increasing emphasis on making money due to the advent of tourism. Interestingly, villagers initially perceived that switching from wood to alternative energy sources would decrease deforestation; a major concern in the past. Instead, deforestation is increasing, in part, due the need to build more lodges and guest houses to accommodate more tourists. .

Villagers are particularly angered by the ACAP’s decision to make Kagbeni the waste management site for Upper Mustang. “Stated one informant, “*All rubbish from Upper Mustang consumed by group trekkers, like bottles, cans, plastics and paper is brought to Kagbeni to be dumped.... We have approached ACAP many times about this, but [they] never found any solution for this. They built a small house for waste recycling but no machine to do this was ever provided. We, as a village, have to take care of our own place; therefore, we burn all the rubbish. Culturally and socially we should not pollute our sky god, but we are doing [it].* Dealing with increasing waste (e.g., plastic bottles and rubbish) from Upper Mustang is a serious problem for Kagbeni. If not managed properly it may negatively affect the sustainability of international tourism in the long-term.

Some of the concerns recorded, however, are only indirectly related to tourism. For example, because of the new road, there is great concern about the potential loss of the pristine nature of the area, especially the sacred areas that now can be reached in hours, not in days or weeks as in the past. In addition, because the new road parallels the main trekking route, trekkers increasingly complain about the dust kicked up by the increasing number jeeps and other vehicles. This problem could potentially result in fewer trekkers in the future due to trekkers bypassing, or ‘leap frogging’ Kagbeni. (5.1.1). There is also the risk of increased crime because as one informant, Lama, a tourism and conservation expert, stated, “*With the opening of the road, you cannot control who is coming and going anymore.*”

Finally, some concerns attributed to tourism by interviewees are due to climate change. For example, farmers in the area perceive that each year there seems to be less snow falling in the villages. This is affecting crops because farmers from Dagarjung, Phalak and Tiri depend upon snow-melt water for irrigation. Another perceived tourism threat actually is due to the increased melting of glaciers that feed into the Kali Gandaki River. As the flow of water increases, fertile soil is washed away thereby diminishing the amount of arable land along the river bed each year.

6.6 Conclusion

Sustainability and development projects depend on the participation and motivation of the local people (Gurung & deCoursey, 1994). Three factors – community involvement, government interventions and the tourists themselves – play key roles in the development and sustainability of a tourist destination site or area. At present, all three have played major roles in facilitating the growth of tourism in Kagbeni and the surrounding area. However, the political instability of the country, which is briefly described in Chapter 3 and elsewhere, can significantly influence the international tourism industry. As a consequence, villages like Kagbeni would be ill-advised to ‘put all their eggs in the tourism basket’. Over reliance on tourism would simply replace one resource dependency with another. The aim should be to continue to integrate tourism with other development options, including sustainable agriculture (Schellhorn & Simmons, 2002). In an important sense, tourism is not an end in itself, but should be seen as one of a number of means towards achieving sustainable development.

The use of oral history interviews to conduct this case study proved to be effective in detailing the emerging linkages between tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni VDC. The findings from the interviews also enabled a comprehensive picture to be drawn of the economic, environmental, cultural and lifestyle changes occurring over time stemming from the increase in tourism (from an occasional trekker or researcher in the 1960s to over 30,000 per year at present). In large part, because of the positive interaction between tourists and local villagers, and aided by GoN inputs, tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni have become symbiotically linked. Thus, as tourism has increased so has the need for local agricultural products and workers. Now as a result of the growth in tourism and agriculture, nearly year-round employment is available for local villagers at many levels. Moreover, villagers who previously emigrated are returning. Thus, the positive linkages between tourism and agriculture demonstrate that under the right conditions and given sufficient time these two sectors can not only coexist but also become a driving force in sustainable development.

