WILLIAM ROGER VAN DE BERG
Whitewater Rafting in Nepal: An Anthropological Analysis of Participation in the
Global Tourism Industry
(Under the direction of ROBERT E. RHOADES)

This dissertation contributes to the theoretical and methodological advancement
of the anthropology of tourism through a study of whitewater rafting in Nepal. First, it
provides the first intensive ethnographic study of this relatively recent form of
adventure ecotourism that is becoming increasingly important for tourists and
receiving nations. Second, the dissertation demonstrates novel approaches to the field
study of tourism, including use of multi-sited research, consensus analysis, and
interdisciplinary tools from geography and economics. Third, the impact of civil and
military unrest--in this case Nepal's Maoist insurgency--on tourism is
ethnographically described.

The role of Nepal's river-based tourism has played in generating positive and
negative consequences for participating members of the host community was
empirically researched. Five distinct groups of tourism participants--rafting company
owners, river guides, company office staff, and local riverine villagers and rafting
tourism clientele were studied. The specific objectives aimed to: (1) discern
agreement within and between each of the four groups with regard to the cognized
perceptions of social, environmental, and economic costs and benefits; (2) objectively
assess the operational reality of the river tourism operations for two commonly used
rivers. Results indicated that there was less agreement on the rafting industry's costs

and benefits within two of the five groups and more consistency between all five of the groups than was expected in the project's hypotheses. Operationally, the rafting industry appeared to have a minimal environmental impact but a relatively significant economic impact with longer, remote river runs generating more non-rafting company related spending on river trips by clientele of rafting operations than shorter, roadside river runs. Although these results are specific to Nepal, it is hoped they can be used by policymakers throughout the world to craft more effective river tourism development plans.

INDEX WORDS:

Tourism, Sustainable Development, Natural Resource Management, Impact Assessment, Political Ecology, Environmental Anthropology, Whitewater Rafting, River Tourism, Community Participation, Riverine Development, Hydropower, Cultural Consensus Analysis, Terrorism, Insurgency, Maoists, Nepal, Himalayas, Mountains

WHITEWATER RAFTING IN NEPAL: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF

PARTICIPATION IN THE GLOBAL TOURISM INDUSTRY

By

WILLIAM ROGER VAN DE BERG

B.A., University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 1992

M.A., Wake Forest University, 1996

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment

of the

Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2003

WHITEWATER RAFTING IN NEPAL: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF

PARTICIPATION IN THE GLOBAL TOURISM INDUSTRY

By

WILLIAM ROGER VAN DE BERG

Approved:

Major Professor: Robert Rhoades

Committee: Ben Blount
                     Pete Brosius
                     Virginia Nazarea
                     Fausto Sarmiento

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2003

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the river runners of the world and to all those who enjoy and use the rivers of the earth. In particular, this dissertation is for the Nepalese river guides and company owners, who have chosen to engage in an occupation that they love and which holds the promise of sustainable development for the rivers that they live, love, work and sometimes unfortunately, die upon.

Mountain Development in Kathmandu, Nepal for their assistance and support of the project in the form of a research affiliation over the duration of my fieldwork in Nepal.

Lastly and most significantly, I would like to thank my dissertation advisor Dr. Robert E. Rhoades for his intellectual support of my research as well as his pragmatic advice and suggestions. I would also like to wholeheartedly acknowledge the invaluable contributions of my dissertation committee members Dr. Ben Blount, Dr. Pete Brosius, Dr. Fausto Sarmiento and Dr. Virginia Nazarea. Without their inspiration and support, this project would have never succeeded.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Human degradation of landscapes and natural resources in developing nations can be explained in part as a consequence of global markets. Globalization and transnationalism have been recognized as primary contributors to widespread changes in environmental values in non-western societies, often resulting in the adoption of destructive ecological practices in an attempt to compete in global markets. As global integration continues through such mechanisms as trade and economic aid, international linkages in social, economic and political relations will remain in a state of constant intensification (Cox 1993, 1997; Gupta 1997a, 1997b). Although research has been done in assessing the impact of global industries on the international economic level (Holton 1998; Swift 1993), increasing emphasis has been placed on understanding the global forces that play out at the local level. Long appreciative of the role global markets play in social and environmental change in local communities, anthropologists have become increasingly aware of the interconnection between the social construction of the environmental landscape and issues of social equity and community identity (Cosgrove 1985; Feld 1996; Frake 1996; Little and Horowitz 1987; Nickum and Greenstadt 1998; Sheridan 1988, 1998).

The anthropology of tourism is one area of inquiry especially relevant to the study of global markets. Although tourism has often been treated in the anthropological literature as a monolithic agent of cultural, economic and environmental exploitation (i.e. Brown 1999), global tourism markets have had variable impacts on the

populations affected by their operations. Social scientists have debated whether tourism's economic and social benefits are distributed evenly across the social groups involved in the industry and whether all participants view the impacts of tourism in the same manner (Boo 1990, 1991; De Alwis 1998; Greenwood 1989; Holyfield 1999; McKean 1989; Nash 1989). Understanding the types of impacts and issues involved in the interactions between the tourism industry, the local populations with whom they interact, and the clientele upon whom they depend for the maintenance and proliferation of their industry is important. A main objective of this dissertation, therefore, was to explore the relationship between social positionality in the tourism industry and perceptions of tourism's social, economic and environmental costs and benefits, as well as 'ground truthing' these perceptions by way of providing objective measures of tourism-induced impacts.

A second objective was to provide the first comprehensive ethnographic study of a node of the international whitewater rafting tourism complex. Although ethnographic research has been conducted on a small group of whitewater kayakers on the United States' east coast (Kinney 1997), an estimation of the economic impacts of the whitewater rafting on several rivers in the United States (English and Bowker 1995, English, Thill, USFS 1996) and marketing research on the service encounter on rafting trips in the American west (Arnould and Price 1993; Arnould, Price and Otnes 1999), in depth study of the international rafting industry has not been undertaken. This dissertation, therefore, fills a gap in the tourism literature and integrates tourism theory into a relatively unstudied form of adventure tourism that has become globally prevalent in mountainous countries (Cassady and Dunlap 1999).

Lastly, owing to the significant impact of geopolitical conflict on the tourism industry of Nepal while I was conducting fieldwork, this dissertation discussed the

role that international conflicts have had on the tourism industry globally as well as the particular impacts on the tourism industry of Nepal. This was done so the reader would have a better understanding of the political context under which this project was conducted and the vulnerabilities that the tourism industry faces today.

