

〈博士学位請求論文〉

LOCAL PARTICIPATION LEVEL AND EMPOWERMENT

A Case Study of Ghandruk Community Tourism, Nepal

Khem Kumar Gautam

January 10, 2020

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of
Business Management, Osaka Sangyo University

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ABSTRACT

Local participation in community tourism is key to the host community welfare as well as socio-cultural and environmental well-being. However, the measurement of a tangible level of such participation and the consequential empowerment process of the host is often overlooked and remains hitherto, an under-researched concept. To inquire on this as an objective, a case study is applied in a Ghandruk community (Nepal) with an assessment of community-tourism interaction, participation level and empowerment build up process of the community. While on the construction of the theory, theoretical perspectives on destination development, community-tourism interactions and participation typologies are incorporated. Structured questionnaires for a sample population and other qualitative survey techniques revealed that the local enthusiasm in tourism was growing for economic reasons, gaining some empowerment. A growth tendency of zones such as core and peripherals, in terms of tourism trade intensity and local involvement, was detected. The core area participants were more resourceful to tap on tourism and were benefitted than those in the peripherals. It is concluded that in communities such as Ghandruk where tourism is slowly taking off, such traits of core and peripherals, are evident. But in due course of destination development and maturity, as the local participation level rises sufficiently to broaden the peripheral zone, merging with the core areas may occur.

Keywords: local participation level, empowerment, core and peripheral zones, tourism destination development.

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ACRONYMS

Annapurna Conservation Area Project	ACAP
Nepal Tourism Board	NTB
National Trust for Nature Conservation	NTNC
International Non-Government Office	INGO
United Nations World Tourism Organization	UNWTO

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OVERVIEW

The modern days tourism in communities have necessitated community stewardship in it (Murphy and Murphy, 2004). Also, because, tourists desire to travel the far-off places is increasing because of their imagination of seeing the unseen and for the most idiosyncratic tourists, the attraction for the remote and off the beaten tracks places was never more than what it is at present (Fennel, 2015). This apart, the monotonous cosmopolitan working-living lifestyle is perhaps one reason for this overwhelming growth in tourists seeking out some far-flung tranquil zones that led tourism to evolve into this present form of community tourism; that essentially demand remote landscapes and communities (Fennel, 2015; Krippendorf, 1986). In the same way, alongwith the exponential growth of tourism activities in modern days, communities are not only turning hospitable towards their visitors in the sense of potential economic benefits, but also preparing to take on the management role with all their means (Murphy, 1985; Murphy and Murphy, 2004). Visiting such hospitable and friendly communities is an opportunity for the visitors to experience the cultural differences and immerse into the historical relics. Immersing into such different cultural experiences is in a way, of escaping oneself from the boredom of daily life (Sharpley, 2015). Thus, the aim is to escape of their own social and work life into 'others' all and in search of authentic values and cultures (MacCannell, 1973; Cohen, 1988; Pearce & Moscardo, 1986). Eventually, the search for authenticity in other places is what apparently developed into a mass form of tourism into other communities. The communities which the visitors seek to visit give impression of a reflection of their own past or their ancestral history and make them nostalgic of it and, that is what ultimately draws them in. The desire to see so much of the past and enjoy so much in the environmental aesthetics which, in most cases, is packaged in a community sense of place, is perhaps bringing tourists even into the far-flung communities over the last couple of decades.

However, the Community upturn of tourism has not only been identified with benefits to the hosts but also with tangible costs to them as expressed in tourism literature. More specifically, the weighing in of such cost-benefits are focused and explicitly expressed especially on four core dimensions such as socio-cultural, economic, biophysical

environment and local empowerment. Moreover, tourism researchers almost unanimously support the fact that developing tourism activities in communities may not realize its socio-economic, community empowerment and environmental sustainability goals unless the host community members are on the decisive position to influence on policy decisions (Nunkoo & Ramkisson, 2011; Wearing & McDonald, 2002; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Stone & Stone, 2011; Tylor, 1995; Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Scheyvens, 2000; Cole, 2007; Simons & Grool, 2015) and almost all environmentalists and community/developmental workers may agree with the compromising fact that the role of tourism host community members must come first among all business interest groups with regard to tourism business planning and overall management decision making for its long-term project viability, stakeholder empowerment and environmental sustainability (Reid, D. G., Mair, H. & George, W. ,2004; Claudia, 1997; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Lankford, 1994; Arnstein, 1969). Because, tourism cannot sustain in a community if the host are hostile and unsupportive of its activities (Reid, D. G., Mair, H. & George, W., 2004; Claudia, 1997; Lankford & Howard 1994; Lankford 1994; Ap, 1992; Faulkener & Tideswell, 1997; Tosun & Timothy, 2003; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Liu, J. C., Sheldon, P. J., and Var, T. ,1987; Choi & Shirakaya, 2005). As Murphy (1985: p120) writes: “To maximize the socio-economic development potential and minimize the discontent and out-migration of the young requires a broader community involvement in the industry and its rewards. Such involvement will require the support of residents because how they react to proposed developments and social impact of many visitors will be the key to the hospitality atmosphere of a destination”. And alongside, Murphy’s emphasis on the business potentials of the communities overwhelmed by tourism with fair inclusion of all stakeholders to participation and skills of management, subsequent researches by tourism scholars have also had substantial space in literature underscoring highest possible participation by the local hosts in management and decision making. The ‘highest level participation’ is referred to as empowerment or a level of citizen control whereby local stakeholders exercise full control over the development initiatives/activities that affect them in their locality. In the following chapters, different scholars’ perspectives on such theoretical frameworks underlying highest level participation or empowerment with varying meanings attached, depending upon the community project in question are explained (Pretty 1995; Arnstein, 1969; Rocha, 1997; Scheyvens, 2000; Timothy, 2007).

And yet, participation in any community project, in any local context is not as smooth as the term itself as the participation level varies depending on the factors intrinsic and extrinsic to the communities. While there are scholars emphasis on stakeholders' decisive participation in any community projects specifically tourism, a research gap is however, evident in the existing literature that, there is non-existent or less focused research if any, as far as the identification of actual level of community stakeholders participation in local tourism planning and implementation contexts is concerned. Participation in any community projects is indeed an uphill battle as it is not without barriers (Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995). Considering the participation typologies developed by Arnstein and Pretty, as a signpost to further investigate the citizen participation process, this study aims to focus on the actual participation level of community members in tourism. In such a backdrop, the aim of this study is to identify the level of participation of the community members in tourism in their locality and explain on the subsequent empowerment process that follows, of community and its members. In doing so, a case study is conducted in a Ghandruk village community in Nepal which has relatively substantive amount of time of local involvement in tourism in Nepal.

1.2 RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH

Community participation in tourism has been prioritized in the national tourism agenda of many countries (Tosun, 1999; Tosun, 2003; Cathy, Hsu and Gartner, 2012; Hall and Page, 2017) Moreover, the community's willingness and the larger community's involvement in a "meaningful way" (Reid et al., 2004; Joppe, 1996) to welcome the visitors in their community is a prerequisite to meet the community aspiration of larger benefits at the minimized cost of cultural and environmental damages. For this, the local community members' participation in all tourism decision-making processes is fundamental. The community's participation in tourism decision-making processes, just for the sake of stakeholder participation, is not intrinsically the end goal or the solution. The goal is to ascertain whether a few, in the name of larger community are on the board and the majority and less privileged lag behind. So, more specifically, this is not possible unless the actual level of the participation is scrutinized, and that ultimately that make sure, that there is real participation of all members of the community whereby all their voices or concerns have been considered, and their common welfare are ensured in the planned projects. This calls for a scaling of real level of community member participation in community tourism. Yet, in this regard, while the community

tourism literature is inundated with well-placed emphasis on local stakeholders' upper-hand involvement from project conception through to implementation and management, a dearth of researches or very few if any, that scrutinize the actual level of local community's participation and their subsequent empowerment is evident (Okazaki, 2008). In this context, this study aims to contribute to this research gap by identifying the actual level of community participation at local level and the resultant empowerment processes of individual and of community as a bulk.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is two-fold; first being to identify the level of local participation in a community-based tourism that gives them the optimum benefits and the second is to assess the empowerment process of the community at the individual level and also at the community level. For the first purpose, the involvement of local community members in tourism trade from hosting of guests or providing accommodation services, to owning of restaurants/eateries, engaging in other local businesses like producing and selling of local agricultural products to hotel owners, providing tourism guide/transportation services to tourists and employment in other jobs created by tourism will be accounted of a sample frame of the community and also the developing tourism trade will be assessed of the whole community to identify the level of local participation in tourism. And for the second purpose, that is the assessment of community empowerment, a general theoretical approach of defining the dimensions of empowerment in theory and indicators of being empowered in practice is applied. More specifically, some theoretical frameworks of empowerment such as described by Scheyvens (2000), degrees of empowerment (Timothy, 2007) will be applied to assess on the empowerment indicators of the community. In her framework, Scheyvens describes four dimensions of empowerment such as political, economic, social and psychological and Timothy describes degrees of empowerment from imposed to tokenistic, meaningful participation and empowerment. Based on such framework community empowerment will be assessed in this study.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

This research is of significance from the theoretical as well as practical point of view because it attempts to expand the literature on community tourism firstly, by fulfilling the research gap that identifies the actual participation level of local community members in

community tourism through the application of case study method in Ghandruk of Nepal, a research unique in its kind. This research is also developing a linkage between the actual participation level, and the subsequent empowerment with theoretical underpinnings. Secondly, by doing this, it will be extrapolating the knowledge on community tourism from the previous researches on this field. For many researchers' claim on the replication of the studies to various settings and the necessities of the heterogeneity of the community settings and geography that variably impact on the research outcome (Tosun, 1999; Tosun, 2003; Garcia, Vazquez and Marias, 2015), this research will be the one to impact. In this sense, this study adds to the body of knowledge by bringing new insights from a unique community setting. The practical implication of the study is that the identification of real level participation of the community member in tourism and the associated empowerment is a prerequisite for policy makers and planners before policies and programs are framed, as this reflects the scale and direction of development in that community and needed future course of action that tourism planners should take.

1.5 OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION

This dissertation is outlined as; introduction in first chapter, that consists of a brief overview of background, study rationale, study objective and significance of research. This is followed by literature review in the second chapter that identifies the research gap in the wide range of scholarly publications in the topic that focus on community participation in tourism in different contexts, communities and countries. Specifically, this chapters explores the extant literature on participation processes, typologies in communities and also empowerment, its dimensions, meanings and processes. Relevant theoretical frameworks which the research is based at, are explained that measure the tourism evolution, participation level of community and subsequent empowerment process in this chapter. This is detailed in chapter two. Chapter three consists of methods applied for the research, a brief introduction about Ghandruk village, Nepal. Chapter four contains major findings and also the topics describing data analysis and study results. Chapter five consists of study discussions, theory development explained on graphical illustration of the process and evolution of the tourism in community. Study implications and limitations of the research also contained in this chapter. Each chapter summarize the contents and the findings and recommendations are summarized in the final section of conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section, extant knowledge in literature are critically reviewed under different headings and subheadings. Such as the historical evolution of tourism as a phenomenon is explained as emergence of tourism whereas, the destination development along with tourism growth is described as its sub-heading. Communities and tourism are defined literally, and partnerships between them for cumulative effect, is detailed under communities and tourism heading and the consequence of such partnership, expressed in the form of local perception is reviewed under another sub-heading as tourism in communities and their perception. Similarly, the chapter title, community participatory approaches and frameworks has critically revision on some well-articulated participatory approaches and frameworks from the extant literature. Whereas, some participatory typologies, well cited in the literature, and that inform well for further investigation in the subject, are reviewed under typologies of participatory process. In the next part, empowerment, its literal meanings and dimensions are evaluated, and, finally, empowerment as a consequence, when local participation level to the extent of optimum benefits from tourism, is discussed under another sub-heading entitled local participation level and empowerment.

2.2 THE EMERGENCE OF TOURISM

The travel desire and need in every individual is ever growing in the history of humanity. So many reasons can be cited for this, most outstandingly, are the rising global middle-class income and better prevalence of peace and security situations in the world, than before. As the travel data records, the international arrivals already crossed 1.4 billion in numbers, “two years ahead of forecasts and, an unprecedented growth in nine straight years” (UNWTO, 2018). While there may be an agreement on the fact that such growth trajectories could be associated with the rising incomes and leisure times followed by work-life stress and easy transportation mode and facilities- an utter outcome of industrial revolution and modernity, the other dimension associated with this, perhaps more vociferously, is life boredom, monotony and a surge of feelings to fulfill the emptiness one need to survive. The unrestrained drive to travel has pulled and pushed the so far settled and sedentary human beings to new places, a new horizon from their daily ordinaries, to a new imagined and, the emancipatory new life charges and a complete new experiences that to take back home

(Krippendorf, 1986). To this, that is, how tourism led to the present form, Krippendorf writes (Pp.176), “the great exodus of the masses characteristic of this time is a consequence of the conditions brought about by the development of the industrial society.” According to him;

people leave because they no longer feel at ease where they are, where they work and where they live. They feel an urgent need to rid themselves temporarily of the burdens imposed by the everyday work, home and leisure scenes, in order to be in a fit state, to pick the burden up again... deep inside, they feel the monotony of the ordinary, ... Reality leads to stress, physical and psychological exhaustion, spiritual emptiness and boredom. To compensate for everything that is lacking daily, what one has lost or what has disappeared, one leaves; one wants to free himself from social dependency, disconnect himself and fill up with energy, taste his independence and its free disposition, find rest, act out his liberty, and seek a little happiness. In fact, one leaves in order to live, to survive.

And, from the historical point of view, a considerable opinion on the beginning of modern tourism is associated with Thomas Cook’s first organized journey in 1841. According to them, the preceding periods to this event, was marked by a phenomenon similar to tourism, although that could not be referred to as tourism. Apart from this, some scholars go even further back on the period of history such as Grand Tour of some British and European upper-class young men, that marked the actual beginning of modern tourism (Vukonic, 2012:3-4). Despite of this historical reference, the growth of modern tourism, as an emerging phenomenon, is referred to have begun since the end of second world war II, that set independence of many nation-states, previously ruled under colonial rules and brought along industrial revolution giving rise to middle-class income and ease of mobility (Cathy, Hsu and Gartner, 2012; Hall and Page, 2017). From then on, the growth is unprecedented and incremental with occasional recession at different times contexts. Peoples imagination of the world as a common home and within reach, consisting of so many wonders of natural, cultural and historical significance has always enthused them to tour the unseen and experience and made them tourists. In the human history, people were very unaware of the places other than their own surroundings and their country to the most. But, with the onset of tourism, not only the human imagination has ever expanded, their perceptions of the world have also reshaped their transformation. The transformation of them from material buyer into travel experience buyer. The historical experience of materialistic luxury is being slowly but surely transacted with travel experience like never before. This has sparked a search for newer destination, a newer experience in people’s imagination and that is on the rise ever. Vukonic narrates the historic surge of tourism at different periods of history and

the theoretical works that followed where the chronological scholarship records show how tourism is evolving or in a way transforming, from simple travel before and after the first world war, into tourism since then. More specifically, such evolution led a foundation stone for a more intense and rigorous theoretical works on tourism specially after the second world war. Such works interlinks the environmentalism, a post world war concept itself, to tourism that ultimately surged the idea of tourism in the community or community tourism, evoked as a more benign form of tourism from the community justice in the sense of socio-economic benefits and environmental point of view.

2.2.1 The Tourist Area Development and Butler's Cycle of Evolution

Tourism being relatively a new phenomenon, the rigorous academic enquiry into the field is still underdeveloped or for tourism to evolve as an academic discipline of separate subject matter of studies, independent of other social sciences, few more milestones are yet to cover (Pritchard, Morgan and Ateljevic, 2011). However, along with the rise of tourism, that saw prominently after the industrial era (Krippendorf, 1986), some researchers or theorists have attempted to explain the tourism phenomenon in terms of the development and saturation or decline of the destinations. As according to them, the tourist areas develop or are developed in commensurate with the increase in tourism volume in the areas and what then follows is growth of tourism businesses in the area that ultimately decides the future of the particular destination. But, before starting with how such areas develop as tourist destination, the adjoining question also might be defining the tourism business, that according to Murphy and Murphy (2004:13), "a major and complex undertaking". They cite Leiper (1979) that, "the tourist industry consists of all those firms, organizations, and facilities which are intended to serve the specific needs and wants of tourists". Meanwhile, they also mention of two tiers of such businesses, citing Canadian National Task Force on Tourism Data (1985), that those businesses that cannot exist without tourism activities such as airlines, travel agents and hotels, as tier one, while those that exist without it but in much lower intensity like taxis, restaurants and shops, as tier two. So, being dynamic and complex from the business sense, such places evolve with the preferences of visitors and also along with its physical and environmental conditions. This evolutionary process is well depicted and analogized by Christaller (as cited in Butler, 1980:5) as:

The typical course of developments has the following pattern. Painters search out untouched and unusual places to paint. Step by step the place develops as a so-called artist colony. Soon a cluster of poets follows, kindred to the painters: then cinema people, gourmets, and the jeunesse doree. The place

becomes fashionable and the entrepreneurs take notes. The fisherman's cottage, the shelter-huts become converted into boarding houses and hotels come on the scene. Meanwhile the painters have fled and sought out another periphery- periphery as related to space, and metaphorically, as 'forgotten' places and landscapes. Only the painters with commercial inclination who like to do well in business remain; they capitalize on the good name of this former painter's corner and on the gullibility of tourists. More and more townsmen choose this place, now en vogue and advertised in the newspapers. Subsequently, the gourmets, and all those who seek real recreation, stay away. At last the tourist agencies come with their package rate travelling parties; now, the indulged public avoids such places. At the same time, in other places the same cycle occurs again; more and more places come into fashion, change their type, turn into everybody's tourist haunt.