6.7 Future Research Studies

1. While several reports in the literature suggest a symbiotic relationship between tourism and agriculture (Kuo et al, 2005 and Torres, 2003), until now this has not been studied in Nepal. Linking tourism and agriculture in order to promote sustainable development has been one of the major activities of the GoN for many years. This study provides evidence

that under favourable conditions, such as those listed above in Table 6.1, a symbiotic relationship between the two sectors can develop over time and, at least for the present, thrive. However, the data generated in this case study, though compelling, only provide qualitative information. There now is a need for more detailed qualitative and quantitative studies to capture the true complexity of the relationship and their contribution to sustainable development.

2. Many local villagers are concerned about the negative impact of the road connecting Kagbeni with Jomsom and Pokhara in relation to tourism (5.5.1). In addition there is a concern about the potential loss of the pristine nature of the area, especially the sacred areas that now can be reached in hours, not in days or weeks as in the past. It is recommended that the GoN consider supporting a study to determine what can be done to address these two issues.
3. There are several ways in which tourism and agriculture may be positively linked or interact (Bowen et al., 1991). Thus far in Kagbeni VDC, the interaction has primarily involved the increasing sale of cash crops and meat to teahouses and lodges hosting tourists. Agri-tourism, which involves incorporating both a working farm environment experience with a tourism component, is another potentially value-added form of linking agriculture and tourism. This type of farm-based tourist experience can be deemed as potential for meeting the needs of visitors; who seek traditional rural hospitality, nature and cultural experiences. On the other hand, this would help farmers, practicing traditional farming, to strengthen their livelihood through diversification of economic opportunities. This demands a pilot project to be initiated from government level to explore the viability of agri-tourism in rural Nepal.

Appendix A: Consent Form

'Exploring the Links between Tourism and Agriculture for the Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Kagbeni VDC, Nepal' is an oral history research undertaken as a partial fulfilment for Master of Tourism Management under faculty of Environment, Society and Design of Lincoln University. This research is funded by the Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Lincoln University and private funding. Its purpose is to collect interviews with people who have knowledge and experience of the topic. The recording will be used for scholarly and educational purposes as determined by the projects.

I have read and understand the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and consent for interview to be recorded by () a digital recorder or () manual note (please tick one). I also consent to the publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided before October 30, 2011. I also understand that the researcher will require my participant identification code, found at the top of the Information Sheet, if I wish to withdraw any or all of my information at any time without penalty.

Name: -----

Signed: ----- Date: -----

Replace the content of this page with your own content.

Appendix B: Research Information Sheet

A. Research Information sheet



**Lincoln
University**
Te Whare Wānaka o Aoraki

*Faculty of Environment, Society and Design
Department of Social Sciences, Parks, Recreation, Tourism
and Sport
Christchurch, Canterbury, New Zealand*

Date:

[Name and address]

Dear [Name]

Hello!

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled "Exploring the Links between Tourism and Agriculture for the Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Kagbeni VDC, Nepal".

This research is undertaken as a partial fulfilment for Master of Tourism Management under faculty of Environment, Society and Design of Lincoln University. This research is funded by the Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Lincoln University and private funding. The government of Nepal is nowhere involved in but the result of this research may be shared with relevant government agencies upon compilation of studies.

This research aims to explore your experience of tourism and agriculture practices and how these have evolved over the last five decades in Kagbeni. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be interviewed about your experiences of agriculture and tourism in Kagbeni VDC over the past five decades. The entire interview should take between forty five minutes to an hour.

If you are willing to participate in this research, you will need to sign the attached consent form and return it to me before the interview. The interview requires no subsequent involvement after this study, although you will be given the opportunity to read the interview transcript if you wish. With your consent, the interview will be recorded using a recording device. If you are not comfortable with the interview being recorded, short-hand notes will be taken during the interview.

The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation. Your identity will not be made public. To ensure your anonymity in the study, your name and contact details will not be used as a part of data dissemination. Transcriptions of the interview will be undertaken solely by the researcher. The consent forms and data will be kept separately in secure storage, and destroyed after six years. Only collated data will be used in written or oral presentations. No individual identifying information will be presented in public.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may withdraw your participation and the information you have provided for the research by informing me prior to October 30, 2011 by telephone, mail or email.