Literature Review

Understanding the social, ecological and economic effects of tourism is necessary to foster effective local economic development, promote environmentally compatible forms of income generation, and offer solutions towards a sustainable future (Burns and Holden 1995; Chambers 1997, 2000; Honey 1999). Little (1996), has identified principles necessary for sustainable development of modern transportation systems which are relative to an understanding of how benefits are played out in a community involved in tourism. One of his primary principles is the social justice of the development scheme, which includes the extent to which costs and benefits are evenly distributed throughout the entire system.

In Life and Death on Mt. Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering, Ortner (1999) chronicles the evolution of the mountaineering industry in Nepal and the Solu-Khumbo region in particular, and the socio-cultural changes that it has generated in its wake. Ortner demonstrates that the infusion of tourism derived income into these high altitude communities led to changes in the social structure. These changes have led to different classes of participants that roughly correspond to altitudinal and community positionality. Ortner (1999) states that those who live in the higher altitude Khumbu tended to occupy higher social class positions in the industry than their lower altitude Solu neighbors, who tended to be employed as load bearers and kitchen helpers rather than the higher status Khumbu positions of trekking and

mountaineering guides, *sirdars* (camp organizer) or kitchen managers. Similar social differentiation arising as a result of tourism participation has also been observed in Himalayan communities by others, such as Jim Fisher (1990: 115-17), who states,

> Incipient class differentiations are emerging as a new 'tourist Sherpa' class begins to develop. This nouveau-riche group is distinguished by the novel source of wealth at its disposal … and the ostensibly different life-style it can buy.

As Ortner mentions, however, some social divisions have arisen due to this newfound source of income, while other more extreme forms of social classes have decreased as a result of the large amount of money available to the members of these communities due to participation in the tourism enterprise. For example, one of Ortner's (1999: 201) informants comments on how tourism has led to decreased social divisions in their community, telling her, "Before there were a few big people and everyone knew who they were, and you bowed and scraped to them, but now its more equaled out." However, although tourism may have been appreciated by some members of the local population as a means of improvement in socio-economic status (SES), the benefits from tourism have often been seen to be highly variable based on the position that is occupied in the tourism complex.

Norman (1999) also witnessed the leveling mechanism of tourism in some communities in her work on tourism and caste invisibility in Pokhara, Nepal. Norman's research indicated that since tourists were unaware of Hinduism-based caste differences in the Pokhara community, members of lower castes (who were not ritually proscribed from associating with non-Hindus as were the higher caste groups) began to create a niche for themselves in the tourism industry by opening up restaurants and hotels for the incoming visitors. These shops catering to tourists have ultimately been very profitable and have allowed previously poor and low caste

members of the community to raise their social and economic status. Thus, Norman (1999: 1) claims,

> Tourism can be a powerful too for minority groups not only where it serves to underscore and legitimate ethnic differences but also where it fails to recognize differences which have been the basis for social hierarchy and oppression.

There appears to be variable cognized perceptions of tourism's benefits to the local community in which it is enmeshed and these opinions seem to be related to the relative social position of the tourism participant. Both perceptions of tourism's costs and benefits as well as objective measures of tourism's impacts on members of different participating groups in the tourism enterprise may vary according to the form of participation in the industry. Therefore, it is important that anthropologists understand the differential role that tourism participation plays in fostering economic development at the local and national level among the various participants.

Nash (2000) argues that one of the most effective ways for anthropologists to contribute to the study of tourism is to conduct research with all members of the touristic experience, with special emphasis being placed on the operators introducing the tourists to the local destinations. Nash states that it is particularly important for anthropologists to explore the activities of those who have the power to develop and shape tourism development, especially company owners and guides. However, owing to tourism's multi-sited and multi-vocal nature, in order for an adequate understanding of a global system such as tourism to be gleaned, it is necessary to conduct a study of the entire system (Kearney 1995; Marcus 1995). Accordingly, this study examined in detail the way in which social position among those participating

in the tourism 'complex' relates to perceptions of the costs and benefits of participation.

Research Plan

Focusing on the river tourism industry in Nepal, I addressed how position in the tourism industry affected the individual's perception of the costs and benefits of river tourism. Additionally, this project attempted to determine the contributions of two rivers used by the river tourism industry to the national and local economy of Nepal. These economic data were used for comparison purposes between informants' perceptions of river tourism's local economic input and actual client expenditures that were measured in the survey instrument. I choose the Nepali rafting industry as my case study due to its relatively recent emergence among the riverine populations and its ability to utilize the riverine environment previously inaccessible to the local communities (i.e. rapids) for economic gain. Additionally, among the various types of tourism that have been developed and promoted in Nepal (i.e. trekking, mountaineering, and cultural), river tourism was the most poorly understood and has not yet been researched. This research, therefore, provided an important window into the operations, impacts and benefits of this industry for Nepal's development.

Specific objectives and hypotheses

According to Rappaport (1979) and Harris (1976), there is oftentimes a divide between how a population perceives their physical and social environment and what the objective reality of that environment may be. Rappaport (1979) called the locally understood knowledge of such systems the 'Cognized Model' and Harris referred to the same sort of system of beliefs as the 'Emic perspective' (1976). The local knowledge of a social or environmental system, according to Rappaport (1976) and

Harris (1979), can however differ widely from what they respectively referred to as the 'Operational Model' or 'Etic perspective'. These models can be described by using "the assumptions and methods of objective science" (Rappaport 1979: 1). For anthropologists studying a social or environmental system, both the objective and subjective models of the system should be studied to achieve a holistic understanding of the system.

In assessing the river tourism industry's role in the lives of participants, I have chosen to address both the *perceived* costs and benefits of participation in the whitewater rafting business for the study group members, or what Rappaport (1979) referred to as the *cognized models*, as well as the *objective*, or *operational reality* (Nazarea 1995) of the tourism industry's social, economic and environmental impacts. The project, therefore, followed a two-prong research design of social analysis, whereby the first component of the study addressed the subjectively perceived concerns over tourism's impacts and the second component focused on the objectively discerned measures of the tourism industry's operations.

Component 1: Cognized Models of Participation in the River Tourism Industry

Eliciting the perceived major costs and benefits of the river tourism industry from each of five groups representing key roles in the river tourism economy was the first objective. This descriptive work allowed me to foreground the issues perceived as salient among members of each group. In addition to a literature search, this was achieved by informal conversations and key informant interviews with members of the owner, guide, office staff and client groups.