The tourist destination areas undergo constant changes by the factors inherent to such areas and also with the changes in visitors' preferences. Inspired by product lifecycle from the business management, Butler (1980) explained this evolutionary process well as tourism destination lifecycle hypothetical model and has since been widely cited in the tourism literature as Butler's tourist area cycle of evolution model. In this he describes different stages of evolution as follows:

Exploration stage is characterized by small numbers of visitors where no specific facilities are provided for visitors. Use of local facilities and contact with local is high. *Involvement stage*, where contact with local rises and they prepare facilities for increasing visitors even exclusively to cater to them. Some organizational set up such as marketing of the tourism and provision of transportation services to make the area more accessible for more travelers may begin in this stage. *Development stage* sets in when rapid marketing of the area begins and local are expected to be displaced by large scale external investors in accommodation service sectors. Progressively, the visitors can outnumber the local population at this stage and artificial environmental and cultural attraction may be added as attraction. In *consolidation stage*, the rate of increase of visitors decline even though the numbers increase and the advertising increases in search of more markets. The economy is tied to the tourism. Those not involved in tourism may have some agitation with the increasing volumes of visitors. When the area enters the *stagnation stage*, the peak numbers of visitors will have reached, the area loosens its appeal and depends more on organized mass and repeat visits. Artificial attractions are in place of real, and efforts has to be made to keep the accommodation space occupied. The *decline stage* is a stage of decline in the area's overall appeal in comparison to newer destinations. The property turnover and change of tourist facilities for other purposes are normal. The locals and employees likely to purchase the properties at reduced prices and use them for purposes other than tourism. And

the last stage is *rejuvenation* whereby man-made attraction is to be made or previously untapped natural resources should be utilized for revitalizing process of the place.

The theoretical appealing of this model is however, criticized basically, on two grounds. The first being that, it is being narrowed down by some impracticalities associated with longitudinal data to substantiate the intuitive and theoretical claim of this model to apply to any specific tourist area. And secondly, its difficulties in determining the exact turning points between the various stages on the S-shaped evolution curve (Foster and Murphy, 1991; Haywood, 1986; Douglas, 1997; Grabler, 1997 cited in Murphy and Murphy, 2004:230). Meanwhile, Russell and Faulkner (1999, cited in Murphy and Murphy:231) links the entrepreneurship theory with Butler's destination lifecycle, whereby they propose that the entrepreneurs act as 'triggers' during the involvement stage and that further intensify the destination into the next level of development by such entrepreneur roles. This is considered as an alternative framework that allows to assess the dynamics of tourism development that is more applicable to rejuvenation of the areas. The Butler model figure (as adapted from Murphy and Murphy, 2004) is as below.

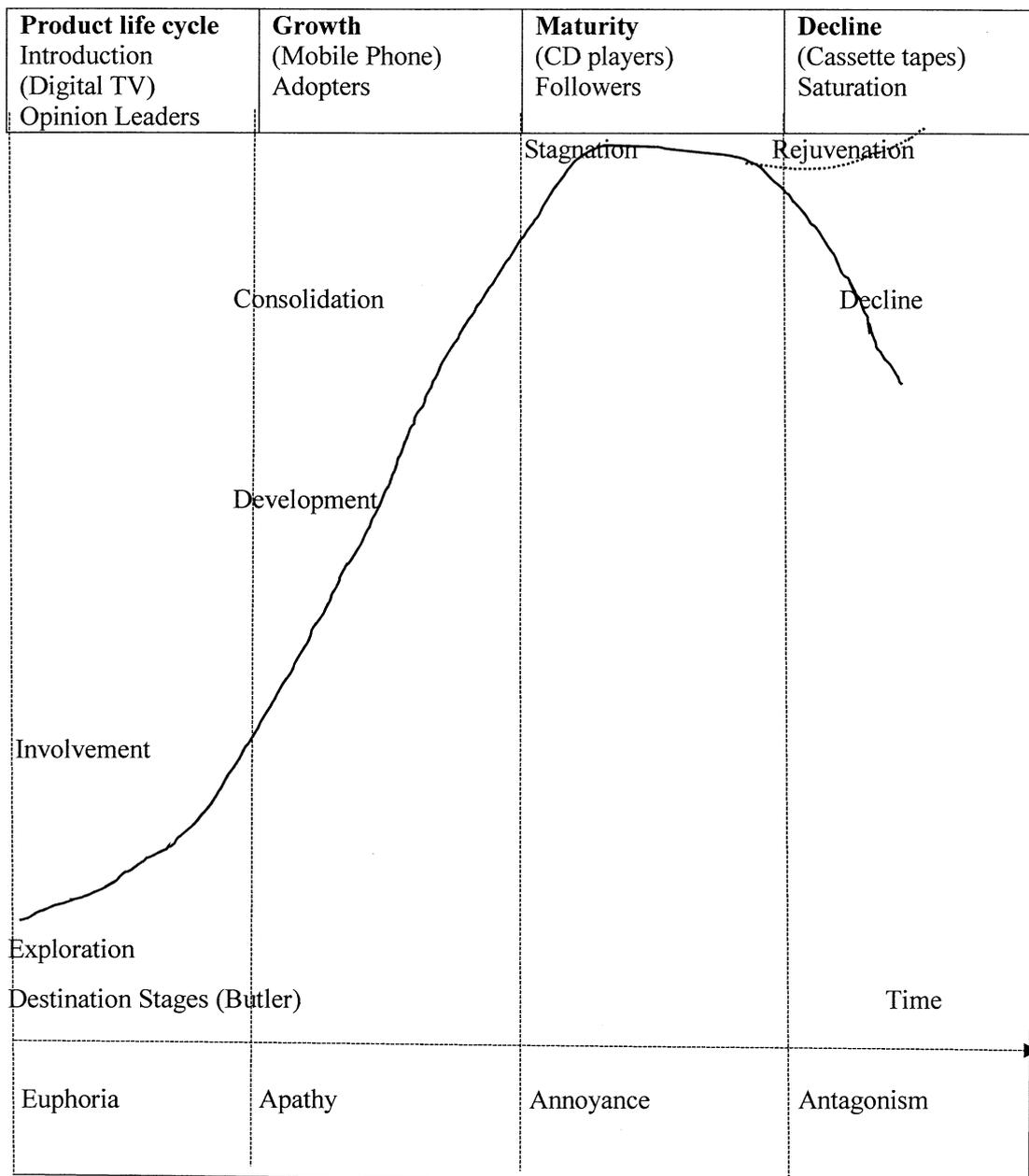


Figure 1: Product and Destination Lifecycles with Potential Resident Reactions.

Source: Adapted from Murphy and Murphy (2004:32)

2.3 COMMUNITIES AND TOURISM

Before we seek out to find a partnership between these two independent and autonomous terms, communities and tourism or weave them into a single one as community tourism, it would be relevant to trace their singular meanings. For this, Scholars have varied definitions of community because of its evolving nature, and that the changing composition of the community with the changing world. In this, Murphy and Murphy (2004:17) cite Warren's definition of community that aptly fits with community tourism as:

... an aggregation of people competing for space. The shape of the community, as well as its activities are characterized by differential use of space and by various processes according to which one type of people and/ or type of social function succeeds another in the ebb and flow of structural change in a competitive situation.

and, also Joppe's "claim of community as a self-defining term of, based on a sense of shared purpose and common goals" and all these definitions, according to them, indicate that community consists of three general dimensions, namely; social functions, spatial area and external recognition (p.16). And afterward, they cite Mann for the definition of community-based tourism as "tourism that involves and benefits local communities". Similarly, Murphy (1988) mentioned Webster's dictionary definition of Communities as "groups of people residing in the same region with common interests and identity" and evoked the ideas that the tourism industry could work synergistically with local communities' aspirations and goodwill. He writes:

To ensure that the industry and community survive and prosper over the long haul it will be necessary to develop at a scale and pace appropriate to local conditions. In this way tourism can become a true community enterprise, one which possesses mutually beneficial possibilities- synergism.

Henceforth, in his seminal work "tourism a community approach", the host community's engagement in tourism rather than just an involvement (Khazaei, A., Elliot, S. & Joppe, M. (2015) is well articulated in the tourism literature as essential from its planning to implementation and management. And, the advocates underscored that the communities where tourism occurs, should be prepared to embrace tourism, accept its challenges and opportunities for a better course of action for them and the visitors. Further, most of the tourism researchers ostensibly agree upon the fact that- one of the fundamental challenges for any community projects including tourism- is to bring on board the divergent sects and groups of people together for a common good. Also, according to Millar and

Aiken (1995: 62, cited in Hall, 2007:249), “Communities are not the embodiment of innocence; they are complex and self-serving entities, as much driven by grievances, prejudices, inequalities, and struggles for power as they are united by kinship, reciprocity, and interdependence”. Furthermore, the social hierarchies and complexities make some get better advantages while other are deprived of its the basic. Similarly, even though the community-wide participation is extensively advocated in the literature, the divergence of nested and vested interests in the social hierarchies and cultural to structural barriers featured more prominently in developing countries- make the participation process more difficult (Tosun, 2000 &2006; Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Stone & Stone, 2011). Moreover, the interests of the lower-class people in the hierarchy might be superseded by that of the elite’s interests and priorities when it comes to projects benefits although the costs are shared among all equally as tourism brings with it as much costs/impacts as it brings benefits to the local (Reed, 1997; Reid et.al., 2004; Choi & Shirakaya, 2005; Lankford, 1994; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Liu et. al., 1987; Ap & Crompton, 1998). Similarly, in a different note, Blackstock (2005) criticized and even doubted on the success of the community-based tourism that- ‘the emancipatory intent’ of the community might be overshadowed by economic one when communities become unaware of the fact that they are made up of multiple identities and, also from the fact that the explicit structural internal and external barriers that exists in the community are overlooked. Indicating on the explicit focus being placed upon the economic dimension only, she further went on to say: “...instead community-based tourism focuses on maximizing the economic stability of the industry through legitimating tourism development as locally controlled and in the community’s interest”.

Despite of the precautionary notes reflected among the tourism scholars specifically, on the mode and development of tourism in the community, some researchers have acknowledged that the existence of certain trade-offs in tourism, for example- in terms of benefits and costs of tourism, the social relationships and conflicts because of tourism- the community integration of tourism adds to the heightened social esteem, better gain of skills & organizational capacity and build up certain resilience that enable impacts to be accommodated (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). Similarly, Reid & Mitchell (2001) observed how community integration on Taquile Island Peru led to greater socio-economic benefits from tourism for most residents. It acted as a social catalyst to create awareness about tourism opportunities, to take control of community resources and, plan and develop to benefit from the global ebb and flow of tourism in today's globalized world. They write, “If residents of destination communities were more thoroughly

integrated in tourism planning and management on a relatively equitable basis, they would also be more inclined to protect the natural and cultural resources that sustain their livelihood". So, what such instances and emphases critically and vociferously reflected in the tourism literature, pin point and redirect us are the fact that the well-rehearsed community integrated engagement in tourism is the key for the community centric goal of socio-economic benefit from the tourism as well as cultural and environmental preservation and their sustainability. But yet, a clear distinction in a sense that to what level a community or communities engage or take part in such projects is still lacking in the academic research. This demand focused empirical evidence in the academia that not only investigate the participation process in the community but also signpost to the essentialities for the participation, and the community integration and empowerment process, necessary ingredients for community emancipation. Specifically, there is an apparent gap to be filled up that explores the real community participation level in tourism and the community empowerment. To this end, the study is aimed at measuring the participation level building on some previously developed participatory approaches and frameworks in the evolutionary process of community tourism which are explained briefly in the following chapter sub-headings.

2.3.1 Tourism in Communities and Their Perception of It

Measuring local perceptions of community tourism occupies a dominant space in tourism research as they form the basis of support for or withdrawal from tourism at local level. The local perception of benefits or costs from tourism at community level develops into positive or negative attitudes towards tourism which ultimately is a key for further development or its deterioration. A number of such attitude measuring tools are developed and applied to assess the impact level that shape the local attitudes, at varying maturity levels of tourism and geographical settings (Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987; Lankford, 1994; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Choi & Shirakaya, 2005) as understanding of this, is key determining factor for the development of tourism at a level, optimal to the hosting community from all socio-economic and environmental perspectives. While measuring the tourism impact level, Liu, Sheldon and Var found that the local resident's attitudes towards environmental issues was a common concern among all, irrespective of geographical settings and level of tourism maturity although, other issues such as social and economic issues brought about by tourism at any location were place and context dependent and level of tourism maturity, in their studies. And, a number of sociodemographic variables that influenced the community attitudes towards tourism and widely used in tourism research, were also listed by Lankford and Howard, as

key variables, for their impact attitude assessment study. They listed length of residence, economic dependence on tourism, distance of tourism center from the respondents' home, resident involvement in tourism decision making, birthplace, level of knowledge, level of contact with tourists, demographic characteristics, perceived impacts on local outdoor recreation opportunities and rate of community growth variables and concluded that such variables jointly or independently, form the basis of positive or negative attitudes towards tourism development in a community.

Another outstanding theoretical paradigm used to measure the tourism benefits and costs and the implied attitude is the social exchange theory paradigm. The local residents perceive tourism either positively or negatively depending upon the benefits they get, or costs borne by them, a phenomenon of social exchange process that explains that the social actors engage in the exchange of resources if they perceive mutual benefits from such exchange activities. This theoretical paradigm has been often based upon by tourism researchers to measure local attitudes towards tourism impacts, for which they either developed and tested a number of propositions (Ap, 1992; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011) or demonstrated how community residents weigh and balance factors such as economic gains from tourism, use of tourism resources, ecocentric attitude, attachment to the community to lend their level of support and develop attitude towards tourism (Jurowski, 1997). Ap writes: "it is assumed that social relations involve an exchange of resources among social actors; social actors seek mutual benefits from the exchange relationship; the primary motive for initiating exchange from the residents' perspective is to improve the community's social and economic well-being; and residents' perceptions and attitudes are predictors of their behavior toward tourism (p. 670)."

In a different approach, Fredline and Faulkner (2000) invoked social representation theory in an effort to assess the community reactions to tourism where the theory accepts the differing cluster viewpoints as social reality. In doing so, they clustered out some social subgroups such as lovers for tourism, haters to tourism and realists, while measuring their attitudes toward tourism. They concluded: "the cluster analysis approach has utility as a tool for investigating the underlying structure of community reactions to tourism and events and exploring the profiles of the various clusters (p.779)." And furthermore, while surveying community reactions, that formed the basis of local attitudes towards tourism, Faulkner and Tideswell (1997:3) observed some altruistic surplus phenomenon in tourism, despite some affiliation between the variations in perceptions and the respondents' background characteristics. This, according to them, "suggests that individual tolerate any downside effects of tourism they might personally experience because they recognize the broader

community-wide benefits” and also suggesting as a contrary to Doxey¹scenario in a mature tourist destination like the Gold Coast.

To sum up, the significant volume of attitude studies in tourism literature alone, is insufficient for deeper understanding of host tourist interaction and for desired efficiency in tourism management unless, as Sharpley (2014) emphasized, such investigations are inclusive of tourists’ perceptions of and responses to the developments, and covers qualitative as well as quantitative investigation techniques for objective and subjective outcomes which might be useful to socially demanding policy responses on different arenas.

2.4 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES AND FRAMEWORKS

Participation in any community projects especially for marginals and powerless subgroups is not as easy and hurdle-less as it is for those privileged elites of that very community. And accordingly, the participation process is conditioned by the types of programs and community contexts (Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995). However, such participatory processes are evolving and so is the participation intensity and efficacy in any community run programs. In the same way, the process for community-wide participation is not without difficulties. For France (1998, cited in Murphy and Murphy, 2004:286), community participation level in tourism usually begins with low level of involvement and progresses onto higher levels of local control in parallel with their increased tourism income, social status and control over resources that so far was tied to local elites. In course of time, and with the phenomenal growth of tourism at places away from city centers and subsequent emphases thereafter, put on local communities living in and around such places, to tap on the business opportunities from tourism, different participatory frameworks and models are put forward for the best performance and optimal result (Drake 1991: 132, cited in Fennell, 2013:74; Wray, 2011; Khazaei, Elliot & Joppe, 2015). At times, question may arise as what exactly local participation is, and for that, the inclusion of its definition is deemed as necessary. Drake defined local participation as “the ability of local communities to influence the outcome of development projects, such as ecotourism, that have an impact on them”, and his development of local participation model in the community projects such as ecotourism listed nine phases of local participation (1991: 149-155). In

¹ Doxey (1975) explained the host guest interaction in his Irridex model whereby the interaction passes through four phases; namely, Euphoria, Apathy, Annoyance and Antagonism. Euphoria, an initial phase of tourism development where visitors and investors are welcomed by the host community; in second stage Apathy, visitors are taken for granted and contacts between hosts and visitors and commercial; third stage Annoyance, is a saturation point, hosts have misgivings about tourism, policy makers attempt solutions via increasing infrastructures rather than limiting its growth. And final stage is Antagonism, where irritations are openly expressed, visitors seen as causes of all problems, promotion increased to offset deteriorating reputation of destination.

phase one, the role of local participation in the proposed project is determined; the research team is selected in phase two; preliminary studies are conducted in phase three; the level of local involvement and then an appropriate participation mechanism are determined in phases four and five; in phase six, dialogues and educational efforts are initiated; in phase seven, a collective decision-making is performed; phase eight involves the development of an action plan and an implementation scheme; and phase nine comprises monitoring and evaluation. Similarly, as an approach to advance the community participatory process in tourism, Khazaei et al. highlighted on the heterogeneous nature of the host community where they discussed about the four 'streams' existed in community dynamics to focus on and, those were; the diversity and heterogeneous within host community, marginal and less powerful subgroups, flexible and customized participation strategies, redefined stakeholders' roles and strategies. They discussed about this framework by elaborating on stakeholder theory, to make the participation process more inclusive of some minority community subgroups such as fringe immigrants in tourism planning. The stakeholder theory as per their citation of Freeman (1984:364) states that- "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objective is considered as firm's stakeholder". According to them, the heterogeneous host community act as the pull factors and the progressive approaches to stakeholder theory, as a push factors, simultaneously brought forward the urgency to engage minority groups such as fringe immigrants in their case study.