Contact details:

Address: Department of Social Sciences, Parks, Recreation, Tourism and Sport
P.O. Box # 84, Lincoln University
Christchurch, Lincoln
New Zealand, 7647

Email: laxmi.gurung@lincolnuni.ac.nz

Mobile: 977-993690051

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (LUHEC). If you have any concerns in connection with the answers you have provided or the manner in which the project was carried out, please contact the project's supervisors.

Thank you very much for your valuable time.

Yours sincerely,

Laxmi Gurung

Master of Tourism Management (Candidate) Main Supervisor:

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Appendix C: Interview Guide for Local Residents

Orientation questions

1. How long have you lived in this village?
2. Can you tell me about your background?
3. What is your occupation and how long you have been in this occupation?
4. What was main occupation and livelihood then (10 or 20 years ago)? How do people earn their living now? The same way or different?

How much  the yearly income of your family at present? Is it increased over past years? If yes, how much more? Events	Before airport came in Jomsom	After airport	After the introduction of tourism	After ACAP came	After road connected to the region
Impacts 					
Population					
Agriculture in NRs.					
Tourism in NRs.					
Remittance					
Others trade NRs.					

Common questions

1. Can you tell me the story about agriculture and tourism 50 years back and now?
2. How would you describe the effect of tourism on your way of life/livelihood? What about for Kagbeni as a community?
3. Do you think that tourism has been good or bad for you? What about for Kagbeni as a community?
4. How important is agriculture for tourism activity in the village?
5. What is the current relationship between tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni VDC?
6. How does the tourism and agricultural affect Kagbeni VDC economically, socially and environmentally?
7. How would you like to see Kagbeni develop (economically, socially, culturally and environmentally) in the next 20 years?

- 8 How have people involved in agriculture have perceived benefit from tourism during last five decades in Kagbeni VDC?
- 9 How has tourism changed agriculture practices and land use in Kagbeni VDC?
- 10 How can linkages between tourism and agriculture be strengthening in order to promote sustainable development in Kagbeni VDC?
- 11 How has tourism impacted on local agriculture practices and what are the consequences of these impacts?
- 12 How does agriculture respond to tourism demand? And what are the implications on local incomes and livelihoods?
- 13 Is there any opportunity to strengthen linkages between tourism and agriculture to promote sustainable tourism?
- 14 Why are these linkages important?
- 15 Is tourism complementary or conflicting with agriculture? Competition
- 16 How does linking tourism and agriculture will benefit local people and contribute to poverty reduction and development of the VDC?
- 17 What are the impacts of tourism on local producers or farmers?
- 18 What do you think about the people living little away from tourist destination sites or trekking routes? Do they benefit from tourism?
- 19 How has tourism impacted on these people livelihood (positively or negatively)?
- 20 Do you think linking tourism and agricultural will help develop sustainability of Kagbeni VDC?
- 21 What do you think about the people living little away from tourist destination? Do they benefit from tourism?
- 22 How does tourism impacted on these people livelihood?
- 23 What is the market condition of locally produced agro products now and then?
- 24 What type of tourists visit in the village now and in the past?
- 25 What are the challenges and opportunities of linking agriculture and tourism now, in the past, and in the future
- 26 What is the role of policy maker and the local community?
- 27 What do you think about ACAP's role in the region?
- 28 What do you have to say about road connectivity in the village?

Appendix D: Interview Guide for District and National Level Experts

Orientation questions

1. How long have you worked in this organisation?
2. Can you tell me about your background?
3. What is your occupation and how long you have been in this occupation?
4. What was main occupation and livelihood then? How do people earn their living now? The same way or different?