The second objective was to discern if there was consensus within each of the five groups with regard to their perceptions of the social, environmental, and economic

costs and benefits of the river tourism industry. Responses to the interviews were used to create a cultural consensus survey instrument that was used to discern the level of agreement within and between all of the study groups.

Based on exploratory research conducted with the river tourism industry over two field seasons (May-Aug 1999; May-July 2000), I projected:

<u>Hypothesis 1</u>: Within each group there would be high levels of agreement concerning the perceived costs and benefits of the river tourism industry. These high levels of agreement would fit the cultural consensus model (cf. Page 93).

The third objective was to determine whether members of each study group shared a similar understanding of the costs and benefits of the river tourism industry. This was an important component as it was necessary to understand how one's social role in the tourism industry related to their perception of the costs and benefits accrued from this form of development. Norman (1999) described how in Pokhara, Nepal, members of different castes originally had differing relationships with the tourism industry due to ritual proscriptions among the upper castes from coming into contact with the tourists. This lack of contact by the upper caste with the burgeoning tourist industry provided an opening for lower caste members of society to capitalize on the newfound source of financial wealth in the tourism industry. This led to differential perceptions among Nepali inhabitants of Pokhara regarding tourism and tourists in general. As the five groups I selected for study represented different social roles in the industry, I expected that there would be variance in their responses, leading to the following hypotheses:

<u>Hypothesis 2:</u> There would be low levels of agreement concerning the perceived costs and benefits of the river tourism industry between the group of villagers and the three

8

groups of rafting industry members (owners, guides and office staff). These low levels of agreement would not fit the cultural consensus model.

Hypothesis 3: There would be low levels of agreement between clientele and local villagers in regard to the perceived costs and benefits of river tourism. These low levels of agreement would not fit the cultural consensus model.

Hypothesis 4: There would be high levels of agreement between the members of the river tourism industry (owners, guides and office staff) and the clientele. These high levels of agreement would fit the cultural consensus model.

Component 2: Operational Realities of the Costs and Benefits of Participation in the River Tourism Industry

The project discerned social, environmental and economic impacts of the river tourism industry by focusing on operational issues such as economic contributions (English and Bowker 1995; English et al. 1996) and environmental behaviors at the local level by industry participants. Of particular concern to members of the rafting industry of Nepal was the economic development importance of longer, remote rivers over shorter, dam-impacted rivers for local areas of Nepal. Local rafting employees felt that the current threat of hydropower development on the rivers upon which they operate would significantly impact the rafting industry as well as the local economies of areas in which they raft. Thus, in an attempt to discern the difference in economic input at the local level made by the longer, remote, non-dam impacted runs versus the shorter, roadside, dam-impacted runs, this dissertation compared the economic contributions made by clientele for two rivers commonly used by river tourism operators, the Kali Gandaki and the Bhote Kosi Rivers. If longer trips did provide more tourism expenditures at the local level, then an appropriate riverine development

policy should provide river tourism operators the opportunity to offer longer duration trips to tourism clientele. As trips on the Kali Gandaki river are 1-2 days longer in duration than those on the Bhote Kosi, it was expected that:

Hypothesis 5: Longer trips will generate more economic expenditures from tourism clientele than shorter trips. This revenue will be derived from non-outfitter based expenditures and will be spent by clientele in local riverine communities.

These objectives are significant because addressing them will allow researchers and policy makers to understand the role that river tourism plays in the lives of its employees and the impacts that are generated by this industry on the social, economic and environmental levels.

Preliminary Studies Conducted Prior to Dissertation Fieldwork

Over the summer field seasons of 1999 and 2000, I spent five months in Nepal establishing contacts, building rapport with members of the local river tourism community, conducting exploratory data collection and pre-testing survey instruments for this dissertation research project. The river tourism community in Nepal is a socially bounded group of approximately 3000 Nepali citizens who have become employed by whitewater rafting companies operating out of the urban centers of Kathmandu and Pokhara.   There are three formal organizations established around this industry, most notably the Nepal Association of Rafting agents, which is an organization composed of rafting company owners, and the All-Nepal River Guides Association, an organization created and maintained by non-owner river guides. The Nepal River Conservation Trust, an environmental non-governmental organization, is comprised of both company owners and employees who are interested in using the rafting industry as a vehicle to promote riverine environmental conservation. Over

the course of my exploratory fieldwork, I gained permission (including formal letters of support) from all organizations that expressed their support of this project. These periods of study in Nepal allowed me to become acquainted with the role the river tourism industry plays in the lives of those who choose to participate in it (Van De Berg 2000).

Dissertation Outline

In order to situate Nepal's river tourism industry in a larger broader context, chapter two will discuss the rise of the global tourism industry and the factors that led to its development as one of the earth's largest forms of economic exchange that the earth has ever seen. After a discussion of the history of international tourism, chapter two will discuss theoretical issues in the anthropology of tourism that are relevant to this dissertation. Lastly, chapter two will then chronicle the development of the international river tourism industry in particular, focusing on both historical and social antecedents that led to its rise as one of the fastest growing forms of adventure tourism.

Chapter three will then discuss the history of tourism in Nepal and the factors that have led to its emergence as one of Nepal's primary forms of economic development. Following a macro overview of the Nepalese tourism industries, chapter three will discuss the emergence of the river tourism industry in Nepal and the factors that have shaped its growth and maturation as a form of development.

Chapter four will be primarily descriptive, outlining the research setting, focusing on Nepal's geography, geologic history and contemporary society as a means of spatially and socially situating the river tourism industry of Nepal in its proper context. Chapter four will also provide insight into Nepal's rivers and their role in

shaping the Nepalese river tourism industry. Finally, an in-depth description of the project's field sites is provided, describing in detail the multi-sited nature of this project and explaining the necessity of such a research strategy.

Chapter five will introduce the study populations by way of briefly describing each of the five study populations and then giving a vignette of a representative member of each group. Next, chapter five will address the manner in which the study populations perceived the river tourism industry's costs and benefits. In particular, this chapter will discuss the role of cultural consensus analysis in comparing and contrasting the views of each of these groups on their perceptions of how river tourism participation has led to social, economic and environmental costs and benefits at the local and national level. Chapter five will initially provide a statistical overview of the agreement and disagreement levels among participants on the study issues and then follow with a brief discussion of the statistical results. Next, this chapter will discuss qualitatively the ways in which the river tourism industry has affected the lives of its participants. Chapter five will then examine river tourism's role in the ongoing user conflict that has emerged regarding the development of Nepal's riverine corridors. The political ecology of the river tourism industry of Nepal will be analyzed by way of indicating the way in which political decisions of natural resource management at the national government level have led to impacts on the river tourism industry.