While the empirical investigations suggest that, considering the local residents' active support is rewarding, not only for more sustainable and viable long-term tourism planning, but also at minimizing the harmful negative impacts (Oviedo-Garcia, Castellanos-Verdugo, & Martin-Ruiz, 2008). And furthermore, identification of participants' or stakeholders' real concerns or interests and preferences is a key that shape the communal relationship and, their orientation for further developments in a way that eventually shape to an alliance or collaboration between and among the groups for the way forward for any community-run tourism programs (Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Khazaei et al., 2015). Moreover, what is also important is that as Keogh (1990) demonstrated, the sharing of the relevant information regarding project developments among the community stakeholders is a pre-requisite step towards community harmony for common goal and to reduce any future adversaries & antagonism and, ultimately for meaningful and effective public participation in tourism. And, further advancement on the way and method of stakeholder inclusion in community tourism process is as defined by Wray (2011). Wray manifested on his seven-stage stakeholder

engagement process, that the complexities in community dynamism and the changing socio-political contexts of regional destination environments which demonstrated differently from ‘enabler’ governance to ‘provider’ governance when it comes to inclusive and participatory tourism planning outcomes (Fig.1 below).

While the integration of communities into the tourism planning has gained prominence among the advocates of community tourism, the approaches and methodologies are evolving too. Fundamental to this is the generation of new ideas, seek and research on multiple opinions and bring them into implementation level. In a manner a system works as a whole of its individual parts integrated, an idea put forwarded and analogized as a system theory in social sciences, a system perspective is an integrative approach in that it includes all elements of sustainable community development, reduces the drawbacks in the community participation and strengthens mutual relationship and collaboration among the stakeholders in the community. Malek and Costa (2015) brought this approach forward in their social innovation approach to integrate community in tourism planning, and suggested for collaborative initiatives, inviting all ideas and voices from different community groups to foster a common concern and develop plans, and they proposed a framework for community-integrated tourism model through social innovation. By social innovation in their approach, they explain that some combined strategies including networks among different stakeholders, direct participation in opinion seeking and planning arenas and opinion polls of all stakeholders including individuals, community groups, private or governmental agencies through different collaborative process such as communications, workshops, questionnaires, can enhance exchange of ideas, priorities/concerns and impart education/trainings as an achievement for innovative decisions. They summarized: “in order to include the needs of all stakeholder groups in the planning process, planners and managers need to have a system perspective to analyze, describe and synthesize different points of view from an overall perspective”.

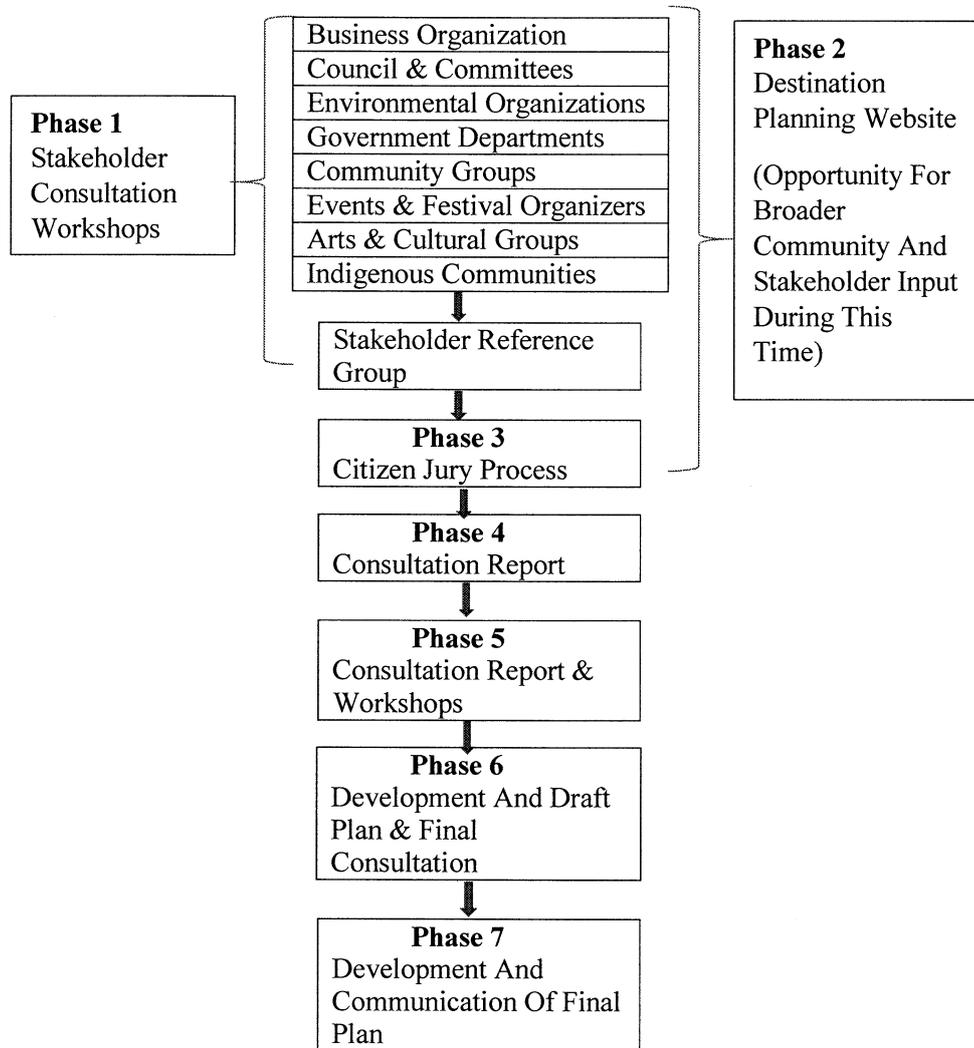


Figure 2: Stakeholder engagement process.

Source: Adapted from Wray, 2011

In consistence with the approaches suggested by some scholars that emphasize on the inclusion of community stakeholders to the highest degree possible, as above, the objective of any community participation program should however, consists of three factors such as: high degree of citizen involvement, equity in participation and efficiency of participation (Sewell & Phillips, 1979, cited in Simmons, 1994:100). Simmons emphasized on the methods employed in public participation programs that accommodate a broader public interests and support for any tourism planning. He wrote:

participation mechanisms must be chosen to match the desired output from participation and current stage of planning. When set against the diffuse nature of the tourism industry, its composite product and the subtle evolution of tourism at the local level, it is suggested that considerable public education will be required if residents are to have confidence to contribute fully”.

Some other approaches to tourism planning that also stress on the co-operation and collaboration among different stakeholders are explained. Co-operative planning (Timothy & Tosun, 2003) as it means literally, is to seek to forge an extensive cooperation and collaboration among all stakeholders and government agencies/authorities at different levels and jurisdictions such as central, regional or provincial and local. Moreover, a different perspective, from a tourism marketing point of view, King, B., McVey, M., & Simmons D. (2000), put forward a societal marketing approach that places a balance between community aspirations, socio-cultural issues and marketing aspects have in a same vein, placed a primary role of community stakeholders as decisive in areas of decision makings that affect them most. Timothy and Tosun write: “principles, such as equity, efficiency, integration, balance, harmony, and ecological and cultural integrity, are more effectively encouraged when community members are allowed to participate in tourism planning and development, when collaboration and cooperation are allowed to occur, and when tourism is developed in an incremental fashion”(p.182).

However, Community participation as explained by different scholar researchers is a process or a continuum and has different levels of manifestation of it depending upon different factors including community composition and its geographical location or more specifically, just involvement or non-participation at the lower end through to meaningful participation at the highest (Arnsteins, 1969; Pretty, 1995). In other words, mere participation in the process just for the sake of participation, or the participation that does not guarantee the desired outcome of power redistribution among the lower

rung of the community is under effective from its ideal, as Arnsteins comments, “participation without redistribution of power is empty and frustration process for the powerless (pp 216)”. More empirical investigation is necessary at different contexts and settings to ascertain whether such approaches has led to ‘meaningful participation’ at local levels.

2.5 TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATORY PROCESS

Local participation in any community-initiated projects is a tumultuous process to the extent of the existence of inherent power relations in and between community stakeholders (Reed, 997) as communities themselves are evolving entities, composed of varied aspirations, multiple identities or uneven socio-economic hierarchies. And, the worse to this is, how much power the authorities or power holders are willing share with local community stakeholders. Depending upon the extent of the authority or power that the concerned stakeholders at the grass roots are allowed to exercise at a varied degree, the participation typologies are defined with such varied degree of powers that the stakeholders at local levels can exercise (Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995). Arnstein developed a typology of citizen participation citing the examples of US federal social programs on a ladder pattern that has eight rungs and each rung move upward from bottom level of manipulation to top, citizen control. The other rungs in her ladder/gradation include therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership and delegated power where she mentioned “each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens’ power in determining the end product”. As her explanations of each rungs or level of the typology the participation process of the lowest rungs; manipulation and therapy describe the non-participation level where the intention is not to allow for real participation but to ‘educate and cure’ the powerless to help enable powerholders. Rungs third and fourth explain tokenism so, although the citizens may have some voice to say, they lack the power to change the status quo. The sixth rung, placation is also a tokenism with the powerholders retaining the power to decide on their favor. Further up the ladder, partnership enables some negotiation and engages in tradeoffs with traditional powerholders. The topmost rungs, delegated power and citizen control allow the powerless citizen to obtain majority of decision-making or managerial power.

Accordingly, other widely cited Pretty’s typology consists of manipulative participation, passive participation, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation and self-mobilization. While analogizing Pretty’s typology with that of Arnstein, the bottom four types namely; manipulative participation, passive participation, participation by consultation and participation for material incentives falls under the category of non-

participation where participation is just a pretense, for telling what has already been done rather than counting on the “participants” real concerns or a one-way flow of information. The functional participation from the typology has similar meaning with tokenism and having been used by powerholders as a strategy for their interests. The upper-most interactive participation and self-mobilization is a form of citizen control where participants take initiatives on development of action plans independently and exercise real power to decide and control on resources.

Building on the above-mentioned typologies, Marzuki and Hay (2013) further developed them by incorporating planning stage essentially as preliminary stage, before the actual participation process takes place and explained it as a defining phase where goals, stakeholders, issues and techniques are set in. Their framework categorizes three levels such as information level, consultation level and empowerment level in the former typologies, and separates planning steps from the participation process to gain what they call a “heightened opportunities” for the stakeholders. In other words, the first three stages in the participation typologies are labelled as information level where stakeholders and their issues, aims and participation techniques are defined and set in as a basic level. As the level advances through consultation to the level of empowerment, the community authority or ownership increases as they have more say and control in the projects which Pretty categorize as interactive participation, functional participation and participation by consultation and Arnstein as consultation placation and partnership. They explained empowerment as the highest level which according to Pretty is the self-mobilization and, delegated power and citizen control in Arnstein’s participation typology. Figure below.

The participation process as explained above is not itself an end goal and maybe just a pretense unless there is a meaningful participation of the community people. So, the ultimate bottom line however is that, the public decision making in such participatory typologies is a crucial factor that, at least at the level, considered as a meaningful participation or empowerment level, which according to Swell and Phillips (as cited in Murphy and Murphy, 2004:283), involves factors such as;

1. Decision maker support
2. Extensive citizen involvement
3. Equity in participation
4. Efficiency in participation and
5. Implementable results.

And furthermore, the public's ability to contribute to the tourism projects and their feelings of influence and control over decision makings on such projects largely impact to meaningful participation (Simmons,1994). Such theoretically underpinned frameworks are, however, descriptive in nature and may not be representative of all contexts specially when a level of local involvement is concerned and demands a community specific further investigation into the matter.



Figure 3: Participation Typologies

Source: Adapted from Marzuki and Hay (2013).

2.6 LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AND SCALE OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

In the theoretical explanation above, the exploration stage is when tourism begins at certain place or community that the Butler's (1980) tourist area evolution curve mentioned as the starting point. However, in terms of community involvement in it the initial or start off of public participation is at

the involvement stage and that can be considered as a level of non-participation. This is the basic level of participation or a beginning stage which according to Arnstein (1969) can be manipulative or therapeutic participation whereas, according to Pretty (1995) can be manipulative, passive and consultative participation. At this very basic stage of participation, they explained the participation process is essentially guided by the power holders or leaders' interests rather than the community participants' and at most may be a consultative in nature. It is when the consultation process takes place just for the purpose of information sharing and gaining public approval for the projects already planned and set. Here the decision-making power is absolutely held by external agencies or the power holders. However, as the tourism development scale up from exploration through involvement to consolidation, a rising level of participation in tourism may occur and consequently the participatory process also evolves from merely informative or consultative towards partnership. Arnstein explains this as "degrees of tokenism" whereas Pretty describes as "participation for material incentives, functional participation or interactive participation". This level of participation could be dubbed as more progressed level or second level of participation where some sort of partnership is desired for smooth functioning of planned projects. At this level of participation, a mass consultation among the local stakeholders and public opinions are sought and decision-making process might be shared even though some external control still might exist on the predesigned and set up plans and programs. The real objective is to seek as much public support as possible for the easy implementation of the predesigned plans aimed to reflect a democratic value in the process. At this level of participation, the public however, are not free to envisage any plans for the best of their own welfare and interest but are oriented towards the implementing leaders' interests. In this second level of participation, in the progressive stage of tourism development from involvement through consolidation, an increasing number of community participation in tourism may occur. At this stage, the community is likely to form a partnership with the traditional powerholders or external agencies on issues beneficial to them and on shared interests because of the material incentives of increasing investment returns due to upscaling of tourism development in the community. The upper-most level of participation is the state of citizen power in Arnstein's model and a self-mobilization state in Pretty's model. This is the state when the community is completely empowered to make decisions for their own good independent of any external authorities. Pretty writes "People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, p. 1252." This is the empowered state of the community where the decisions are made by themselves concerning their own interests and welfares. At this level of the

community participation in tourism, the tourism development scale, can be associated with consolidation through stagnation. This is a period to reap maximum benefits in the investment because of the business consolidation until the peak period of stagnation, and the community independence sans external authority, to make decisions for their good. And the optimum participation level maybe until the stagnation stage where the participants are likely to gain increasing benefits to their investment.

2.7 EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment is a vague term and is subjective rather than objective in all its manifestations and as a result, difficult to measure in an objective or absolute term (Rocha, 1997). So, scholars have attempted to define it, before identifying its multi-dimensionality at different manifestations of levels and contexts (Rocha, 1997; Scheyvens, 2000; Timothy, 2007). Earlier, some authors wrote about empowerment, defined it as a process at which both individual and community groups act to gain mastery and control over their lives, and a critical understanding of their changing socio-political environment (Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman, M.A., Israel, B.A., Schulz, A. & Checkoway, B., 1992; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1994; Speer & Hughey, 1995). Rappaport writes: “empowerment conveys both a psychological sense of personal control or influence and a concern with actual social influence, political power, and legal rights. It is a multilevel construct applicable to individual citizens as well as to organizations and neighborhoods” and it includes the development of skills necessary to participate effectively in community decision making, and comprises elements of self-esteem, a sense of causal importance, and perceived efficacy (Kieffer, 1984; cited in Zimmerman et. al., 1992). According to Wallerstein and Bernstein (1994), empowerment embodies an interactive process of change, where institutions and communities become transformed, as people who participate in changing them become transformed. Zimmerman extended the theoretical model of psychological empowerment into intrapersonal, interactional and behavioral components where intrapersonal empowerment is about how people think of their capacity to influence social and political as well as difficulties associated with trying to control over community problems; interactional empowerment refers to the transactions between persons and environments that enable one to successfully master social or political systems and the third one behavioral component is about the specific actions one takes to exercise influence on the social and political environment through participation in community organizations and activities. Unlike

participation process, empowerment process itself is a condition (capacity) and process (Timothy, 2015) and multidimensional in its manifest. This has been summarized as in the table below:

Table 1: Dimensions of Empowerment

Degrees of Empowerment	Scales of Empowerment	Forms of Empowerment	Ladder of Empowerment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Imposed development ○ Tokenistic ○ Involvement ○ Meaningful participation and ○ Empowerment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ National ○ Local/community ○ Personal empowerment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Political ○ Social ○ Economic ○ Psychological 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Atomistic-Individual Empowerment ○ Embedded-individual empowerment ○ Mediated empowerment ○ Socio-political Empowerment ○ Political Empowerment

Sources: Rocha (1997); Scheyvens (2000); Timothy (2007).