Common questions

1. Can you tell me the story about agriculture and tourism 50 year back and now?
2. How would you describe the effect of tourism on life/livelihood of Kagbeni?
3. What do you think about tourism in Kagbeni, is it a good or bad?
4. How important is agriculture for tourism activity in this village?
5. What is the current relationship between tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni VDC?
6. How does the tourism and agricultural affect Kagbeni VDC economically, socially and environmentally?
7. What have you seen and how would you like to see Kagbeni develop (economically, socially, culturally and environmentally) in the next 20 years?
8. What do you think about linking two as a planner or policy maker or outsiders?
9. What is the role of policy maker and the local community?
10. How has tourism changed agriculture practices and land use in Kagbeni VDC?
11. How can linkages between tourism and agriculture be strengthening in order to promote sustainable development in Kagbeni VDC?
12. How has tourism impacted on local agriculture practices and what are the consequences of these impacts?
13. Is there any opportunity to strengthen linkages between tourism and agriculture to promote sustainable tourism?
14. Why are these linkages important?
15. Is tourism complementary or conflicting with agriculture?
16. How does linking tourism and agriculture will benefit local people and contribute to poverty reduction and development of the VDC?
17. What are the impacts of tourism on local producers or farmers?
18. What is the market condition of locally produced agro products now and then?

19. What are the challenges and opportunities of linking agriculture and tourism now, in the past, and in the future
20. How do you see the role of government and ACAP's role in the region?
21. What do you have to say about road connectivity in the village?

Appendix E: Human Ethics Committee Application

Protocol number and date received (for office use only)

No.

Date Received :

Comments to be sent to HEC Chair by:

Application to Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee (HEC) for Ethical Approval for a Project Involving Human Participants

This form is to be completed in conjunction with, and after reference to, the HEC Application Form Guidebook.

The Committee will require up to six weeks reaching a decision. Please refer to the Guidebook and ensure you are presenting a well-prepared, completed application.

PLEASE NOTE: The Human Ethics Committee has an audit process in place for applications. Please see 7.3 of the Human Ethics Committee Operating Procedures in the Lincoln University Policies and Procedures Manual for more information.

Please type in the white boxes below each question. Please use only single paragraphs.

1.	Project Name	Expected Date of Completion:
	Exploring links between tourism and agriculture in sustainable development: A case study of Kagbeni VDC, Nepal	27 th March 2012
2.	Key words for database purposes	
	sustainable development, tourism, agriculture , Nepal	
3.	If the project is part of a larger project, please give details	
	N/A	
4.	Name of Applicant(s)	
	Laxmi Gurung	
5.	Email Address(es)	
	laxmi.gurung@lincolnuni.ac.nz	
6.	Faculty/Centre/Employer	
	Faculty of Environment, Society and Design	
7.	Supervisor/Course	
	Main Supervisor: Stephen Espiner Co-supervisor: David Simmons	
8.	Other Investigators (Name, Email, Faculty/Centre/Employer)	
	N/A	

9. Authorising Signatures	
Applicant: _____	Date: _____
Supervisor/ Faculty / Centre Dean: _____	Date: _____
Note to supervisors. Please thoroughly check your student's application before signing.	

10. State here the date by which a decision on this application is required in order that the project can proceed as planned, if approval is given

August 19th, 2011

11. Will the project require ethical approval by other bodies? If yes please name the other bodies

No

12. Has this or a similar application / project been conducted elsewhere? If yes please provide details and include the decision of the reviewing authority.

No

13. Describe the project in language which is, as far as possible, comprehensible to lay people
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For many years the Government of Nepal has embraced the concept and principles of the sustainable development approach, promulgated numerous policies and strategies and implemented a number of programmes to sustainable development. Despite Nepal's historical strengths in both agriculture and tourism, no research has been done linking these industries as mechanisms for sustainable development. The purpose of this research is to explore sustainable development in Nepal by focusing on the linkages between tourism and agriculture through a case study involving Kagbeni, an ancient village located in the upper region of Mustang district within the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA). As such, a qualitative research methodology will be used in order to obtain valuable information through oral history unstructured interviews. The interviews will be conducted at three levels: local residents; district and national level experts who are involved in government; and non-government and private organisations.