Chapter six will address the manner in which the research project assessed the operational reality of the tourism industry's social, economic and environmental impacts. This chapter will first discuss the research project design and implementation by outlining the multi-sited approach employed in the project, an approach that was critical in discerning the overt impacts of the rafting industry in

their regions in which it operates. I then outline the methods that were utilized and sampling procedures followed by the statistical results of this component of the study and offer an interpretive discussion into the meaning of the project's results.

Owing to the substantial impact that international terrorism and locally spawned conflict has had on the international tourism industry in the past year and a half, chapter seven will discuss the manner in which the tourism industry has been and is currently being impacted by global and locally induced conflict. Focusing on the Maoist Communist insurgency in Nepal, chapter seven will discuss a brief historical overview of the movement followed by an analysis its impacts on river tourism in Nepal. The issue of international terrorism and its role in impacting the global tourism industry will be discussed and evaluated in respect to historical episodes of terrorist attacks on travelers and tourists.

Chapter eight will be the conclusion, which will attempt to tie all of the other chapters together in a meaningful whole. A brief overview of the project's results will be given, in which I will demonstrate that there was significant between group agreement as to what the costs and benefits of the rafting industry were for its participants. I will also discuss how the economic results from the study, which indicated that longer, remote river trips generated more income from clientele, could be incorporated into natural resource management plans by the Nepalese government. Based on the ethnographic results, I will offer suggestions to the social and environmental problems that were observed over the course of the research project. Additionally, I will also I will discuss the significance of this project at the theoretical and applied levels, as well as demonstrating the significance of this project in regard to its methodological repertoire. Lastly, this chapter will discuss future research opportunities in the river tourism arena.

CHAPTER 2:

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF TOURISM: AN OVERVIEW

The Rise of International Tourism

The international tourism industry has its historical roots in the travels of individuals and groups from one location to another for a variety of purposes including military conquest, diplomatic missions, religious pilgrimages, scholarly pursuits, entrepreneurial endeavors and finally recreation and leisure. Although the earlier literature on the history of tourism chronicled the development of European travel and tourism (Feifer 1985), recent scholars have begun to document the early forms of travel and tourism exhibited in other non-western European based societies (Modi 2001).

In an attempt to extend the history of tourism into earlier eras, Modi (2001) analyzed the development of the tourism industry by distinguishing tourism from other forms of travel over different periods. Beginning with the 'Ancient Era', Modi suggests that the original 'tourists' were travelers who traversed Mesopotamia, China and India as political emissaries, couriers, pilgrims, load carriers and caravan members. However, Modi claims that the dominant reason for increasing cross-border travel was trade and commerce, which led to the development of proscribed 'trade routes' that became well known and led to increasing inter-cultural contact as well as an overall increase in travel between 'nations'. Indeed, some of these early trade routes have shaped the most famous tourist trails of the modern era, such as the

Silk Road of Asia, the Inca Trail of the Andes and the 'La Ruta Maya' of Mexico and Central America (Smith 2001b; Brown 1999).

As these early 'tourists' moved across the landscape, they tended to follow roads and trails that formed relatively patterned transit paths. Resting and over-night camping spots became regularized, permanent and semi-permanent lodging began to spring up alongside of them and in so doing the beginnings of the hotel industry arose. Additionally, as travelers required specialized equipment for such travel, such as wagons for trade goods and coaches for passengers, an industry devoted to the production of travel-related equipment began to develop.

However, the invention of money and the expanding development of trade and commerce by the Sumerians in Babylonia around 4000 BC have been considered by Modi (2001: 66) as "the beginning of the modern era of travel." Chronicling the simultaneous rise of trade and travel in the early empires of Egypt, Rome, China and the Maryan of India, Modi states that these Imperial states developed systematized highways and trade systems as well as travel and trade infrastructure such as inns, security pickets, wells and imperial highways.

Although trade was the dominant reason for non-military travel at the time, a differentiation emerged between strictly business-related travel and what is today considered as 'tourism'. Different classes of lodging and accommodation began to be offered for a price and owing to the travels of high classed and wealthy traders and statesmen, travelers began to be considered as clients for upscale facilities and goods. Additionally, with the growing inter-cultural awareness of the sights and goods of other nations and empires, there arose a nascent form of what would approximate contemporary tourism. During this period, the architecture and art of civilizations from Egypt, Phoenicia, Persia, Greece, and Rome began to attract travelers, scholars

and the elite of each nation. Also during this period (around the fifth century BC), the Greeks began to establish their currency and language throughout the Mediterranean Region (Feifer 1985) and to offer assistance to outsiders through the services of 'proxeuros', the forerunners to contemporary travel guides (Modi 2001).

During the Roman Empire, the tourism industry began to fully emerge around the second century AD, complimented by an official currency and promotion of sporting events and art exhibitions. Under the reign of the Romans, conquered nations began to become known for their architectural and natural wonders. During this period, a well-established itinerary for visiting the Seven Wonders of the World developed (Modi 2001; Feifer 1985). Additionally, travelers followed the traditional pilgrimage routes and visited sites renowned to have sacred or holy status, thus bolstering the volume of cross-border traffic.

In South and Central Asia, significant trade and travel occurred during this period as well. The Silk Road, which began to see use beginning around 2000BC, became a major artery for cross cultural communication and trade from the East to the West. Goods and people made their way across inhospitable places for the purposes of trade and travel in what could almost be considered the forerunner to contemporary adventure travel. During this period, India and the other nations of South Asia became known as destinations of wonder and riches owing to the natural and human created sites. In India, travel insurance began to be instituted for wealthy merchants who would spend considerable amounts of time and make large investments to organize trade caravans (Modi 2001).

The character of travel and tourism shifted in character in the 18th and 19th centuries, as colonialism began to expand the boundaries of the known world. Coming into contact with distant and 'exotic' cultures became a sign of status and

ultimately a necessary ritual of the western elites' 'coming of age'. Among the European elite, the 'Grand Tour' developed as a way for future aristocrats to gain international experience in preparation for careers in diplomacy, foreign trade and commerce (Bhatia 1996; Feifer 1985). European elites not only ventured abroad for education and employment, but would also congregate at locations such as the winter resort of Nice solely for the purposes of recreation and amusement (Nash 1979).