The degrees of empowerment evolve as in the same path as Arnsteins' (1969) citizen participation ladder path in a linear path. Timothy (2007) explained four distinctive and instructive degrees of empowerment in which, imposed development was a top-down approach and planning carried out exclusively by central authority. In this approach, local community mostly from minorities' inputs in planning are excluded and disregarded as hassle to deal with. The result of such planning is often unbalanced, unfair and negative socio-economic consequences. The second was tokenistic involvement which though, higher in degree than imposed development, is just for formality of seeking public opinion on already designed and planned document. This kind of tokenistic involvement is a widespread norm, a consultation for the sake of consultation. The third, meaningful participation, however, is a much sought after and evolved form of public, private and community interest group partnership. Even though some government role still may exist whereby they formulate plans and seek public endorsement for planning implementation, but in much of process the publics are sought after and involved in the decisions makings times. Problems and solutions are shared through public consultation and inclusion for mutual benefits of all stakeholders. The fourth degree

is empowerment where the local community is the real decision maker and external agency or government work as facilitator in need. The community stakeholders boast of real owners of the process and solves any problems arise by themselves.

In ladder of empowerment, Rocha (1997) explained the variation in empowerment and its meaning differently attached in different contexts and manifestation, in a ladder pattern like in Arnseins' participation ladder. In Atomistic individual empowerment, she explained, an individual is affected solitarily; the prime goal here is individual efficacy. While in embedded individual empowerment, the individual is embedded in a larger structure or context and/or participates in an organizational contest. Mediating empowerment is the empowerment through expert's role/knowledge on behalf of the community/beneficiaries. Socio-political empowerment focuses on the process of change in a community locus in the context of collaborative struggle to alter the socio-political and economic relations. And finally, the political empowerment is a political action process directed toward the institutional change. In this, the focus is not on the process of change within individual or group but on the outcome for example, in education, housing, economic/employment benefits, government benefits, health care etc.

The scales of empowerment evolve from personal level through to National and the forms of empowerment are four distinct manifestations of empowerment in psychological, economic, social and political arenas.

In the widely cited framework of four forms of empowerment (Scheyvens, 2000; Timothy, 2007), economic gains from business opportunities and employment are described as economic empowerment of the community groups or an individual. Psychological empowerment is gained from community pride of its cultural traditions and values that boost their psychological self-esteem resulting from such traditions. Scheyvens describes social empowerment as community cohesion and social integrity strengthened by community activities such as community tourism and, the last, political empowerment is brought upon when the community can play decisive role to the effects of the development process and the consequences thereafter, make decisions and even alter decisions that is unfavorable to the community welfare. Even though the highest level of community participation is being considered as empowerment- political empowerment in Scheyvens' and Rocha's framework-, other dimensions of empowerment from Scheyvens framework are also analyzed in this case study.

2.7.1 Local Participation Level and Empowerment

Participation of community members in any local tourism projects or programs is essential to understand tourists and tourism processes locally and make informed decisions for their welfare as well as for the future course of actions. Such a participation process is widely evoked for the further enhancement of the community confidence, especially in the countries marked by long colonial history or authoritarian rule (Tosun, 2000). And, as such, help strengthen their individual or community identity and self- belief to take part in forums of decision makings that is key to active participation or a sign of empowerment, and which can deter any foreign or elitist interests rather than the community itself (Cole, 2007). While, elaborating on empowerment, Cole writes: “it represents the top end of the participation ladder where members of the community are the active agents of change and they have the ability to find solutions to their problems, make decisions, implement actions and evaluate their solutions. (p.3).” For such local resident control over decision makings on tourism matters and the commensurately amassed capital from increased tourism businesses leads to wider range of economic activities, which France (1998, cited in Murphy and Murphy, 2004:286) refers to as contributing to empowerment because of “‘locals’ increased sophistication in dealing with tourism, coupled with their increased personal and community income”. The local participation and the subsequent empowering process however, have been viewed from economic perspectives alone in most cases, which scholars are critical of; such that, the mere focus on the economic viability of the projects, rather than the transformative emancipatory intent (Blackstock, 2005) limits the empowering process of the community. It is doubtful, whether the highest-level participation necessarily leads to total empowerment of the community, as Hall (2007) even goes further on, criticizing Murphy’s influential model of community participation in tourism, as it being failed to address the power distribution and participation issues. He cited Connelly & Richardson (2004) having been downplaying the ‘over- romanticizing’ of collective capacity of the community decision making process when exclusion of some stakeholders was necessary for practical consensus. Similarly, Taylor (1995: pp. 487) goes further to attack on ‘Murphy’s friendly community’ as an ‘advertising hyperbole’ and writes: “The control of tourism by players within the community and the pressure to increase visitor numbers could seed to widen community differences as well as creating another destination stereotype”. He further adds, “The promise of hospitality and the chance to share the private world of local people seek to define the community in ways which can surely have no legitimization”.

The participation process however, is not without featured barriers such as; prominent bureaucratic roles in centralized policy making, especially in developing countries and their understanding of local citizen as unknowledgeable, local citizens' lack of knowledge on skills of tourism planning and management, their lack of interest, ignorance or apathy towards taking part actively (Tosun, 2000; Cole, 2007). Such participation barriers, including others, are portrayed as reasons for poor performance of community tourism, and this has even been illustrated as an example by Stone & Stone (2011: pp 97-114, cited Goodwin, 2006) whereby; a study of community based tourism by International Centre for Responsible Tourism at Leeds Metropolitan University, concludes some of the reasons for the failure of the community based projects such as: lack of understanding of the needs for commercial activities in part of local stakeholders, lack of engagement with the private sector, e.g. travel agents, tour operators and hoteliers, inaccessibility of location that is- for poor people to benefit, tourists must stay in or near to these communities, because community-based tourism projects do not always provide appropriate tourism facilities for generating income and because protected areas increasingly rely on money from tourists to pay for conservation initiatives. However, most of the complexities in the community destinations specifically, the participation barriers as mentioned, and local understanding of the process in relation to visitor and resource management issues (Stronza & Jamal, 2009) can be minimized with integrated community-wide participation, that has low space or non-existence of individualism and that has low impacts of factors exogenous to community (Mitchell & Reid, 2001).

In general, the literature on community participation in tourism theoretically agree that when local participation level progresses towards the level, influential enough to make independent decisions regarding their common welfare, interests and the future course of actions, a so-called stage of community empowerment is achieved. Certain tradeoffs, however, may exist (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005) depending upon the contexts and community settings, increased empirical observation which this project is aiming at, can be helpful to extrapolate the findings and strengthen the theory.

2.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Community composition and their disposition towards tourism are fundamental, to account for successful community participation model in tourism. Different approaches and participatory models to community tourism, is discussed above. Since this study aims to explore the participatory level, the participatory typologies and the subsequent empowerment, which is ranked highest in the participation ladder, has been briefly discussed. As explained in the literature, the wide accolades of

community-based tourism, thought to be concomitant with environmental enlightenment as well as social justice, could not be viewed, as benign in the real-world scenarios, as it sounded with its propagators in the literature, unless a fair participation level of its stakeholders, labelled as empowerment level, is reflected in the real world scenario. Considerable flip side of tourism at communities, such as heightened costs to benefits are mirrored in cases, where the stakeholders are sidelined, by either local elites or external powerholders, who have real control over tourism either financially or in terms of human resources and management decision making. The community perception of increased benefits to costs are reflected in those cases, where the local could have better access to resources and total control over tourism in their localities, along with increased stakeholder participation in the decision-making process.

Such decisive level in the participation typology depicted as empowerment, however, has multi-dimensional manifestations as discussed above. A prominent question remains, in all this backdrop, whether the highest rung of participation i.e. the citizen control level, necessarily leads to citizen empowerment, a cogent research gap, in an already under researched real participation level, in the real-world scenario where there is a contested meaning of 'participation'. This study by all means, will attempt to contribute to the body of extant knowledge, by identifying participation level of local community members in tourism in their local settings, and ensued subsequent empowerment, basically around Scheyvens' framework, on a case-study of Ghandruk village, Nepal where a community tourism is sprouting up, especially in and around scenic mountain view sites of hilly Nepal. The research process, which is primarily inductive in type, is explained in methodology chapter below.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This study sought to understand the community participation level in Ghandruk community tourism, Nepal and for this, a qualitative research technique; case study approach was applied to explore community involvement in tourism and social interaction processes. Case study approach to research provides a deeper understanding of the social process in a locality of interest (Denzin, 1989

as cited in Matarrita-Cascante, D., Brennan, M. A. & Luloff, A.E., 2010) and, also helps digging out rich data and provides deeper understanding of social phenomenon (Altinay, L., Paraskevas A. & Jang S., 2016; Durbarry, 2018). With this, Case study-based approach in tourism researches, therefore, have been increasingly being used (Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2003; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005; Cole, 2007; Matarrita-Cascante et al., 2010).

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is basically qualitative in terms of enquiry of investigation however, some structured questionnaires were also used to acquire quantifiable information. Qualitative research technique is demanding and emergent for unveiling deeper insights specifically from dynamic social processes unlike quantitative technique, where preset frame of questionnaires from researchers' mind poorly reflect the contesting and changing social processes (Pritchard, A., Morgan, N. & Ateljevic, I., 2011; Sharpley, 2014) therefore, this kind of investigation is more appropriate for this study than a purely quantitative research technique in a sense. For the research purpose, an exploratory field research method was applied to acquire qualitative and some quantitative data with the help of structured close ended questionnaires. In a way it can be said that a mixed method of research approach was applied in this case. For this process, survey instruments such as: household surveys, key informants' interview, focus group discussions were descriptively used to get more insight about the current state of tourism in the community, local people participation processes and the level of participation as well as community and individual empowerment.

3.2.1 Study Population

For research objectives stated, the study population consisted of a rural community of Ghandruk village which lies en-route to the famous Annapurna Circuit of mid-western Nepal. For the research purpose, an extensive field visit was done by the researcher during the second week of March to second week of April 2018, which was a tourist season. The community is well known to hosting trekkers in their village since the adventure trekking tourism began in Nepal and the community involvement in tourism is increasing by the day in commensurate with the tourism growth in the region. A bulk of the community is fully dependent on tourism, hosting the visiting guests in their homes and catering them. For this, the experienced hosts have invested on building accommodations with modern facilities and services increasingly and this has led to the development of a village cluster of hotels and restaurants in the village. And the others who are quite far off, are also hosting guests

in their traditional homes. The community lies in the jurisdiction of interest for this study also because they most suitably resembled what community tourism literature described about a community. The study site sub-heading as below contains descriptions about the community.

3.2.2 The Study Site: Ghandruk Village

Ghandruk village lies in a strategic tourist district of world-famous Annapurna Circuit and conservation area in the Kaski district of Gandaki zone, a western part of Nepal. This village terrain is above 2050m from the sea level. According to the erstwhile administrative division of Nepal, it was a separate local administrative unit called Ghandruk Village Development Committee (Ghandruk VDC) of Government of Nepal until 2015 AD. But with the promulgation of new constitution in 2015 that saw a drastic structural overhaul of governance from single central into three tiers of federal, provincial and local governments. Local governments, now named as Gaunpalikas (equivalent to Municipality) with devolution of powers, authority and jurisdiction, were formed adding several such VDCs. Accordingly, Ghandruk now lies in Annapurna Gaunpalika as one of its nine wards.

Ghandruk village is some 53 km away northern way from Pokhara, a famous tourist hub lake-city in Western Nepal. It takes five hours to walk up to village for tourists from Nayapul, a small town in Pokhara-Baglung highway, however jeep ride is also available to reach the village from Nayapul or even from Pokhara. The northern side of the village boasts of famous mountain range of Annapurna Himal, Machhapuchhre, Himchuli, Gangapurna mountains. This village has its reputation and history of hosting the trekkers in when they ended up here off their long journey towards Annapurna Base Camp (ABC) or now Annapurna Circuit tour. Trekkers used to come with their hired porters to set up their camps in tents for overnight stayover before lodging facilities were available along the trekking routes including this village and spent days if they wished to and enjoy the natural scenic beauty here. The continued flow of foreigners in the village and theirs mingle with the locals developed into guests-host relation in due course of time, and ultimately turning that into tourism business entrepreneurship. Initially some locals welcomed and entertained their foreign guests in their houses that they later named homestays and charged them in exchange of lodging, food and services provided. This very strategic location of the village, lying on the main section of the trekking trail prompted the villagers to opt for tourism businesses and has since been inviting local investment in the construction of lodges increasingly. A worth noting about the village is that they have so far maintained communal integrity intact by not allowing foreign intruders in the business and a sense of communal harmony is reflected in their business behavior rather than individualism that is obvious

from the fact that guests can choose any lodges freely and independently on their own without any visible competition among lodge owners to accommodate more visitors in their facilities. Also, the rule is no one in the community can sell their property to someone not from their community.

Ghandruk village is predominantly a Gurung settlement with a total population of 5465 as of 2011 census of which 2735 are female (Village Profile book, 2011). It is even a popular saying that the village got its name from Gundruk, a popular Nepalese dish made of green leafy vegetable, first fermented and then dried for future consumption and that evolved into Ghandruk in due course of time. Gurungs are an ethnic hill tribe people of Nepal whose primary occupation is agriculture and military services to the Nepalese Army, the British army and Indian army popularly called *Lahure*² for those joining British and Indian armies. The noted bravery demonstrated by then Royal Nepalese army in the past wars between Nepal and British ruled Indian sides, prompted both Indian and British rulers to set up a separate Gurkha Regiment in their army some 200 years ago and since then these hill people of ethnic Gurungs have always been on the priority list of especially Indian and British army regiments making almost every healthy youth from the village, a recruit enthusiast. Foreign employment of the youth is also remarkably on the rise. The Gurung community in this village and other now boasts of rich *Lahure* pensioners making the village financially resourceful and one can now see this money being earmarked into hotel businesses, consequently attracting the literate generation of the community into the booming industry in their own village. The investments in the tourism entrepreneurship is increasing by the days as the 2011 data recorded 111 hotels & lodges and 21 restaurants operating in the village which can accommodate 3330 guests per night in this village (Village Profile book, 2011), a remarkable departure from occupation of locals which so far used to get recruitment in Nepal Army, British Army and Indian Army or carry on ancestral agriculture farming.

This village is in the middle of enthralling surroundings of greeneries lying on the lap of majestic white mountains. The morning sun rises right next to the viewer when cool breezes overlaps in the winter mornings. Soon after crossing the rumbling Modi River at the base, the cliffs on the elevation and its silence let all go captivated and lost in the heart of nature, and occasional encounter with nature local inhabitants of birds and animals is a treasure experience that an ecotourist, a hiker never

² *Lahure* is a popular term entitled to those joining foreign army in those earlier days in history. It is presumed that recruits used to go to Lahore, a recruitment city now in Pakistan but then in India before India Pakistan separation, as for recruitment and it evolved from those going to Lahore as Lahorey into Lahure or laure.

wish to miss. And to add to the beauty of the surroundings are some renowned places of historically and religiously importance such as; Fumro Baraha, Dudum Baraha, Taal Baraha, Gumba, Devi etc. to name few. These are revered as sacred religious sites of the village.

Similarly, famous touristic sites are: Syauli bazar, Ghandruk village, Jhopra Taal (a lake having a classical history of its own and lying on a high altitude), Vitmu, Chhomrong (a last human settlement in ABC), Annapurna Base Camp (lies in the middle of high mountains) and Tadapani (a place where Rhododendrons blossom most abundantly). Annapurna Conservation Area Project (ACAP), working in the area under National Trust for Nature Conservation (NTNC), a government entrusted entity that oversees all National Parks, sanctuaries and reserves in the country, primarily for conservation purpose, is facilitating and promoting tourism in this village and region. In addition to such touristic features in this village, the attraction to this mountain landscape is growing day by day prominently because of the mountain serenity that prevails, pristine nature and above all, it's close proximity to the over 8000m tall world-famous mountain ranges such as The Annapurnas, for which a growing number of visitors from home and abroad, take to the adventure trek. In the past decade, a significant increase in tourism has been recorded where, the 2011 village census data showed around 30, 000 international and domestic tourists visiting the village annually. That until recently, the visits have been more than doubled to 63500 international arrivals in the area according to the data claimed by ACAP official working in the village, at the end of 2017. Domestic visitors go to the village basically for overnight stayover to indulge in holidaying, cherishing the natural beauty whereas the foreigners circling mountains take rest in this village.