14. State concisely the aims and type of information sought and give the specific hypotheses to be tested

(a) Aims.

The purpose of this research is to explore sustainable development in Nepal by focusing on the linkages between tourism and agriculture in Kagbeni, an ancient village located in the upper region of Mustang district within the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA).

(b) Type.

The research will collect information on following

- Stakeholders' perceptions of the impact of tourism on agriculture
- The stakeholders' perceptions of links between tourism and agriculture
- Past and current relationships between tourism and agriculture
- Opportunities and constrains of linking tourism and agriculture
- Contributions of tourism and agriculture to poverty reduction and sustainable development

(Please see the attached of interview guideline for details)

(c) Hypotheses.

This research has no hypothesis. The goal of the study will be achieved by addressing the four research questions listed below:

1. How have the traditional livelihoods (including agriculture) of the people of Kagbeni VDC been affected by the introduction of tourism since 1962?
2. How do local, district and national stakeholders perceive the impact of tourism on traditional agricultural livelihoods?
3. In what ways has tourism development been linked to agricultural development in Kagbeni VDC?
4. How has tourism and agriculture development contributed to sustainable development of Kagbeni VDC?

15. Provide sufficient background information to place the project in perspective and to allow the project's significance to be assessed

For many years the Government of Nepal has embraced the concept and principles of the sustainable development approach, promulgated numerous policies and strategies and implemented a number of programmes to sustainable development. Despite Nepal's historical strengths in both agriculture and tourism, no research has been done linking these industries as mechanisms for sustainable development. The purpose of this research is to explore sustainable development in Nepal by focusing on the linkages between tourism and agriculture through a case study involving Kagbeni, an ancient village located in the upper region of Mustang district within the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA). As such, a qualitative research methodology will be used in order to obtain valuable information through oral history interviews.

16. Procedure

(a) State the approach taken to obtain information.

Oral history interviews with local residents, district and national level experts

(b) Outline in practical terms the information gathering procedures to be used.

Research participants will be selected using a purposive sampling technique. A local gatekeeper will be used to identify initial participants followed by snow-ball technique to select other participants. Snow balling is the process of one participant recommending that the researcher talk with another participant. A total of 30 participants will be interviewed including local residents, district level and national level experts. The first phase of interviewees will be local residents. For this purpose, at least 20 participants from Kagbeni VDC will be selected. The tentative list of key participants will be local villagers, VDC members and leaders, farmers, lodge owners, shop owners, teachers, the elderly, youth and mothers' groups. Interviews with local residents will be conducted in Kagbeni Village in Mustang district of Nepal. The local interviewees will be asked about their experiences and changes they have noticed in agricultural practices after introduction of tourism in their area. This will include their perception about the links between tourism and agriculture, the impact of the introduction of tourism on agriculture; past and current relationship between two, whether the industries are competing or complementary, what opportunities, constrains and significance each industry offers .

The second and third phase of interviewees will be district and national levels. Interview for district level experts will be conducted in Jomsom, the district headquarters of Mustang district while national level experts' interviews will be conducted in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. These participants will be selected from governmental, non-governmental and private organisations involved in tourism and agricultural planning and development. Some of these organisations may include the District Development Committee, Annapurna Conservation Area Projects, District Agricultural office, Ministry of Travel and Civil Aviation Nepal Tourism Board, National Trust for Nature Conservation, Ministry of Agriculture and cooperative Nepal. The interviews with district and national level experts will be useful to generate opinion on effects of linking tourism and agriculture for sustainable development from local and national context.

A suitable date, time and venue will be arranged in agreement with the participant prior to their being interviewed. The participants will be brief the research purpose. This will include information such as the time requirement for interview as well as issues relating to confidentiality and anonymity of research participants. During the interview, an interview guideline will be used (see Annex 3 & 4). If approval is given, then interviews will be recorded on recording devices and note taking during the interview will be used in the case recorder fails or participants are uncomfortable having their responses recorded. A research information sheet will be given to participants to read in the local language (and verbally explained in the local language to those who cannot read) at the same time. In addition, written consent of local resident participants will be obtained.