Concomitant with a desire to see the world for education and recreation, the motivation to explore for the sake of one's 'God and country' arose with ever more difficult explorations being conducted in those countries that were being colonized by their European masters. Africa and Asia began to experience expeditions whose purposes were billed as 'scientific' but which also had intelligence gathering and military planning as covert agendas towards the goal of expanding the range of each country's imperial domain (Ellis 2001). Examples of these adventures can be found in what was referred to as 'The Great Game' in Central and South Asia, which pitted British agents against Russian agents in the exploration of the areas of contemporary Northern India, Afghanistan, Iran, Tibet, and Pakistan (Hopkirk 1990).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a movement toward exploration of 'Extreme' areas of the earth developed. Expeditions were launched towards Antarctica, the North Pole and the highest mountains. Often justified as scientific expeditions, these forerunners to contemporary adventure or ecotourism trips, witnessed the inevitable hardships and loss of life chronicled as 'heroic' ventures. Early 'extreme' adventures have today led to tours that mimic, albeit in much less stressful and dangerous fashion, the original routes of the first explorers. Today, tourists can follow the route across Antarctica that was taken by Shackleton's 1908 failed expedition to the south Pole as well tread their way up to the summit of Mount

Everest with the aid of local and foreign climbing guides following the route pioneered by Tenzing Norgay Sherpa and Sir Edmond Hillary in 1953.

The Modern Period of Tourism

Pioneer 'Tourism Anthropologist' Valene Smith conceptualized the development of the tourism industry into four stages based on temporal period and the primary economic mechanism prevalent at the time: (1) the Pre-industrial era, (2) the Industrial Steam Revolution era of 1700 AD, (3) the Nuclear-Synthetic Revolutionary era of 1940 AD, and the (4) Electronic Cyberspace Revolutionary era of 2000 AD and beyond. The Industrial-Steam Revolutionary period transformed the nature of the tourism industry into one based on the idea that wages could be earned by trading time for money which could be spent on 'vacations' during periods of non-work. Travel and tourism became a form of business that could be capitalized upon for profit making money from foreigners or visitors from other cities seeking novel experiences and locations.

After World War II contemporary international tourism arose. Following the return of US soldiers to their hometowns with stories of international travel and inter-cultural experiences, the US population began to become interested in exploring other countries, particularly those of the areas of the world that had until that time been visited by very few outside of academia and the military (such as the South Pacific Islands, Asia, and Europe). Smith (2001b: 21) contends this interest in foreign experiences coupled with the increased post-war wages and decreasing workweek (down to 40 hours a week from 48 or more hours a week) led to an increase in foreign and domestic recreational travel.

In 1959, however, publicly available commercial jet air service made it possible that these desires could be fulfilled on a mass scale. With the large numbers of World War II pilots available, and the high output industrial capacity of the United States supporting the production of commercial jet aircraft, the commercial airline sector began to expand dramatically. This rise in the aviation sector directly facilitated an increase in international travel and tourism more than any other factor due to its ability to transport large numbers of tourists to far flung destinations quickly and relatively inexpensively. Due to the availability of air travel, tourists began to show their faces in locations previously inaccessible (at least within the time limits of a 'vacation') to travelers of earlier generations.

Tourism Today

Currently, tourism has blossomed into one of the world's largest industries, surpassing traditional industries such as electronics, ores/minerals/non-ferrous metals, clothing, textiles and iron and steel (WTO 1995). In fact, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), an industry-sponsored pro-tourism organization, has claimed that tourism is actually the world's largest industry and that it is the largest employer in the world (WTTC 1994; Burns and Holden 1995). Additionally, the WTTC (1994) stated that directly and indirectly, tourism accounts for one in nine jobs globally and that it is responsible for 10% of the global GDP and 10% of all wages globally. However, as Burns and Holden (1995) mention, since a pro-tourism industry lobby group generated those figures, the veracity of these data may be called into question. The statistics depend on where the line is drawn as to what can be considered an indirect form of tourism employment. Nonetheless, this doesn't

diminish the tremendous impact socially, environmentally and economically that tourism has at local, national and global levels.

According to the World Tourism Organization, tourism has grown at a very steady rate since its modern origins in the post-World War II era. From an estimated 25.3 million tourists spending USD $2.1 billion in 1950 to the 625 million international tourists in 1998 who spent approximately $445 billion, tourism has shown considerable expansion. Additionally, as Jafari (2001) stated, in 1998, worldwide domestic and international tourism generated approximately $3 trillion, which according to a personal contact of Jafari's was more than what the entire world spent on defense related materials.

Tourism's importance in socio-economic development is illustrated through the World Bank's emphasis on it as a form of economic development for developed and less developed countries. Tourism has been one of the centerpieces of The World Bank's development strategies since the late 1960s, when in 1969 the World Bank's Tourism Projects Department began encouraging developing countries to invest in conventional mass tourism as a means of generating foreign revenue by way of encouraging foreign investment and direct receipt of foreign exchange from tourism receipts (Honey 1999). Over the next ten years, the World Bank distributed approximately $450 million in loans for twenty-four tourism development projects in eighteen developing countries. However, owing to a change in emphasis within the World Bank from private enterprise oriented development to one of basic needs related poverty reduction programs, the World Bank began to withdraw from tourism related funding.

By 1979 the World Bank was forced to recognize that it had funded several large-scale tourism projects in Egypt, South Korea and Morocco that were found to have

been financially and environmentally destructive. As a result, it closed its Tourism Project Section. Moreover, by the mid 1980s there was growing recognition that many of the development projects had led to less than optimal social and economic situations for the host countries. Additionally, the Bank's structural adjustment programs had also begun to show major problems at the local and national levels, leading the World Bank to begin considering environmental conservation and protection into its development agendas. Such a strategy fell in line with the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development's report that called for 'Sustainable Development' as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs." Additionally, increasing pressure on the World Bank to support environmentally sensitive development projects also arose from the Earth Summit's Agenda 21 and Rio Declaration in 1992, which addressed the need for sustainable development over environmentally exploitative and shortsighted economic development.

By the early 1990s, the World bank had not only incorporated environmental impacts into its development planning, it had begun to look at tourism projects as potential alternatives to infrastructural mega-projects (such as large dams) in facilitating economic development in less developed countries (LDCs) as well. One outcome of the World Bank's shift in the direction of environmental conservation and tourism development was the funding of a variety of projects that included, "participatory schemes for sustainable natural resource management… and development of environmentally sustainable nature-based tourism." (Global Environmental Facility 1996: 44). This shift towards environmentally conscious tourism, or 'eco-tourism' as it has come to be called, was representative of the

tourism industry at large which had by the mid 1990's begun to fully embrace the concept of ecotourism as a means of environmentally friendly economic development.