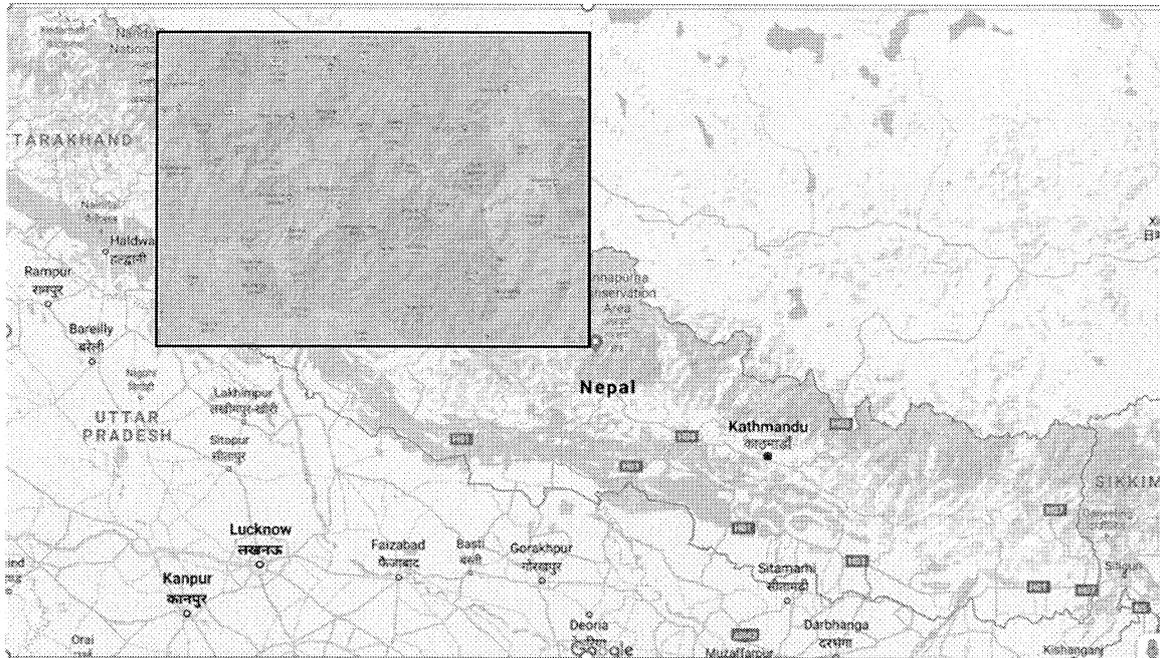


Figure 4: The Ghandruk Village Map

3.3 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

An extensive field observation, interaction and communication among the community stakeholders was the primary method/technique applied for data collection. The language of communication in the process between the investigator and the respondents was Nepalese which the investigator is a native speaker of. For this, a purposive sample of community prominently engaged in tourism activities in Ghandruk, Nepal was chosen and for the purpose, researcher made field visit from second week of March to second week of April 2018. This was also a tourism season. The rationality behind the choice was their outstanding exposure to community tourism since tourism activities began in the country and the community of their fitting well with the definition of community in the literature of community tourism. However, some other secondary sources of data/information were also sought from government/non-government organizations working at local/national level such as: ACAP, NTB, NTNC, and other related publications from local government for the purpose. Specifically, following sub-sections details the data collection tools applied in this investigation.

3.3.1 Structured Questionnaires

A set of questionnaires originally structured in English and later translated into Nepali (spoken locally in the research area), consisting six close-ended and one open-ended questions was distributed to a quota sample of 132 community members prominently having been engaged in tourism activities/businesses such as accommodation providers or restaurant businesses in the area. As per the village profile data (2011), there were some 132 guest houses and restaurants operating in Ghandruk area. However, the housing and the facilities in the communities were so close and even attached that most of respondents wished to fill up the data jointly on agreement of two members who were together at the time of survey and answered in mutual agreement or to put differently, every two hosts agreed to merge their opinions into one. This led to the development of 61 surveyed respondents' sheets which prompted the investigator to condense the sample population down to 61 but carrying the wholeness of the all 132 entrepreneurs in the community setting. This obviously reflected a minimization of the research biasness of the sample. Even though the case study was intended to map the whole village, this particular setting of 132 prominent hosts was meant for quantitative outcome. This sampling population was around 46 percent of the study population which according to Durbarry (2018:151) was sufficient enough to produce high level of data accuracy. This was a self-administered process on which the participants would write onto the question sheets on their own and, was carried out through door to door visits of the households by the researcher. This survey technique is more

reliable and accurate in a sense that it increases the response rate from the subjects, include minority groups that could be left out in other method and would be advantageous for the participants in case they might need some assistance for further clarification on the questions from the researchers themselves (Altinay et al., 2016; Durbarry, 2018). The aim was to identify their statement about their participation in tourism business such as involved or not; key agencies involved in tourism policies and planning such as local leaders, some external agencies and community itself; position they hold or not in the planning/governing body; and the method applied for tourism planning process such as by local leaders, government agencies or public opinions. The questionnaire also consisted of a question that could scale their level of agreement towards the adopted tourism policies for their favor on overall welfare rather than that of some, and some demographic information such as; gender, education, age. The questions distributed were in consistent with the research objectives that is, to identify real participation level of the subjects in the tourism process.

3.3.2 Household Survey

A door to door household survey was undertaken by the researcher in the village during which however, contacts with some houseowners could not be established. Some houses were seen empty and locked apparently because of not having been used since quite a long period of time and others were left visibly without owners in a miserable condition because of either death of the house owner or their permanent settlement to other locations/cities or countries, according to the neighbors. In cases where the houseowners were absent at the time of visit, revisit was done, and still some could be met, and some couldn't be. During such meetings, a cozy conversation often with tea offer would begin at places of their business establishments such as restaurants or guest houses or their house premises where the elderly mothers of the houses used to be so kind and outspoken with the talks in their native-filled accent (it is common among old-generation Gurung people to speak their Gurung dialect over Nepalese official language in such communities). The household heads were, both male and female but children could be rarely seen at the time of visit. In some homes, village returnees from abroad or city migrants were seen, who were less outspoken with the researcher and used to shy away. During the encounter with the house owners some information regarding their present socio-economic condition, families, tourism trend in their village and its benefits/impacts, and their participation/non-participation was sought in an informal conversation. This way of information seeking was helpful in data triangulation and also would complement the data obtained from the other

survey instruments, survey questionnaires, and key informant interviews for more insightful understanding.

3.3.3 Key Informant Interview

The key informants were chosen as representable from all spheres of community and tourism fed businesses as possible for the interview process. They were sought on the bases of their knowledge of and active involvement in the community without consideration to their social status or position they held. Snowball procedure was a key method applied to identify some of the candidates chosen for this process. They are as listed in table below;

Table 2: Representation of Interviewed Candidates

Representation	No. of interviewee
Government body, NTB & NTNC	2
Local INGO working in the area, ACAP	2
Police personnel	1
Local tourism management body	3
Local tourism business owners	2
Independent tourism stakeholders	2
Gaupalika ward member	1
Tour operators working in the area	2
Total	15

The interview questions some structured and some unstructured, revolved around the tourism and business prospects, local enthusiasm and participation level, the benefits and costs, and community empowerment mostly related to research objectives. The questions also related with demographic profile and one to which they could freely express their opinion about the community tourism, the participation rung as they mean it and the empowerment brought upon them by the overall development.

According to Altinay et al. (2016:142), the structured interviews gives the researcher more control over the process, more focus and boost the reliability and validity of the data by increasing the response rate. The structured questions were prompted to supplement and substantiate the information sought from questionnaire survey and some qualitative information obtained from household survey as per research objectives. Note was taken during the process highlighting the important points and issues. Researcher had to facilitate and redirect questions at times of irrelevant explanations and often with interruptions in some cases, however free and independent opinion on research questions and other contextual issues was highly encouraged, often with rephrased questions for more clarity and for making it more meaningful.

3.3.4 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group method is widely used in qualitative social science research and it can produce rich data in a relatively efficient manner from multiple intra-stimulations (Durberry, 2018:85). Some community groups such as Mothers group, youths, pensioners, business groups and minority groups were delineated as focus groups of interest for this research. Some members however, had cross membership among the different groups and could even attend multiple meetings. The group meetings were held separately at places and days where researcher would set a topic like what and how tourism in their community would mean to them, their participation in it and its impacts upon them. While doing so, everyone in the group was encouraged to speak and put their views independently and, during the course their body language at every occasion was also noted. Although most of the occasions the researcher used to raise the topic of discussion and facilitate the meetings whereby everyone would express their views turn by turn, cross questions from their sides, and mutual agreements/disagreements was highly encouraged.

3.3.5 Reliability and Validity of the Study

This study can be professed to be reliable in terms of the research method used. According to Altinay et al. (2016:166), the consistency of the answers from the study subjects achieved by different methods of data collections yield a reliable study result. The different approaches of data collection applied in this study such as structured questionnaire for quantitative and house hold survey, key informant interviews, focus group discussions for qualitative technique produced almost added to the result consistency, by asking and re-asking the same questions repeatedly to same or different people at the same and/or different point of time. Altinay et al. wrote that the research validity is achieved when it measures what it intends to and it can be increased by pilot test or retest i.e. checking if the data are as per the research objectives. For this study, the cross examination of research objective by

different approaches of data collection also worked as retest of the questions asked to different interviewees by rephrasing, restructuring and even deleting in need, for increased validity of the research.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The data gathered from different sources were first coded and tabulated and later put into Excel software for analysis. Similarly, the information obtained from the field observation notes and records were also coded and put into Excel software to create dummy table as required. As the variety of sources applied for data collection techniques could complement the richness of data as it was necessary for triangulation of data. The data being mostly of qualitative in nature, less statistical analyses and more insightful observation was required per se. however, for the quantified data, some statistical measurements such as percentage, central tendencies and dispersion were necessary to be calculated and it was done in Excel sheets.

3.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the research design, methodology applied, and instruments used for answering the stated research questions within the research frame. The research was basically qualitative in nature and was conducted as case study base approach, which was conducted in a rural community of Nepal, Ghandruk village, a place famed for community tourism. The data obtained through both quantitative and qualitative methods were complementary. The insightful views of the informants were observed during qualitative methods which also explained on quantitative data while the later had numerical and specific records of the findings, but both were complementary to each other. This section also described about the study site and the data collection techniques such as survey questionnaires, household survey, key informant's interviews and focus groups discussions in detail. Further details on data analyses and results are presented on the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND ANALYSES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, some sub-sections are divided to explain the results that under the sub-heading community tourism in Ghandruk, how community tourism evolved in Ghandruk, its historical tracings are explained. Whereas, the other sub-heading, local participation in Ghandruk tourism, has contents of some statistical survey records and analysis that features local participation, control and decision-making process description and analysis. The quantitative survey is complemented and

triangulated by the key informants and local participants views. The other sub-heading, empowerment of the community is analyzed from two perspectives explained in the tourism literature, that is, empowerment in terms of degree such as imposed empowerment, tokenistic empowerment, meaningful participation and empowerment, and from the four spheres of empowerment such as economic, political, social and psychological. Based on such theoretical frameworks, local empowerment is assessed from the key informants and participants viewpoints on tourism and the locals' lives, decision making and local control over tourism. This investigation being, a qualitative inquiry, local views, understanding and information is sought as widely and inclusively as possible.

4.2 COMMUNITY TOURISM IN GHANDRUK

The hill tribe community of Gurung ethnicity were exposed to tourism mainly because of their geographical proximity to the white mountains and the pristine landscape of the highland surrounding itself. Travelers and the tour makers pass through places such as this village for their purposes and in the process, their interaction with the communities and local attraction or their necessity leave them no alternatives but take shelter in there. In the due course of time, the increased tourism activities in the area attracted the local people which could be seen by the mushrooming of local accommodation providers. This author found such accommodation facilities with modern amenities in most cases and the trend was on the rise for which a remarkable investment was being made.

The local enthusiasm towards tourism attraction was not invariably equal among the residents. The capitalist economy syndrome or the 'rule of the market' was creeping in this village economy that is, those with money could advantage from the lucrative tourism trade more. The money was being injected from different sources including pensions, selling properties, bank loans etc. as an investment in building up of tourism facilities however, only those having access to some of above sources were better advantaged, as is everywhere. Locational advantage was for those who had land in and around the route and places of Sunrise over the mountains view for which they could be entrusted with financiers' loans if they wished to initiate business. This eventually, was entrenching the difference between rich and the poor in a community of people living in harmony of almost equal economic status so far. The community welcoming and hosting guests were building along the trekking route with the far-flung people left behind, and agriculture being the dominant occupation. However, city migration and attraction to foreign jobs left some lands uncultivated leading to food insufficiency to feed the increasing consumers in the village. This scenario developed into increasing food imports that eventually fueling tourism leakages. Villagers living away from such tourism centers lacked both skills and resources to engage in growing tourism businesses in their village apart from some

construction works. The budding tourism entrepreneurs were those who had access to finance, skills in entrepreneurships gained from working elsewhere or even communicate in English with foreign travelers.

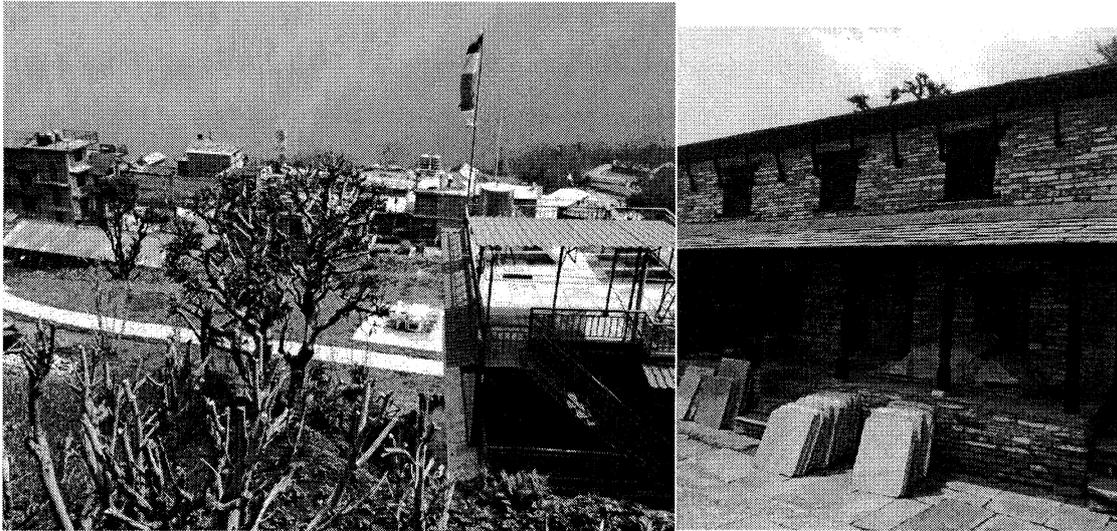


Plate 1: A View of Mushrooming Modern Accommodation Providers in Ghandruk

4.3 LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN GHANDRUK TOURISM

Of the people surveyed quantitatively through a quota sample of 132, that was a population involved in tourism businesses outstandingly in the core marketplace of the village (6 being non-responsive to their involvement in tourism category), most of them held lodge ownership. That was 44 in number and 72.1 in percent. The second group was involved in restaurant ownership. As it was required to identify as who planned the tourism policies in the community, 50 of them, that is, 82 percent replied that the community itself planned what it takes to plan for tourism in their community when there were other options such as external agencies and local leaders. This shows that the respondents from this block of community believed in community decision making. The quantitative survey also revealed that only 7 of them, that is, 11.5 percent held the positions in the tourism governing body that governed as a planning body on tourism policies while 54 or 88.5 percent had no positions. Similarly, public opinion seeking was a method for designing tourism plans and policies in the community for which 31 of them that is, 50.8 percent had agreed upon while some other options such as by local leaders and by government bodies were voted by 24 and 4 people respectively. This

concludingly, consolidated trust on their community leaders however, indicating also towards the fact that the community opinion was divided over public opinion seeking but still somewhat favored over local elites. Also, the poor margin between the opinions reflects the dominant role of local leaders in the public opinion seeking process. This also reflects on one local participant woman's comment:

They call for meeting, they say we must come and listen to what they say. But we don't know meeting, they talk, they write....and sometimes ask other people to speak, we don't know what to speak. We think and believe they do good for all people in our community. Even if I don't go to attend such meetings, it's okay. Somebody will tell me about the meeting and the decisions made. But if I go there (meeting place), it's good to know things and what's happening around.

The above statement was endorsed by one of the ACAP officials working in the area as he commented:

We are also assisting in tourism by providing skill development trainings to the locals apart from conservation, our main job. Majority of people lack what you call...managerial skills and only a few are privileged with better skills and better access to finance and are reaping more benefits. So, our job is also to facilitate to bring more people in the tourism trade in this community by making them aware of what tourism is all about. The awareness rising is a good starting point and people are learning how participation in such public affairs can motivate them and build them in confidence to move forward. But the truth is that few people have more roles to play...and others listen to and follow them.

Table 3: Participation Opinion of Sample Population

N =61		
Participation parameters	No. of participant	%
1.Involvement in tourism	55	
Lodge ownership	44	72.1
Restaurant ownership	7	11.5
Guide/Transportation services	4	6.6
2. Tourism policies planning (by whom)		
External agencies	2	3.3
Community itself	50	82.0
local leaders/elites	9	14.8
3. Position in tourism governing body		
Yes	7	11.5
No	54	88.5
4. Methods applied for tourism planning		
Through public opinions	31	50.8
By local leaders/elites	24	39.3
By Government agencies	4	6.6
5.Demographic Information		
Age	No of participants	
Below 20 years	NA	
20-40 years	36	
40-60 years	22	
Above 60 years	NA	
Sex		
Male	39	
Female	21	
Education		
Illiterate	6	
Literate	50	
College degree	3	
Involvement in tourism		
Full time	43	
Partial	17	

This surveyed sample population was taken from a small cluster of the village developed into tourism hub. A large chunk of village population was widely scattered and remotely placed to involve themselves in hosting tourists in their homes. This development was trending disproportionately in terms of opportunity for locals and overall land development in the village. Traditionally developed areas that were along the routes were dearer to far-flung communities and that eventually making participation difficult for those living away from such centers. However, people from such backward community were aware of the fact that even if they had no such direct stake in tourism projects, the tourism in their village was beneficial to them in terms of the growing demands of their livestock and agricultural produces. That was a subsidiary role for them of supplying seasonal labor and their agricultural products to the host entrepreneurs. One participant in a focus group discussion elaborated on a question that how they were participating in tourism as below:

Yes, we have no hotels and lodges and restaurant for the tourists. They (tourists) don't come to our homes because it is far from there (the center hub) ... and our houses are not beautiful and large enough to accommodate them. But, they (hotel/ restaurant owners) want to buy our chickens, goats, raksi (locally produced wine made from millet), vegetables, and other food. If we don't grow, they have to buy from Bazar that is far from here, so it's expensive for them to buy from there. So, it's good for us that we can sell them our products in our price. The demand for locally produced goods is high because the guests also prefer such goods. So, I think, we are also getting benefits from tourism.