[Please see the attached templates for the research information sheet, interview guide and consent form)

(c) How will the information be processed and analysed?

The data from this research will be qualitative analysis. Transcription of the recorded interviews will be done in English. Sorting, coding and memoing of the data will be carried out into various categories to make the data meaningful using key themes. The data will be organised and analyse with the aid of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis software NVivo.

(d) Will a third party organisation be involved in administering and/ conducting the research? If so, describe the nature of this involvement.

No

NB: If the project involves the use of a questionnaire, phone survey, a list of questions, even if semi structured, a sample copy MUST be included with the application, templates of which are appended to the end of this document. Failure to include all required documentation will result in the application being returned. Questionnaires and phone surveys must use the rubric or introduction provided by the HEC. Links to phone survey script and questionnaire rubric

17. Types of persons taking part as participants

Local resident participants will be from Kagbeni VDC of Mustang district. Participants from district and national level will be selected from those involved in governmental, non-governmental and private organisations. All participants will be over the age of eighteen years.

18. Will any of the participants be in a dependent relationship to the researcher(s)?

No

19. How will participants be selected?

A non-probability, purposive sample, will be used to select potential participants for oral history interviews. The researcher will seek assistance from a local gatekeeper for listing the potential informants, but the researcher will approach them personally for the purpose of interview.

20. State whether there are any potential participants who will be excluded and, if so, the criteria for exclusion

No

21. How will participants be recruited?

The participants will be recruited on the basis of face-to-face interaction with the researcher. This will include:

1. Introducing the researcher to the prospective participant
2. Briefing all prospective participants about the research purpose prior to being interviewed
3. If participant agrees, then a research information sheet will be given to participants to read (and verbally explained in the local language for those who cannot read).
4. Following this, the person will be asked if he/she is willing to be interviewed at the same day or will need to have a suitable date, date, time and place for interview arranged.
5. And finally, written consent of all participants will be obtained.

22. State the number of participants to be selected and reason(s) for choosing this number.

The purpose of this research is to interview minimum of 30 participants on the basis of their experience and involvement with the research topic. This will include 20 participants who are local residents, five who are district level and five who are national level experts. Because the research is focused on exploring the understanding of local perspectives on tourism and agricultural practices, the major aim is to generate grass root level opinion on the impact of tourism on agriculture in Kagbeni. Twenty informants from Kagbeni VDC should be sufficient to represent the community for research objectives. Similarly ten experts, five each from both district and national level, will be useful in generating experiences and opinions on the effects of linking tourism and agriculture for sustainable development from a district and national perspective.