Eco-Tourism and Adventure Tourism

Around the latter half of the 1980s and the early 1990's, a new form of tourism began to arise out of the more traditional mass tourism market. Owing to its emphasis on outdoor activities and reputed lower environmental impact, the term 'eco-tourism', coined by Ceballos-Lascurain in 1983, was derived from the concept of 'eco-development' generated by Kenton Miller's (1978) early work on national park planning in Latin America. Miller's (1978) research indicated that for successful national park planning to occur, planners must integrate biological, social, political and economic considerations into one model that will help to address both environmental and human needs in the park regions (Honey 1999). Although highly variable in the types of activities that were actually subsumed under this moniker, activities labeled as ecotourism were characterized by the relatively lower number of participants, the more intensive focus on outdoor activities and features of the environment that were often missed by participants in mass tourism and its concern for preserving these critical features of the environment (such as mountains, flora and fauna, coastlines, etc.). A definition of Ecotourism has been offered by Martha Honey (1999: 25) as:

> …travel to fragile, pristine and usually protected areas that strives to be low impact and (usually) small scale. It helps educate the traveler; provides funds for conservation; directly benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities; and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights.

Ecotourism has been touted as one of the best ways to marry environmental conservation to culturally appropriate economic development. In attempting to foster local development by way of conserving local natural resources, ecotourism has been promoted by the governments of a wide variety of developed and developing nations as a panacea for a host of social, environmental and economic problems.

Owing to its ability to utilize elements of the natural environment for economic gain, ecotourism has been increasingly seen as a vehicle for sustainable economic development by political and business leaders in LDCs. Among nations in the 'global south', this sort of low input, high return investment has been promoted almost universally as a panacea for local communities that have been traditionally left out of the profit sharing of other forms of development, including conventional mass tourism development initiatives. This has been particularly true for nations such as Nepal, Kenya, Tanzania, China, Mexico, Costa Rica and Puerto Rico, which have been some of the most frequently visited ecotourism destinations in the world (Ingram and Durst 1987; Whelan 1991a, 1991b). As an example of the importance of ecotourism throughout the world in the contemporary era, the United Nations Development Programme denoted the year of 2002 as the International Year of Ecotourism by. Such a designation has helped to generate increased interest in the area of ecotourism as a research and development topic as well as to stimulate public awareness of ecotourism as an alternative to mass tourism which was traditionally seen to have more injurious effects on local populations than has smaller scale ecotourism operations.

Ecotourism in Mountain Areas

During the colonial period, mountainous hill stations were established for British and French Colonialists as retreats and vacation homes. Due to scenic vistas, 'exotic' colorful ethnic populations and close access to a wide variety of outdoor adventure sporting locations (such as hiking trails, ski slopes, whitewater rivers and rock climbing cliffs), mountains have been particularly targeted for *ecotourism* development. Countries such as Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Nepal, Pakistan, and Ethiopia, as well as the inhabitants of the Rocky and Appalachian Mountain ranges of the United States and the Alps have long exploited the vast economic potential of their highland areas by marketing these locations to adventurous travelers desiring to 'get back to nature'.

However, the increase in mountain tourism development has not come without cost to both the local environment and populations. Messerli (1987) in his analysis of the Swiss Alps stated that classical tourism of the 19th and early 20th centuries altered the local social structure in minor ways compared to a massive restructuring of modern tourism of the Post-World War II era. In the Nepal Himalaya, Ives and Messerli (1989) noted that increased tourism placed pressure on forest resources due to fuelwood gathering for campfires, cooking and heating of trekking lodges that accommodated trekkers entering the region. This has led to what to what Kunwar (1997: 178) referred to as, "economic and social revolution with lasting effects on the rural community."

The History of Commercial Whitewater Rafting

Although humans have used riverine systems for millennia as transportation networks, the contemporary adventure sport of whitewater rafting owes its origins,

24

particularly in the United States, to an anthropologist. John Wesley Powell, while working for the American Bureau of Ethnology, made national news in 1869 when he and fellow crewmembers paddled several wooden decked dories down the Grand Canyon section of the Colorado River while conducting ethnographic and geographic exploration. Although many would not refer to this expedition as the root of a contemporary sport, Powell nonetheless gave an accurate interpretation of what the contemporary river running enthusiast feels as they are participating in their shared 'sport'. Summing up his daily experience in one of his river logs, Powell (1961) wrote,

> With difficulty we manage our boats. They spin about from side to side, as we know not where we are going, and find it impossible to keep them headed down the stream. At first, this causes us great alarm, but we soon find there is but little danger; and it is the merry mood of the river to dance through this deep, dark gorge; and right gaily do we join the sport.

Powell's epic adventure was at the time a tale of the human spirit of accomplishment and the ability to overcome adversity for the purposes of exploration and the serving of one's country. Nowadays the same section of river that Powell pioneered in his wooden boats has become a long but recreational float down the Colorado River by thousands of commercial tourists every year. In fact, the Colorado River has such demand on this river that the US National Park Service has developed one of the strictest management systems in the world.

It should be noted that Native Americans had long used dugout and birch bark canoes to navigate in local waterways for a variety of purposes, not the least of which was exploration and transportation for trade. In fact, the precursors to contemporary whitewater and sea kayaks, which were developed in imitation of the kayaks and umiaks used by the Inuit on the northern rivers and open seas in the arctic region,

were widely used in Europe in the 19th century. Incoming Euro-American settlers learned how to use the canoes and it eventually became a sport and past time that began to be enjoyed by the wealthy not only in America but also in Canada, England and Europe. Canoeists such as Henry David Thoreau and John MacGregor began to popularize the sport by their writings and international canoe travels respectively (Huser 2001).

However, Powell's trip was different in that the craft he used was a much heavier and larger multi-passenger boat in which it was necessary to paddle backwards, with the oarsman's back facing downstream making it difficult to plot and maintain one's route downstream through rapids. Thus, the running of rapid infested rivers was a task only for the daring or foolhardy until Nathaniel Galloway, a hunter and trapper based out of Utah turned his seat around and began to face downstream, thus revolutionizing the way in which river runners ran rapids (Bennett 1993). With such a body orientation, it was possible to see what was approaching and steer the boat to miss it, allowing for river runners to pioneer ever more difficult stretches of water.

Using Galloway's forward facing seating position, the first commercially guided whitewater trips began to be offered on the Grand Canyon by river man Julius Stone in 1909 (Bennett 1993, 1996). Using a lightweight flat-bottomed boat steered facing forward, Stone was able to tackle rapids that had stopped Powell's expedition cold and forced them to portage, or carry their boats, around the aquatic hazards.