In a different settings and discussion of topic, with some degree of approval of the fact that the community was experiencing some sort of disproportional development however, the chairman of the Ghandruk tourism management committee boasted of how tourism was developing in his village, showing his recently achieved United States based travel company Trip Advisors' accreditation certificate, Certificate of Excellence, as he commented:

I am chairman of this committee since past 11 years. Even if I don't want to, people in our village want me to be chairman. Yes, all the people in this village cannot build hotels but the benefits are for all. The service providers buy food stuff, livestock, vegetables etc. from the farmers...so, I think, this is also participating in tourism, isn't it? And our rule is to buy locals first, so all are doing this. Guests here can freely and independently can choose any hotel they want, we don't compete each other. For example, last month, the tourism secretary from the Ministry and a tourism board member came and called me to get them in. But as a chairman, I wouldn't do that and told them to get into any hotel of their choice on their own.

Along with the increasing arrival of visitors in the community (as the Village Profile Book, 2011 documented around 30,000 visitors seeking accommodation and increasingly, as claimed by a tourism

assistant of ACAP working in the area, the number of international visitors in Ghandruk in the year 2017 was 63,500), the community members were, more or less, hopeful of increasing level of participation or widening of the inclusive net of participation in the village and thereby accruing tourism benefits to the whole community, whatsoever. For this, tourism awareness was increasing and the number of people seeking affiliation with tourism by one way or other, was much growing from their past level of limited participation by very few with some sort of skills. This was from the fact that houses were being renovated or being built up even if they were not in the immediate premises of the tourism core areas and changed into homestays for hosting guests as their attitude was favorable towards tourists than that was in the initial days. Similarly, land buy and sell activities within community members only was preferred to the business area that condensed as a result of intra-migration. The other ways of seeking community-wide participation was to make the community self-sufficient in basic food supply as possible as it could, that called for especially, local farm/agricultural production to meet the growing food demand and creating income for those not directly involved in hospitality. In one of the researcher's questions that how they would benefit from tourism in the village if they didn't own any hosting home or guest house in the tourism hub in their village, one of the participant of the focus group discussion, she was also a member of the tourism committee and lived quite far from the tourism core area in the village, her reply was:

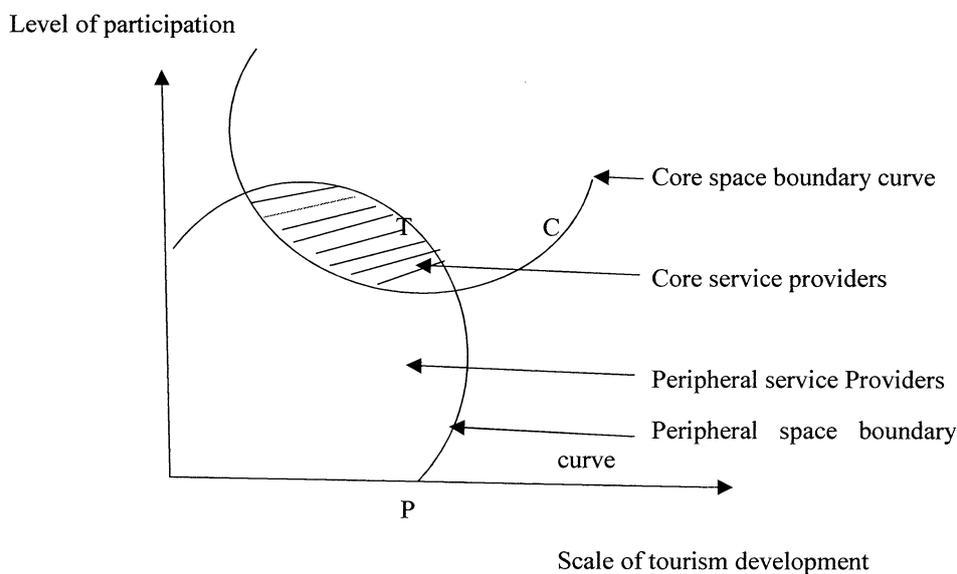
My house is over there, it's quite far from here... we cannot leave our house and land and come here, but I also have some benefits when more people come in our village. I farm grow some chicken and also cultivate vegetable which is high in demand because of growing food need here. If not, we couldn't sell so we wouldn't farm. In this way, someday, maybe we all from this village will be opening hotels.

For now, however, the personal contacts of the hotel owners with the tourists themselves and trekking agents, was not in line with the zero-favoritism policy by the committee towards any individual member tourism service provider. And such contacts and communication from the outside world was with the accommodation service providers having better accommodating facilities and better access to information such as internet, and about tour providers based at regional centers such as Pokhara or Kathmandu, or even international agency. Ironical as it may sound, but most of such facilities' owners themselves were in the Ghandruk tourism committee, a tourism governing body. Symbolically, they were in the core of tourism service providers and those providing subsidiary and auxiliary services were in the tourism service providers peripheral zone. So, basically the core area

in this tourism trade can be defined as those comparatively dense area of the community where the main tourism trade activities such as accommodation and catering services to the visitors take place and the service providers are resourceful in terms of capital, experiences, skills and knowledge etc. and are engaged full time in the businesses. Whereas, peripheral zones represent those outlying areas from the core where the residents engage partially in tourism or engage indirectly, by availing their labor and farm produces to the tourism business holders in the core zones and are less resourceful in terms of business experiences, capital, skills and knowledge. As such, there were two emerging spaces in tourism service providers landscape, not only in terms of location but also the kind of services they provide. Those in the core service providers were directly engaged in tourism such as hosting tourists and having direct contact with them, more influential and vocal in their community, knowledgeable full timers and having increasing relations and network in the business process, than those from the peripheral and having partial or seasonal engagement and doing subsidiary role in the business; that is, by selling some of their agricultural and livestock products, doing some tourism related auxiliary construction jobs. The tourism space occupied by the service providers in the core was narrower but influential whereas that of peripheral was wider but less vocal and having dependent relations with those in the core.

The emerging phenomena explained above is illustrated in the figure 5 below. The peripheral service providers are less engaged in tourism and this occurs at the beginning stage of tourism development, an exploration stage in Butler's (1980) evolution of tourist area. It was locally observed and established with different data techniques as mentioned in methodology chapter, that, with increased tourism, local participation in tourism service provision was rising accordingly in this village in the same way tourism activities did. However, a remarkable distinction here is that, only the locals are allowed to engage in tourism businesses here in this village, unlike in Butler's model where newcomers are welcomed to take control of any emerging tourism destination. In the case of Ghandruk, a community of remote village with local ethnic population where outsiders are discouraged to engage in tourism business activities at local base, this phenomenon led to develop an imaginary line of core service providers from within the peripheral service providers zone, and that, it further flattened proportionately, with the advancing level of tourism development and community participation. In the figure, the peripheral service providers zone advances towards core service providers zone when local involvement in tourism gets momentum with increased tourist visitation. As with increased involvement of local community members in tourism, the Peripheral service

providers curve (P) flattens further up the imaginary core service providers curve (C). The shaded area, that is the overlapping of the curves P and C represents as core service providers zone at a point of time (T), that is, the research time in Ghandruk. This is gained when the initial peripheral service providers from their space (P), advances towards the core space (C) after development of their business activities along with the increasing tourism in the community. While graphically representing, it was found that the peripheral service curve P was advancing towards the direction of core services zone proportionately with the scale and intensity of tourism development in the area. The scale of tourism development reflects the destination development with improved tourism facilities and infrastructures apart from visitor growth in the area as explained in Butler's (1980) destination life cycle model. This literally means, with increasing tourism, community members get more access to and role in tourism in terms of both, locational/ geographical representation as well as their engagement intensity in the tourism trade. In other words, the community members from peripheral service zone now fall into core service zone following the tourism increment. In the case of Ghandruk, despite the fact that there was a preliminary direct and positive relationship between the level of local participation and the scale of tourism development, after a certain point of saturation, this may not hold true, whatsoever. This scenario is explained in more details in discussion chapter.



Where,

C and P are the Core and Peripheral curves respectively and the shaded area is where concentration of core service providers occurs at a point of time, T.

Figure 5: An Illustration of Core and Peripheral Service Providers in Ghandruk Community Tourism Space

An outstanding outcome from this research, however, is that, in a community setting like Ghandruk, composed of its own clan and ethnicity, local community members' involvement in tourism grows as does tourism. This is also because tourism in such setting is self-evolving rather than outsider's promotion and intervention. This is unlike to any government and investor promoted tourism destination, widely explained in tourism literature, that emphasize more on methods and approaches to include locals in community tourism.

4.4 EMPOWERMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

The community empowerment in Ghandruk village was observed and evaluated in terms of degrees it associated with such as; Imposed, tokenistic involvement, meaningful participation and empowerment and, also in terms of four spheres of empowerment such as political, social, psychological and economic empowerment described in the literature (Timothy, 2007; Scheyvens, 2000). The observation on these two perspectives or dimensions is explained below.

4.4.1 Empowerment in Terms of the Degrees It Associates

Revisiting the literature for the definitions, Timothy explained about the degrees of empowerment explained as follows;

Imposed development, a top-down approach and planning carried out exclusively by central authority. In this approach, local community mostly from minorities' inputs in planning are excluded and disregarded as hassle to deal with. The result of such planning is often unbalanced, unfair and negative in socio-economic consequences. The second was tokenistic involvement which though, higher in degree than imposed development, is just for formality of seeking public opinion on already designed and planned documents. This kind of tokenistic involvement is a widespread norm, a consultation for the sake of consultation. The third, meaningful participation, is a much sought after and in use, in development practices at different contexts, and evolved form of public, private and community interest group partnership. Even though some government role still may exist whereby

they formulate plans and seek public endorsement for planning implementation, but in much of process the publics are sought after and involved in the decisions makings times as compulsory component. Problems and solutions are shared through public consultation and inclusion, for mutual benefits of all stakeholders. The fourth degree is empowerment where the local community is the real decision maker and external agency or government work as facilitator in need. The community stakeholders boast of real owners of the process and solves any problems arise by themselves.

Based on the premises of the definitions, the degrees of empowerment of Ghandruk community was observed and evaluated. First of all, the structured questionnaire survey designed to seek the opinions of subjects that was taken from a quota sample of a cluster of core service providers zone (i.e. 132 tourism entrepreneurs fully involved in the hosting and catering businesses) revealed that the community itself was spearheading the tourism planning and policies. Out of the total surveyed participants, some entrepreneurs combined their identical responses that led the investigator to produce a total of 61 final respondents from among them. Out of that, 50 (82%) of them were of the opinion that the community itself used to involve in any tourism planning and policies. And, 9 of them that is 14.8 percent thought that there was an influential role of local leaders/elites in the planning process, emphasizing the elite control and influence on the process. This also must be signified from the fact that 7 of them (11.5%) had position in tourism governing body. Similarly, on a question that what was the dominant method used for tourism planning in the community, 31 of them (50.8%) replied that it was through public opinions. However, from the other half, 24 (39.3%) thought that it was through the local leaders. The remarkable and contrasting findings on these two questions, that is, who used to plan the policies and what was the method applied, underscored the dominant role of the local leaders, as reflected in their answers that, in the first case the community itself used to plan while in the second question for methods applied, the local leaders' role was emphasized. This triangulated finding highlighted that the community itself had a decisive planning role however, from within a community the leaders/elites were more prominent. From this aspect of research, the community empowerment related to the third degree of empowerment described above, that is, the meaningful participation. however, this may not be the case if scrutinized from other aspects of study involving different data instruments.

In an effort to trace the personal understanding of the influence and control over tourism locally, in relation to degrees of empowerment of the community, personal communications with different stakeholders of the community was established. In almost all cases and as observed by the investigator,

the tourism in the community was driven by the community rather than from any external agency influence or government intervention. The development was in response to the tourism demand off shooting autonomously and propelled by increasing visitors supply and, with local involvement, the policies were framed and designed to facilitate the process. Even though, most of the participants agreed on the elated community role, lack of understanding was on, who the actual community was. Was it all community members as a block, their representatives or a knowledgeable few of them? In response to a question of community control over tourism planning, an official from tourism board commented:

This is a self-driven tourism process in this community, tourism board (NTB) facilitates in need and also helps marketing of the village instead. They (the community) themselves do whatever it comes about tourism planning and further development. And yes, the development should be in consistent with the ACAP (a conservation agency also facilitating tourism in the area) guidelines as far as the conservation of the floras and faunas here is concerned. But when you talk about influential role of the community people, there are few.

From this perspective it could be deduced that when it comes to policies and programs related to tourism, there was a representative role of the community leaders who were better skilled, knowledgeable and exposed to the managerial skills, than the rest of community members, as in a democratic governance. The sharing of information regarding new developments among all community members, seeking their opinions on important issues and inviting and including in meetings of public concerns, characteristics related to meaningful participation, was outstandingly exemplified. From this it could be concluded that the community tourism in Ghandruk empowered the local community members to a degree of meaningful community participation.

4.4.2 The Four Spheres of Empowerment

Again, revisiting the literature, Scheyvens (2000) and Timothy (2007) in the widely cited framework of four forms of empowerment, described that the economic gains from business opportunities and employment from any community projects such as tourism aids to the economic empowerment of the community groups or an individual. And similarly, psychological empowerment is gained from community pride of its cultural traditions and values that boost their psychological self-esteem resulting from such traditions. They described that when community cohesion and social integrity strengthened by community activities such as community tourism, the community or its member experiences a social empowerment, and, the last, political empowerment is brought upon

when the community can play decisive role to the effects of the development process and the consequences thereafter, make decisions and even alter decisions that is unfavorable to the community welfare. Hereafter, building upon these theoretical definitions of four spheres of empowerment, the real-world observations and evaluations about them is done in Ghandruk community.

(1) Economic empowerment

The economic empowerment, as described in the literature, is a significant and prominent factor to demonstrate the empowerment at individual as well as community level. As described above, there were two distinct zones in the community in terms of tourism and participation intensity and as such, measuring economic empowerment would be varied accordingly. For those living in the core zone, they had direct involvement in tourism and most of them were full timer in it. Their economic gains from tourism was in commensurate with the visitor volume in the village and in most cases, more than one person from the family or whole family were employed in their business. This was an example of economic empowerment of the tourism entrepreneurs brought about by tourism in the community. In other words, they were economically empowered as a result of the business opportunities brought about by tourism there. However, the case was different for those living outside of the core service providers zone or living and enterprising in the outlying peripheral zone. The community members in the peripheral zone were in most cases, partially engaged in tourism and those who were gaining economically from tourism by one way or the other, were dependent with the tourism entrepreneurs from the core zone. Because, unlike their core counterparts, having direct economic gains from visitors, the community members in the peripheral zone used to have seasonal and occasional employment in the sector, and by selling off their food stuff to the tourism business holders from the core zone. This was their only alternative economic gains. And others in the peripheral zone were off the tourism boat in the village as there was not any association of them with tourism. Thus, economically more empowered were those from core tourism service zone than those from peripheral. This was reflected in an answer when the researcher asked to a village elderly person as why they were ignoring their ancient trekking route to motorable road in their village, in a backdrop of importance of such historic relics. His comment was:

We need development in our village. Why we need road? Why we don't need tourist is not important. Road makes us easy transportation. Yes, some people said, it was not here but from other side there (showing the direction), it spoilt the trekking route. But for us, we need road, it is more important. We

have connections with the trails because our forefathers built it, but only because of road whether tourists come or not, it doesn't make a much difference. We don't get any gains from tourists. Only hotel/restaurant people get tourist money.

So, concludingly, people from the core service providers zone were empowered economically from tourism as their businesses was growing with the visitor growth whereas, those living in the far-off peripherals were untouched by tourism and their economic empowerment brought about by tourism was not counted as such.

(2) Psychological empowerment

The second sphere looked upon was a psychological empowerment of community members whereby they took pride of their cultural values and traditions. How they thought and believed that they were empowered basically because of foreign travelers in their village community was the question. The local response to the inquisitive and curious foreign intruders would reflect a mode of social interaction that showed the community taking pride in their culture. The housings in the old settlements were generations old with unique architecture and designs and made up of mostly stones and wood and stone roofed. The surroundings neatly slate paved and maintained. The bemused visitors would be greeted by *Namaste* with smile. For the researcher, it could be assumed that the tourist gaze around the surroundings was generally approved by the local residents and this interaction made think the locals how their culture was appreciated. Another example where the community thought that their culture was appreciated by tourists, was when they saw that the tourists were willing to pay to the local museum for photograph wearing their traditional attires (the Gurung dress). This cultural demand also brought a feelings and awareness among the community members how important was their cultures to preserve for tourist attraction. When tourists were keen to observe the community rituals, religious ceremonies or any festivities, the community members would have a feeling that such activities were deeply admired and liked by the foreign visitors which made them think of their culture and traditions to be proud of. As one participant woman commented on a question that the researcher put that, how would they feel or think when someone not from their community, gaze at what they were doing in their customary rituals or observed their festival, as:

Good, when they like out festivals, our religious activities, sometimes take photo and take to their country. Not bad...we will be happy they liked our cultures. We feel better ... and must preserve this, when the people from other part of the world come to see our culture, we've to be happy, so we all from our village want to do this for them also. If they want to take part in such activities, they can. Let

them see.... they came to our village to see this, ... so we will be happy.... and we think that we are proud.