23. What information will be given to prospective participants and how will this information be provided?
The researcher will provide a research information sheet prior to the interview for all participant. The information sheet contains detailed information about the research including the purpose of the research, method, information collected, data analysis, and outcome of results. It also includes a summary of the rights of a research participant, and assurance of protecting their confidentiality and anonymity. The information sheet for local residents will be translated to Nepali language. [Please see the attached information sheet.]
24. Are the participants competent to give informed consent on their own behalf?
Yes
25. Will consent be obtained in writing?
Written consent will be obtained as far as possible. In case participants are unable to or unwillingly to provide their written consent then oral consent will be sought. (Please see consent form)
26. How will participant anonymity and confidentiality be assured in written or oral presentation of the research, or in general discussion?
All names and contact details will be collected but retained in separate files from interview transcripts. For identification purposes, original names will be changed to coded names in all documents except signed informed consent form in order to maintain confidentiality. The master copy will be stored in researcher's personal locker, transcript and data will be stored in the secure facility of Environment, Society and Design (ESD). Names and contact detail of participants will not be disclosed in any written or oral presentation or in any general discussion.
27. Where will the project be conducted?
The field work of this research project will be conducted in Nepal. Interviews with local residents will be conducted in Kagbeni village, Mustang district. District level interviews will be conducted in Jomsom, headquarters of Mustang district and national level expert will be interviewed in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. After completing data collection, data transcription, data analysis, documentation and presentation of the findings will be conducted at Lincoln University.
28. Does the project involve human remains, the use of tissues or body fluids supplied by the participants?
No
29. Describe any foreseeable risks to the participants
(a) Risks to physical well-being, or stress and emotional distress Because the interview will focus on participants' perspective and experiences on tourism and agricultural practices, there should not be any risk to their physical or emotional well being. (b) Possibility of cultural or moral offence None. The researcher is from Mustang district, Nepal, she is familiar with the local culture, values, norms and traditions.
30. What physical discomfort or incapacity are the participants likely to experience as a result of participating in the research?
None
31. What qualified personnel will be available to deal with adverse consequences or physical or psychological risks?
None is expected. If any unforeseen psychological difficulties happen to any participant, the researcher will immediately discuss with her supervisors, Dr. Stephen Espiner and Prof. David Simmons.
32. How much time will participants have to give to the project?
Each interview will last approximately 45 minutes to an hour
33. Provide details of any compensation and, where applicable, the level of payment to be made to participants
No
34. Is deception involved at any stage of the project?
No

35. Will any information about the participants be obtained from third parties?
No
36. State the benefits of the research
This research will generally provide empirical data for the government of Nepal on the impact of tourism on agriculture over the past 50 years within a sustainable development context and contribute to the broader understanding of the sustainable tourism agenda. Specifically, this research will help in understanding how one rural area in Nepal has managed to deal with these two industries, will help to identify the linkages and provide an evidence base for the evaluation of agricultural and tourism development policies
37. Who will have access to the consent forms?
The researcher and her supervisors will have the access to the consent form.
38. Who will have access to the data?
The researcher and her supervisors will have the access to the data.
39. Are there any plans for future use of the data beyond those already described?
The data may be used for possible publication in academic journal and conference presentations.
40. How and where will the consent forms and data be stored until project completion?
Soft copies of all data will be stored in researcher's personal and a Lincoln university's computer and the data will protected with a password. Hard copies of the data will be stored in a secure storage space provided by the Faculty of Environmental, Society and Design. All consent forms will be stored separately in the researcher's personal locker.
41. The Committee recommends that consent forms and data be retained, for protection, for at least six years. When and how will the consent forms and data be destroyed?
Both soft and hard copies of the data will be retained for six years and then destroyed as per ESD guidelines.
42. How will the confidentiality of the consent forms and data be assured?
All hard copies of the data will be stored in safe locker and soft copies will be protected with password. In addition, a code names will given to all the informants in order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity. All documents will only be coded using the assigned code name.
43. Is this project (planned to be) the subject of an application for funding from a source external to Lincoln University?
No
44. Is funding already available, or is it awaiting decision?
Awaiting for approval of funding from Faculty of Environment, Society and Design, Lincoln University and exceeding budget is available from self fund.
45. Explain the investigator's and Lincoln University's financial interests, if any, in the outcome of the project
None
46. Have you ever made any other related applications?
No
47. Is there any other information, which you think would be relevant to the Committee's consideration of this application?
No
Note on Methodology and Design
The Committee may have suggestions for your methodology and design. These will be communicated to you in the HEC response to your application. It will be your decision whether or not to act on these suggestions.

DECLARATION

The information supplied above is to the best of my knowledge and belief accurate.

Signature of Applicant: _____

Date: 2 August 2011

Please send one signed hard copy of the completed application form and attachments to:

The Secretary,
Human Ethics Committee,
Research & Commercialisation Office, Lincoln University,
P O Box 94, CANTERBURY.