Boat designs changed rapidly after Galloway's designs caught on and soon boats known as 'cataract boats' had been developed for the sole purpose of running whitewater rivers with multiple passengers including a guide and paying clients (Huser 2001). These boats were used on the major river ways of the western US and continued unabated until World War II, when the majority of men were needed to go

abroad to fight in the war. However, upon returning from the war with a little bit of money in their hands and a flurry of new technologies at their disposal, many veteran river runners decided to go into business for themselves by earning a living as a river guide.

Some of the major technological breakthroughs developed by the military-industrial complex for the war effort that diffused into the civilian sector included war era rubber life rafts used for ships and sea/river based invasions as well as new materials such as plastic, fiberglass and aluminum. These materials coupled with the rubber life rafts revolutionized the sport of commercial river running like nothing seen before in the history of the sport. Whereas wooden boats were heavy and could be broken if it contacted rocks, the new rubber life rafts allowed clients and guides to bounce their way down rivers with relative ease. Soon aluminum, plastic and fiberglass were being used to make oars, paddles and even kayaks and canoes, leading to an explosion of technological progress in whitewater craft development.

Since the late 1940s and early 1950s, whitewater rafting exploded onto the world adventure sport scene, developing into a commercial tourism industry found on nearly any whitewater stretch in the country as well as the rest of the world. According to the United States' Forest Service, whitewater rafting is one of the eight fastest growing forms of outdoor recreation in the United States (English and Bowker 1995) and is even more important when discussing outdoor activities in mountain environments. The Travel Industry Association recently stated in its publication 'Profiling Tourism Trends: 1998-1999' that 14.8 million people participated in whitewater rafting and kayaking during a five-year period in the late 1990s. Rafting activities and other forms of outdoor recreation are expected to double within the next 40 years, thus leading to a need for an enhanced understanding of the possible

27

benefits and costs of these forms of recreation on the local, regional and national levels.

International Whitewater Rafting

Internationally, commercial rafting and river running began in the post World War II world after surplus rubber rafts became available and war-affected nations recovered. However, it was not until the late 1970s and early 1980s that rafting really began to effloresce internationally. European river runners, who had for years been running their local rivers in kayaks and canoes adapted to the commercial rafting craze by using the new generations of rubber and later more technologically advance fabrics such as polyvinyl chloride (PVC), Hypalon or Neoprene rafts that were being developed in England, France, Italy, Taiwan and Japan (Huser 2001). Combining these new fabrics with innovative design concepts such as the self-bailing raft, commercial rafting became easier to promote as a form of mass tourism due to the decline in difficulty afforded by the novel technologies.

Russian river runners were also developing a wide variety of crafts that utilized pontoon systems situated underneath rigid frames such as the 'Ploht' to explore the rivers of Siberia, Central Asia and other countries ensconced within the Soviet Union at the time (Bennett 1993; 1996). Although these crafts have not enjoyed the popularity that conventional rafts have globally, they nonetheless allowed for Russian river exploration and the development of a nascent rafting tourism industry within the nations of the Soviet Bloc. However, the Russian rafting industry received international attention after Russian and American river runners participated in rafting exchanges known as Project RAFT which had as its purpose the breaking down of cultural and political boundaries (Bennett 1993, 1996).

28

True international commercial rafting began to flourish in the early 1970s with the 1973 expeditions of the Awash and Omo Rivers of Ethiopia by Richard Bangs and friends. Bangs, who went on to found one of the first truly international rafting companies, SOBEK Expeditions, began to pioneer a host of rivers world wide, ultimately putting 73 first descents to his company's credit as of 2/19/02 (see Appendix A). SOBEK and those who followed its lead introduced a form of tourism development to host communities across the world that oftentimes-utilized local boat handling skills that had been passed down for generations. Wherever SOBEK set up permanent bases of operations, they hired local employees who had lived along the targeted rivers, thus allowing the local employees to maintain connectivity with their communities while participating in a global tourism enterprise (Bangs 1999; Bangs and Kallen 1989; Bangs and McQuiston 1990). Local participants in the rafting industry in the developing world have been able to use their involvement in rafting as a means of livelihood as well as a way to interact with foreigners.   Internationally, commercial rafting has become more popular all over the world. SOBEK alone has pioneered and commercially run rivers in over 26 countries and a recent guidebook of worldwide whitewater lists 38 countries with commercially run rivers (Cassady and Dunlap 1999). The rafting industry then warrants further study, particularly in the developing world where its rapid expansion has drawn both tourists and locals into the industry.

The Anthropology of Tourism

Changes in local community dynamics have long been of interest to anthropologists and this has been particularly true for changes induced by tourism. A pioneer in the anthropology of tourism, Jafar Jafari, has noted (2001), that tourism

research and its corresponding literature has followed four basic 'evolutionary' stages. These stages have all developed out of the need to counter the gaps in knowledge resulting from the previous models' paradigmatic flaws. Jafari's model of the evolution of tourism research chronicles the four 'evolutionary' stages from the Advocacy program of the 1950-60s) to the Cautionary platform of the 1970-80s, The Advocacy theoretical position was based initially on the positive development connotation that tourism had in the 1950s and 1960s among development professionals. However, as the social and environmental ills of widespread mass tourism development became known, especially among anthropologists, there arose the Cautionary platform that focused on the negative aspects of tourism development and which urged greater concern over the problems associated with tourism development.

However, as anthropologists and other tourism scholars began to realize that tourism was becoming the world's largest industry and that it was a development force that was here to stay, there became a movement that called for more moderate forms of tourism development such as ecotourism and alternative tourism. Jafari labeled that paradigm the Adaptancy platform and it became the dominant perspective in tourism research and development throughout the 1990s. However, owing to the need for a more scientific and holistic understanding of tourism's internal and external dynamics, Jafari indicated that another paradigm has emerged among tourism scholars, that of the Knowledge-Based Platform (late 1990s-2000+) (Jafari 2001). According to Jafari (2001), contemporary thinking on the Knowledge-Based Platform (KBP) focuses on the relationship between costs and benefits of tourism to all parties involved as well as the need to understand the whole tourism system in a systematic and scientific manner. Since tourism has been recognized as a global industry and

one of the primary agents of inter-cultural contact, it is important that anthropologists understand the role that it plays in the lives of those that participate in it as well as the impact that it has both 'emically' and 'etically'.