The overall community perception of tourists was that the tourists were appreciating their cultures and values, and this worked as an incentive to preserve it for future attraction. However, the cultural lifestyle was more authentic and adopted as a way of life in peripherals than in the core zones. The core zones values was more commercial than authentic. And the attraction of the visitors to any folklores and their customs of peoples living in the peripherals boosted them with elated self-esteem. From this psychological perspective, the community could be viewed as empowered than isolated and disempowered when the tourists appreciated their cultures and way of life.

(3) Social empowerment

The community members working together in any projects for a common good of the entire community strengthens the social integrity and community cohesion. In Ghandruk community tourism, the community bond and social relationship is one of the historically inherited characteristics. In an ethnic and single tribe inhabited community like this one, the cultural identity and communal harmony is prominently evident. Such communal harmony was reflected on religious ceremonies, festivities, rituals that were also a center of attractions and a must watch events for tourists. The community tourism in Ghandruk has brought in social awareness on the importance of working together on community projects such as schools, community roads, health and sanitation. Such activities not only aid to the community cohesion but also social inclusion and a feeling of strengthened social relationships. Such a communal feeling was demonstrated also from the fact that the village land entitlement was limited to the locals only. Because they might have presumed that any outsider intrusion into their village community could disrupt their social integrity and even displace them and ultimately a threat to their community identity. A strengthened social dependence and interrelationship was maintained also because of community tourism which could be presumed as the residents from both the distinct regions namely; core and periphery, were dependent on each other for their increased business. Because of tourism, as a vital community project in this community, public meetings, occasional gatherings and sharing of information was important among all members, that adding to the social relationships and agreements on issues of future course of actions and tourism trajectories. It was also found from the quantitative survey conducted in the core tourism zone, that even though the community leaders were influential in policy making and other tourism related

decision making, the public opinion seeking was emphasized and prioritized as a norm. This could lead to conclude that the community was empowered because of tourism from social perspective.

(4) Political empowerment

Political empowerment is considered to have occurred when the community and its stakeholders can have a decisive role to play to the effects of development processes that affect their lives. They can alter or even cancel any development proposal on their own in their community if they perceive that it is against their interests and, as such the role of the implementing or intervening agencies are minimized by politically empowered community by articulating their concerns, putting their opinions and having higher authority in independent decision makings on matters that affect them. In Ghandruk community tourism, the community stakeholders were free of any intervening and implementing agencies overpowering the community will on matters to tourism development; since the village had a historical tradition of visitors hosting, the tourism development was evolved through a self-evolutionary process with the gradual involvement of local leaders, rather than from outsiders' encroachment and investment. Facilitatory organization such as ACAP was promoting tourism along with conservation mission with local support and was assisting the community stakeholders, rather than imposing their agenda, on policy issues. Community members were free to raise their concerns, question on decisions and suggest for any further course of action in tourism policies and decisions in the community, on occasions when government agencies had some advice or planning agenda. Apart from tourism, in other development sectors such as infrastructure development, health, education, conservation and ecology also, the planning and implementing authorities emphasized on local aspirations and priorities rather than their set ideas. This community being a single ethnic, there were not racial minorities. The local politicians had their associations with political parties having different ideologies and the local government was in place, but when it comes to community issues such as tourism, united concern and effort to the effect of better address of such issues would be a priority. From this perspective, the community was politically empowered. However, the empowerment of the community members to the individual level was relative to the degree of their education level, knowledge and skills, and the business intensity area which they were from such as core or peripheral.

4.5 LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION AND SCALE OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN GHANDRUK

Revisiting the literature, the explorer stage and up until the beginning of involvement stage in Butler's (1980) tourist area evolution curve can be theoretically considered, a stage of non-participation which Arnstein (1969) explains as manipulative or therapeutic participation and Pretty (1995) as manipulative, passive and consultative participation stage in any community project. At this stage, the external power holders or some community leaders may control the decision-making process, with just few steps of consultation for public approval of the projects. The community members are just informed of already designed and set plans and programs to be carried out rather than seeking their interests and concerns. In this way, the participation in these stages is manipulative or therapeutic as labeled by Arnstein and manipulative, passive and consultative by Pretty. In the case of Ghandruk community tourism, this was when few community leaders began to provide accommodation services to increasing visitors in the village. Even though there was no outsiders control in it, a few community leaders had obvious control in the tourism pie while the bulk of the community was positioned to welcome the visitors with their rich cultural traditions and alluring geographical setting. This could be referred to as a basic level (level 1) of participation in the involvement stage of Butler's tourist area evolution curve which Arnstein explained as manipulative or therapeutic participation and Pretty explained as manipulative, passive and consultative participation stage in any community project. A rising level of participation in tourism may occur and consequently the participatory process also evolves from merely informative or consultative towards partnership when the tourism development scales up through involvement to consolidation. At this level of participation, a mass consultation among the local stakeholders and public opinions are sought and decision-making process might be shared even though some external control may still exist whereby some predesigned and preset up plans and programs might be put in place for general approval in the mass. The real objective is to seek as much public support as possible for the easy implementation of the predesigned plans aimed to reflect a democratic values and norms in the process. At this level of participation, the public however, are not free to envisage any plans for the best of their own welfare and interest but are oriented towards the implementing leaders' interests. This progressive stage of tourism development from involvement through consolidation, that reflects an increasing number of community participation is theoretically, a second level of participation. At this stage, the community is likely to form a partnership with the traditional powerholders or external

agencies on issues beneficial to them and on shared interests because of the material incentives of increasing investment returns due to upscaling of tourism development in the community. In the case of the Ghandruk community tourism, of the sample population surveyed (61 in number) during the structured questionnaire asking who planned the tourism policies in their village, 50 participants (82%) replied the community itself whereas, 9 participants (15%) thought that the community leaders planned them. Similarly, on questions for methods applied for the planning process, 31 participants (50.8%) thought it was through public opinions and 24 participants (39.3%) answered that it was by local leaders and also, 7 participants (11.5%) out of the questioned participants were in the tourism governing body of the community. This conclusively directs to the fact that the community had control in tourism prominently through their local leaders who could address their concerns and redress problems facing the community if not influenced by external agencies. This state of participation could be labeled as partnership in Arnstein's model and as interactive partnership in Pretty's model. For the highest level of participation, that is, citizen control and self-mobilization, citizens must have full control of the process perhaps through their elected representatives who symbolize the true aspirations of the mass independent of the external interests, be fully aware of the opportunities and consequences brought about by tourism. This is when everyone has the equal opportunity and capacity to partake, and the tourism develops through to consolidation until the stage of stagnation. Figure below.

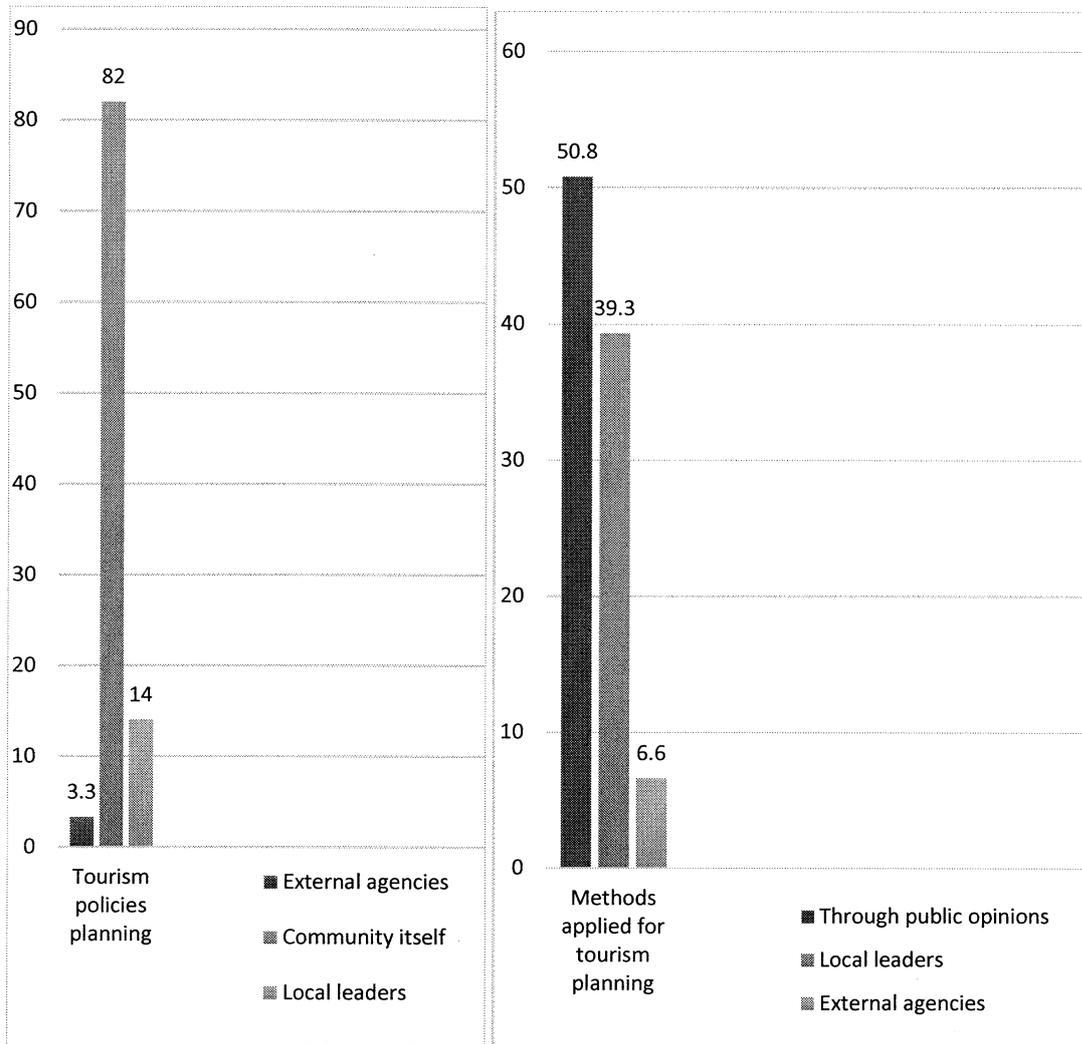
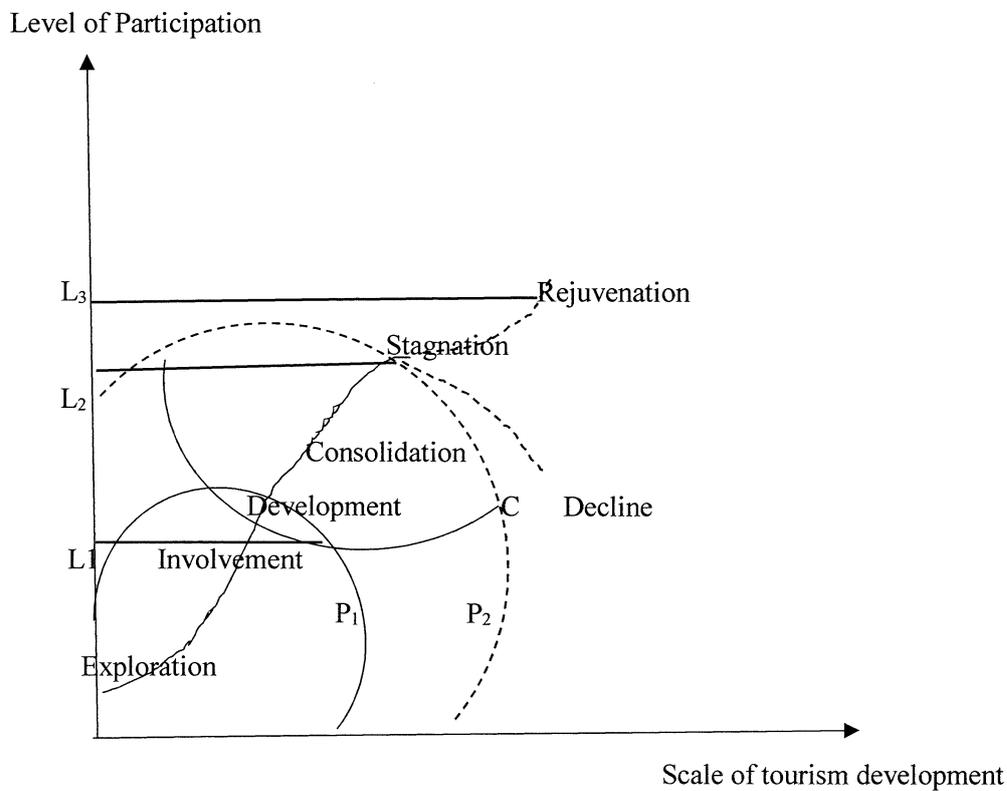


Figure 6: Public Opinion on Tourism Policies Planning



Where,

C is core, P₁ and P₂ are Peripheral curves, L₁, L₂ and L₃ are levels of participation, that represent three different levels explained above in Arnstein's (1969) and Pretty's (1995) participation typologies combined. The horizontal line represents the direction to which tourism scales up from the exploration stage through to stagnation and then declination or rejuvenation as in graph depicted in Butler's (1980) model.

Figure 7: Representation of Participation Level on a Hypothetical Tourism Development Graph.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSIONS

5.1 EXPLANATION OF THE FINDINGS

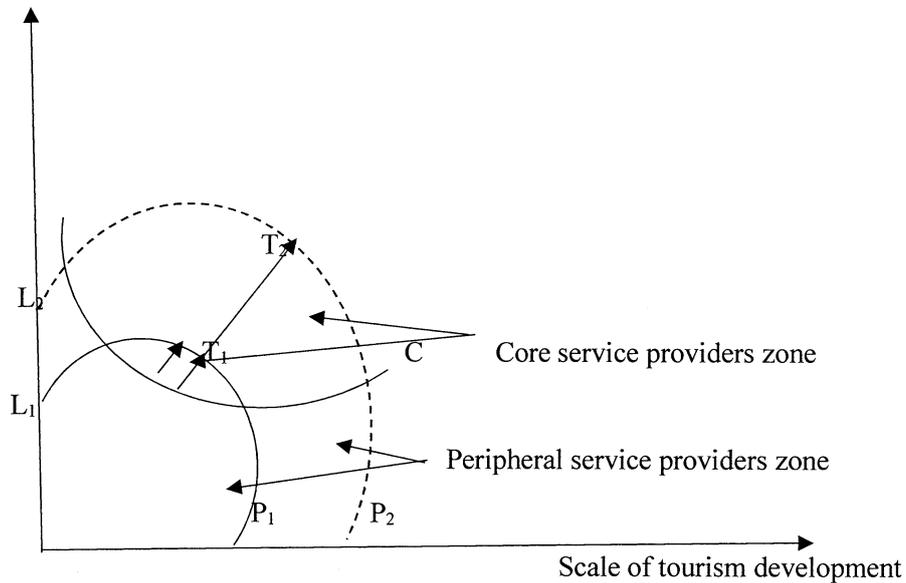
The findings from the research that, along with the tourism growth in a local tourism community where the locals have the total control over tourism, the local participation level increases, and also, along with this, the separate zones of tourism service areas such as peripheral service zones and core

service zones emerge. Where, the core area defined as those comparatively dense area of the community where the main tourism trade activities such as accommodation and catering services to the visitors take place and the service providers are resourceful in terms of capital, experiences, skills and knowledge etc. and are engaged full time in the businesses. And, peripheral zones represent those outlying areas from the core where the residents engage partially in tourism or engage indirectly, by availing their labor and farm produces to the tourism business holders in the core zones and are less resourceful in terms of business experiences, capital, skills and knowledge. This, however, has limits to which the participants can take to the business because of the factors such as the variation in visitors to the community, carrying capacity of the area etc.

In the previous chapter, it was observed that the local community in any rural setting like Ghandruk, where outsiders to community were discouraged to engage in tourism businesses and local population had predominant stake in tourism, their participation in it was also rising in commensurate with the number of increasing visitors, and consequently, with the level of tourism development. It was observed empirically that while such development escalated community members' interest in tourism and participate in it for business opportunity, some constraints such as personal incapacities or lack of resources and skills inhibited large numbers of community members to fully reap the benefits of tourism at the initial stage. However, with the passage of time, some learned from other, gained some skills and capital to invest, working from the periphery service zone by providing goods and services to the core service business owners, and as such, some extra members gained their status as the core entrepreneur in the core service providers zone. The important impetus for this is the increasing numbers of visitors. In such a way, those with enhanced skills and minimized constraints, were able to take the benefits from tourism by fully engaging themselves in tourism business. While in the process, those with less skills and still some constraints, got the auxiliary role of supporting the full-time business owners by indirectly or partially engaging in tourism. This phenomenon was explained in the previous chapter by the creation of two distinct hypothetical zones named as core service providers zone and peripheral service providers zone. And those with influential business ownership and fully engaged in tourism were in core service providers zone while those with partial or indirect engagement and partial roles were in peripheral service providers zone. These areas were defined in terms of the community members' intensity of engagement in tourism or, whether they were fully or partially engaged in tourism. A remarkable point here is that, with the increased tourism in the community, the level of participation increased in both such zones, simultaneously but not

proportionately. For example, as the level of tourism increased, some newcomers from peripheral zone were attracted to core zone with their refined skills and improved financial status. This was possible because while working from peripheral zone they gain some business confidence and accumulate some investment capital that could led them to directly own a tourism business. Similarly, previously left out community members, not in the business in anyway or not able to own a tourism business, learn in the process, the hosting and catering knowhow, entrepreneurial skills required and have some capital eventually, might came into the peripheral service providers zone. Also, further with the continued growth, some members from the peripheral service zone were pushed into core zone as their role from partial engagement turned into full time engagement no matter what their business was. In this way, the peripheral service space itself advanced towards core service space. This phenomenon is illustrated in the figure shown below.