Please send one electronic version to: Julie.ward@lincoln.ac.nz

Appendix F: Participant Profile

SN	Code Name	Occupation	Age	Gender
1.	Dolma	An elder farmer and teahouse owner	75	Female
2.	Phen	A young entrepreneur, farmer and lodge owner (returned from foreign country)	37	Male
3.	Tsering	A farmer and mule transport owner	60	Male
4.	Tsomo	A farmer and the first to start a sweater business in Guhati, India that is still in business	72	Female
5.	Karma	A trader and farmer	65	Male
6.	Khandu	An early tourism (women)entrepreneur and a farmer	57	Female
7.	Mingma	A trader who was migrated to Pokhara 30 ago and returned to village to start tourism business	65	Male
8.	Dawa	A young farmer and trader to India	38	Male
9.	Lhamo	A farmer	65	Female
10.	Tenzing	An elder farmer	84	Male
11.	Lhakpa	Middle age farmer	65	Male
12.	Palsang	An Eldest farmer	86	Male
13.	Pemba	A farmer, lodge owner and government officer	56	Male
14.	Kesang	A farmer	54	Male
15.	Mahadev	A trekking company worker and a guide	42	Male
16.	Kalyan	A government officer	50	Male
17.	Zomba	A farmer, lodge owner, chairman of mothers group	58	Female
18.	Evi	An elder farmer	80	Female
19.	Swami	A local priest, temporary resident	50	Male
20.	Pandav	A teacher, temporary resident	55	Male
21.	Dondu	Young leader, a farmer and lodge owner	44	Male
22.	Tashi	An elder famer and local leader	78	Male
23.	Raja	An agriculture expert	52	Male
24.	Pratap	A tourism and conservation expert	51	Male
25.	Raj	A tourism expert	50	Male
26.	Abhishek	An agriculture and business expert	40	Male
27.	Mahindra	A tourism expert	60	Male
28.	Guru	A middle age political leader	63	Male
29.	Lama	A tourism and conservation expert	55	Male
30.	Bikash	An agriculture expert	70	Male

Appendix G: Translation of Local Dialect Words

<i>Bara</i>	A kind of garden or orchard, where vegetables like potatoes, cabbage and cauliflower and fruits could be grown
<i>Bhat</i>	Rice
<i>Chaang</i>	Locally brewed beer made from naked barley
<i>Chaangma</i>	A local bar where <i>chaang</i> and <i>rakshi</i> sold
<i>Chongu</i>	New Year
<i>Chhuma</i>	Buckwheat, local radish and dry meat mix stew
<i>Dal</i>	Lentil sauce,
<i>Dal bhat</i>	Rice, lentil and curry nepali meal set
<i>Daprak</i>	Dried buckwheat leaves powder
<i>Dashyang</i>	Archery festival
<i>Dido</i>	Buckwheat meal
<i>Gho</i>	Local gown
<i>Ghemba/ Mukhiya</i>	Local leader or head of village
<i>Gyang</i>	Buckwheat flour pancake
<i>Gyappre</i>	Buckwheat
<i>Hrolu</i>	Mukhiya's helper assisted with other community activities
<i>Jhopas</i>	Hybrid of yak and cow
<i>Kar</i>	Summer season crop
<i>Kawu</i>	Locally weave woollen belt
<i>Khampa</i>	Tibetan refugees
<i>Kiti</i>	Woman folk wear this behind their back
<i>Lama</i>	Monk
<i>Loba</i>	Local traveller
<i>Momo</i>	Dumplings
<i>Nag</i>	Winter season crop
<i>Nye</i>	Naked barely
<i>Rakshi</i>	Local liquor made from naked barley
<i>Somba</i>	Local boot
<i>Tarkari</i>	Mixed vegetable curry
<i>Tempa tsultrim</i>	A ritual based on the belief that carrying holy books from a monastery helped farmers get rid of pests in the field.

<i>Tharchang</i>	A celebration at the age fifty-five marking retirement from social responsibility
<i>Tsampa</i>	Flour made from roasted barley
<i>Yartung</i>	Horse racing festival

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