Level of community participation in tourism



Where,

C is core, P₁ and P₂ are Peripheral curves, L₁, and L₂ are levels of participation and T is time.

Figure 8: An Illustration of Core and Peripheral Service Zones.

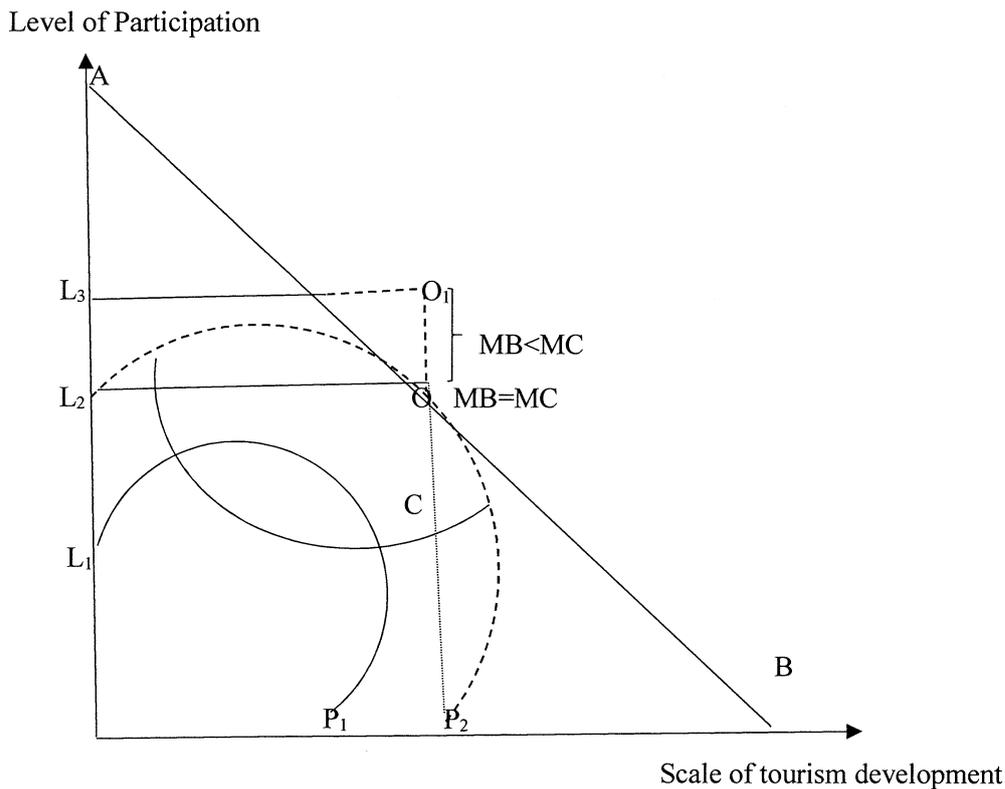
In the above figure, at the initial stage of tourism development, the peripheral service providers curve is at P₁ with the level of community participation at L₁ and in this, a slight chunk of P₁L₁ curve, lies within core service providers curve. This is when the peripheral service providers curve advances through the imaginary threshold of core service providers' curve at some point of time T₁ and with sufficiently growing numbers of visitors in the area. Destination publicity and marketing affects tourism growth remarkably, and with this, the rapid growth in visitor arrival, as explained above, increased in the numbers of participants from both peripheral service providers zone and core service providers zone. As a result, the P₁L₁ curves shifts from its initial position and advances to P₂L₂ at some point of time T₂. At this time, the participation level of community members increases from L₁ to L₂ whereby, some more numbers of community members get promoted into core service providers zone, whereas previously ignorant to tourism, now move into peripheral service providers zone. The ultimate result being a large chunk of community members being involved in tourism. This development is however, unlike the Butler's (1980) tourist area cycle of evolution. In his model, Butler described that when a new destination is explored, it goes under rapid exploitation in the name

of development, especially when an increasing number of new entrepreneurs come into the area as a newcomer and such entrepreneurs not necessarily being the local residents or indicating a negligible share of local involvement. But in the case of Ghandruk, the process of local participation in tourism is as explained above, that is, in a gradual basis and with the visitor increment the participation process also gets expanded also because, there is no external threat to local when it comes to their participation in tourism or their control over tourism development. This is one of the evident examples of community empowerment.

5.2 LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION, COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT AND LIMITS TO TOURISM GROWTH

In the above phenomena, the widening of core service zone implies that a wider section of the community now come under this zone and similarly, previously, disadvantaged and disincentivized members of a section of the community, come within peripheral service providers zone, all as a consequence of ever-increasing tourism in the community. This increased level of community participation in tourism trade whether in peripheral or core service zone, also strengthened community empowerment. As explained above, the community is said to have empowered when they have full access to and control over tourism trade without any external interference in their business. In other words, the opportunity was open for them to take on an any tourism venture if they had will and resources to do. In this way, along with the flattening of the core and peripheral service zones, as a result of increasing level of community participation in tourism trade with increasing visitors, the community is empowered accordingly. However, a limit to this growth will soon be reached and the rule of economics come into play. Here, the flattening of the P_2L_2 curve and thus the widening of the core service providers zone is restricted to some limiting factors such as exceeding carrying capacities, reduced destination attraction among visitors etc. With increasing tourism, a considerable section of the community is already under core business zone, and those who are not, come under peripheral service providers zone because of tourism environment and tourism trade in the village. But, after a continuous tourism growth, a time period is reached, when an optimum level of visitors and consequently, a level of development is achieved, whereby the community participants in tourism will have marginal benefits from tourism equal to marginal cost for it. Further up this level, there will be diminishing returns to investment. And, this is how the volumes of peripheral and core service providers zones may remain stable at this level. Also, this is when it leads us to mark out the optimal point of tourism development flagged at level 2 of participation. This phenomena is however, in

contrast to Butler's model (Butler's model envisages a random destination evolution and not necessarily invokes of local participation in it). This is explained in the figure below.



Where,

C is core zone, P₁ and P₂ are Peripheral curves, L₁, L₂ and L₃ are levels of participation, T is time, AB is the line of constraint, O is the optimum level of participation, MB is Marginal Benefits and MC is Marginal Cost.

Figure 9: The Level of Optimum Participation in Tourism

In the above figure, the flattened peripheral curve P₂L₂ and the core service zone it creates, have both their volume fixed under the line of constraint AB. The optimum level of participation is reached at participation level L₂ whereby the marginal benefits from tourism is equal to marginal cost to it (MB=MC). In the figure, MB=MC, is when the peripheral curve is tangent at point O. The increased level of participation from L₂ to L₃ will have marginal benefits from tourism less than marginal cost to it (MB<MC) because the section OO₁ go beyond or do not abide by the constraint line AB. The

line AB is a constraint line i.e. a line of limitation to tourism growth. This is an imaginary line whereby growth is limited by factors such as exceeding carrying capacities, reduced destination attraction among visitors etc. So, crossing this line implies, cost is higher than benefits. The figure clearly shows, the level of participation at L_2 is the optimum level for tourism benefits at its widest possible peripheral and core service zones and thereby, community empowerment.

The findings from this observation produced a remarkable results from that of extant literature that, this investigator reviewed; that is, the development of two distinct zones such as, peripheral and core service zones and their growth apparently, parallelly with tourism growth in an ethnic indigenous community where there is neither external intervention nor investment in tourism. It is a community owned entrepreneurship undertaken with local resources and reflects a homogeneous community identity hardly spoken about by tourism researchers in other contexts explored. The vague idea of local participation in community tourism and different ways and approaches to include them in tourism, explained in literature, couldn't clearly focus on the community composition seeking participation in tourism. In other words, there was a less concern on community composition on that whether they were local indigenous population or newcomer immigrants. As such, the community in question were irrespective of their ethnicity and residency, in other words, they were mixed and heterogeneous with multiple identities. Research were done on such communities that mainly focused on socio-economic dimensions and later on, exceeding level of carrying capacity and local attitudes towards the tourism development. This research however, has tried to distinguish itself from the previous researches in a sense, at least that, this has attempted to identify the level of community participation along with tourism growth in an indigenous community that has a declared or undeclared policy of 'local tourism and local participation only' and the emerging consequences that developed with tourism. The local control of tourism and their free and independent participation in it, is in a sense an indication of local empowerment when it is looked upon from this perspective. The symbolic participation intensity areas, as illustrated in the figures, such as core and peripherals are the distinct outcome, that reflects more prominently and only in such self-evolving and local controlled tourist areas, than in hegemonic government or other agency planed tourism programs that are commonly exemplified in tourism literature. On the question of empowerment, the participation typologies explained in the literature put empowerment of community on the top rung of their level. This is the case with government run community projects such as tourism. However, in the community initiated

and run tourism projects such as in Ghandruk tourism, the community itself does what it needs to and is evolving with the tourism growth in their village.

CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

As stated in the introduction section of this paper, the objectives of this research were to identify the level of local community participation in tourism and also to assess the empowerment of the community imbued by tourism in the process. This research was designed in an inductive approach, and for this, exploratory method, qualitative research technique was extensively applied to collect data via all methods such as household surveys, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and observations. However, some structured questionnaires were also designed and distributed to collect some specific data to a sampled population of the research area, as a quantitative technique of collecting data. This somehow, gave an outlook of mixed method of research. To understand the exact numbers of local involvement in the tourism process and its decision making, such structured questionnaire was useful. The other qualitative research techniques were thoroughly applied to get deeper insight into the objectives and also help triangulate the data.

The study objectives were achieved, to a large extent, through different research techniques applied, that not only did unfold rich social data but also added to the research reliability by adding to the consistencies to the findings. Since this research was undertaken in a homogeneous community of Ghandruk village, composed of ethnic Gurung population of Nepal, unlike widely articulated heterogeneous tourism community in literature, the insight from this research is unique it itself. The community participation in tourism literature equivocally focus on the engagement in tourism by its community members for economic rewards. However, this inquiry emphasizes on actual 'level of participation' rather than just participation. In doing so, it could neatly identify those fully dependent on tourism, those less or partial dependent and those not yet in the process and thus left behind. The exclusive findings from the research was that, there existed a fine boundary of core and peripheral zones, defined in terms of tourism dependency of the residents living in the community and intensity of their participation in the tourism trade, and were irrespective of their physical location. The insight obtained from the research was that those living in the core zone were the principal beneficiaries from tourism, fully dependent, and more vocal and decisive in the tourism decision making matters. They

were the leading tourism traders such as accommodation and restaurant owners. While those in the peripheral zone were partially dependent in the tourism, selling some local food supplies as per the main traders' requirements and availing seasonal services. And yet, in the community, most were not within such boundaries. However, the tourism growth and trend analysis were done based on the extracted data, and this showed that along with the tourism growth in the village, the community members propensity to participate in the trade grew substantially. As sketched in the figure above, this led to flatten the curves that represented those peripheral and core zones. This is uniquely the case in communities like Ghandruk where outsiders are discouraged to take part as host. This is again unlike any tourism community or tourism destination rhetorically articulated in the literature where neither composition is considered nor level of local participation that builds on tourism growth is adequately accounted of. Thus, in such case, the community as a destination progresses, what follows is the likely progression in the overlap of the two separate zones. Because, tourism in such ethnic community is a new phenomenon for the locals that evolve through experimental process unlike any other community where tourism planning precedes the local involvement and the projects might invite wider area investors, that is, not necessarily the local inhabitants. In the case of such planned tourism where community composition is not limited to local inhabitants, the separation of the zones as peripheral and core, maybe blurred if not overlapped from the beginning stage of the planning process. This probably maybe a new insight from this research that adds to the body of tourism knowledge despite some of its limitations listed below.

If any outsiders are welcomed to settle in the community and to trade in, the level of community participation in tourism and the characteristics of the curves would deflect, requiring further investigation. This was however, out of scope for this researcher in the present study. Thus, it is highly recommended to investigate such a case for further understanding of the scenario.

Implications of the Findings

This study results have some theoretical as well as business implications. The widely cited theories in the tourism literature such as Butler's Destination Life cycle (1980), Doxey's (1975) Irridex model and Ap's (1992) Social Exchange theory all explain the community-tourism interaction. According to Butler, along with increased tourism activities in a certain destination, at a certain point of time, the development undergoes various stages with varying level of host participation or business opportunities. Similarly, in Irridex model, Doxey explained the host guest interaction, categorizing four different stages such as Euphoria, Apathy, Annoyance and Antagonism. And Ap explained the

Social Exchange theory while assessing the favorable local attitudes towards the tourism development in a community. These theories are built up based on the community-tourism interaction however, the community's direct involvement or on the issue of local participation optimization in tourism, was largely ignored while developing such theories. In this regard, the rising level of community participation in tourism in Ghandruk, that led to create the groundwork for the development of two distinctive zones namely, peripheral and core, implicates the theories mentioned above, to a large extent. To be more specific, the life span of different stages and the point of saturation in Destination Life Cycle model could be prolonged when the community members are in control of tourism in their community. Similarly, the community involvement in tourism to the level that maximizes their profits or optimizes the benefits at least, certainly inculcates a welcoming attitude among the hosts to attract more guests. And some costs are overlooked for a future anticipated benefit, a key component of social exchange theory. These were the phenomena identified in the study site, Ghandruk, leading to implicate the aforementioned theories to a large extent. So, the higher level of local participation in a growing tourism destination that creates two distinct zones, peripheral and core, elevates its saturation point of development and social antagonism. The other social dimension, community empowerment with all its dimensions and manifestations as explained above, has its deeper meaning and realization when the community members themselves have control over tourism as depicted in this study site.

From the business perspective, this study helps motivate locals into business rather than outside dependency in terms of job or food supplies and make it a sustainable way of living. By identifying the current level of participation, or what it means as the optimum participation level and their position in the tourism business, the community members could assess the tourism future trend and put in or venture out for investment. The rising participation level in tourism help one prepare for competition and opt for better service towards their visitors. It is to remind to the community that their rising level of participation in tourism creates parallelly, environmental and cultural awareness among themselves, that prolong their community visitation and stayovers, and that ultimately imply the increased tourism benefits over costs. However, some under researched areas such as, what motivates those living in the peripherals to be hopeful of tourism trajectories, who still lag behind the board are left unaddressed in this study because of resource constraint. It could be suggested that the future researches would help address such issues.

Limitations of the Study

This research like any other, has some methodological limitations. The application of qualitative survey technique was not flawless and potential biasness was presumed even though efforts was made to reduce them maximum possible. These include, during the course of survey, some respondents were seemingly unwilling or other were even unable to speak as freely and openly as it was deemed necessary perhaps, because of lack of knowledge. The absence of some community members but the voice of few dominant members during different research stages such as household surveys, focus group discussions, would not help dig into rich social data to the extent expected. Also, the emerging but still an involvement stage (Butler, 1980), of tourism development in this study site, limits the economic benefits to the community members and thus motivation for participation in the tourism projects. This might lengthen in the development process of distinct zones of peripheral and core as clearly and distinctly as theoretically hypothesized. Further research replication, in a mature tourism destination with similar settings, would definitely consolidate the theory validation.

APPENDICES

I am Khem Gautam, A PhD student at Osaka S. University, Japan. As part of my degree requirement, I am conducting this self-funded research on community tourism in this community. I would appreciate your co-operation if you complete this short questionnaire, with your very own perspective. However, you can choose not to take part or withdraw anytime, without any reason; from this process your personal information and privacy will be protected, and final result will be tended on demand.

Questionnaire

1. Are you involved in tourism business of any kind in your community?

Yes No

If yes, please tick (☐) below of what kind it is?

- Own an accommodation for visitors.
 Own a restaurant / eatery.
 Provide guide/transportation services to tourist.
 Other (Specify).

2. How are the tourism policies and programs planned in your community?

By External Agency By Community itself By local leaders/elites.

3. Do you hold any position in community tourism planning body / authority that determine policies and implement tourism related programs?

Yes No

4. While planning and implementing tourism policies, all community concern is included, and general welfare is considered rather than that of some local leaders/elites. Express your level of agreement to this by choosing the appropriate one.

1 2 3 4 5

1= complete disagree, 2= Somewhat Disagree , 3= Not Sure,

4= Somewhat agree, 5= Complete agree

5. While planning tourism policies and programs, which of the following method is applied most often?

Inviting public opinions through mass meetings and other medias.

Decisions are reached by some local leaders/elites/businessman

Governing body/authority decides.

6. What do you say about community tourism and how it affects you and your community?

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7. Demographic information.

i. Age: below 20 between 20-40 40-60 years
 60 years above

ii. Gender: Male female

iii. Education: Illiterate Literate College degree

iv. Involvement in tourism.

Partial Full time None

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