Anthropologists have contributed to our understanding of touristic issues in a variety of ways, such as the creation of classificatory categories and models of tourism development (Burns and Holden 1995; Smith 1989) and exploring the role tourism plays in the lived experience of both the tourist and employees (Arnold and Price 1993; Arnold, Price and Otnes 1999; Bruner 1995; MacCannell 1973). However, there have been a relative paucity of studies by social scientists that have included both qualitative and quantitative approaches in their analyses of the touristic enterprise (Riley and Love 2000). Focusing on articles published in journals related to tourism studies, Riley and Love (2000) claim that anthropologists and sociologists were far more likely to utilize qualitative methods as their sole method of inquiry than were their peers in other disciplines such as geography, business, and recreation and leisure studies. This has led to an imbalance in the way in which anthropologists have perceived and represented tourism to their audiences.

While anthropologists have been especially keen at pointing out the negative social impacts that tourism may produce in their field sites (i.e. Brown 1999), they have been less likely to offer a qualitative understanding of the role tourism plays in the lives of all of the participants in the tourism industry. Additionally, they have been even less likely to pair this analysis with quantitative estimates of the revenue that tourism provides at both the local and national level or with systematic examinations of the cognized role of tourism in host communities. Hopefully, a pairing of qualitative and quantitative methodologies will benefit the anthropological

study of tourism by allowing a more comprehensive, informed understanding of how the lives and economies of communities are affected.

Summary

As Lanfant and Graburn (1992) argue, tourism has been a driving force in the development of the third world since the 1960's, a period in which the World Bank and other international lending institutions began to facilitate non-western countries' investment in tourism infrastructure. Once a minor player internationally to economic development and production of foreign exchange, tourism has now become a primary source of revenue for countries across the globe. This has been particularly true for an economically impoverished country such as Nepal, which has become dependent upon tourism receipts for its very livelihood. Accordingly, tourism dependent countries must, if they are to maintain this sort of development strategy, be keenly aware of factors that may negatively affect the inflow of tourists and their dollars. Since many forms of tourism rely upon the scenic beauty and availability of a variety of natural resources, such as beaches, rainforests and rivers, it is in the best interest of tourism dependent countries to safeguard their social, economic and environmental "cash cows". Due to these factors, the country of Nepal provides an excellent case study from which to learn about both the positive and negative effects of the tourism industry.

CHAPTER 3:

THE WHITEWATER RAFTING INDUSTRY OF NEPAL

"There warn't no home like a raft…"
- Huck Finn

(*The Adventures of Huckleberry Fin-1885*)

Nepal's Tourism Industry

Tourism in the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal has a relatively short history, owing to the restrictive immigration policies of the *Dibya Upadesh* or Divine Code of Nepal's first modern ruler Prithvi Narayan Shah (Chand 2000). This code, which was put into place shortly after Nepal's unification in 1768, placed considerable restrictions on movement of foreigners into Nepal and thus acted as a major barrier to the country's early tourism industry development. Although this policy was created as an means of maintaining Nepal's sovereignty in reaction to the perceived threats of China to the north and British-controlled India to the south, east and west, the policy had the effects of decreasing Nepal's opportunity to gain economic benefits from active engagement in the region's burgeoning entry into the global economy.

The Rana Regime's Contribution to Nepal's Tourism Development

Nepal's xenophobic immigration policies were maintained throughout the rest of the 18th and most of the 19th centuries and only began to be relaxed somewhat during the 106 years of the Rana Regime, in which the ruling Rana family began to import western cultural and architectural traits into the kingdom. The Rana regime was characterized by its embrace of European culture, most notably the neo-classical

architecture such as the current government compound of Singha Durbar and the Shar Burja near Thamel in Kathmandu. Ironically, the Shar Burja, which is currently the headquarters building for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), was the first western owned hotel in the country, the Royal Hotel (owned and managed by Borris Nicholivitch) (Chand 2000).

One of the Rana regime's contributions to Nepal's development as a tourist destination was in its usage of the country's lowland areas (see chapter 4 for more information on the terai and inner terai regions of Nepal) as their own big game hunting preserve. Following the popular colonial model of hunting big game for sport, the Ranas opened up the lowland's jungles to large-scale big game hunts for their own entertainment as well as that of visiting dignitaries from Europe (especially from England) and India. The hunting of big game was perceived by the Ranas at the time a sport more than a form of recreation. The hunt also represented a means by which the hunter could gain status both within the family as well as demonstrate their prowess to the visiting heads of state (Chand 2000). The country soon became known for its excellent hunting and wide diversity of wildlife and gained an international reputation for its wild jungles and extensive mountain ranges that lay beyond. This reputation continues today and still attracts international figures, as can be demonstrated by visits to the area by notables such as ex-U.S. President Jimmy Carter and ex-First Lady Hillary Clinton as well as millions of other less famous international travelers and tourists over the past 50 years since Nepal opened its borders to foreign tourists.

The King Returns

In 1950, King Tribhuvan of Nepal, with a massive outpouring of support from the Nepalese people and the Nepali Congress Party, ousted the Rana Regime and regained his position as the ruler of Nepal. Following the dissolution of Rana rule King Tribhuvan ushered in a semi-democratic form of government (the Panchayat system) that has ultimately developed (following a popular uprising and voluntary ceding of power by the late King Birendra in 1991) into the contemporary version of democracy that governs Nepal today (a constitutional monarchy). After regaining control of the country, King Tribhuvan instituted an open-door-policy that ushered in a slow but steady infusion of foreign guests.

Aside from the incoming dignitaries that visited the Kathmandu Valley towards the end of the Rana era, among the first tourists to Nepal were mountaineers who began to use the new Open-Door-Policy to climb Sagarmatha (Mount Everest). Due to Nepal's restrictions on the entry of foreigners, previous expeditions to Sagarmatha, the world's highest peak, had been from its much more inaccessible and difficult Tibetan North Face. The northern route forced mountaineering teams to approach the mountain by way of the British colonial hill station of Darjeeling, India, where they encountered a sizeable Nepali expatriate community of Sherpas. These old mountaineering expeditions employed hundreds of Sherpas as porters, guides and later full fledged expedition members in their summit bids, thus initiating Nepalese participation in adventure tourism and modern adventure sports.

Mountaineering and Trekking Enter the Scene

The post-1950 Open-Door-Policy of King Tribhuvan allowed foreigners to enter Nepal. Mountaineering teams began to attempt several ascents of the country's

Himalayan peaks. The first summit to be reached in the country was the peak of Annapurna I by a French expedition in 1950, although the most celebrated first ascent was Sagarmatha by Tenzing Norgay Sherpa and New Zealander Edmund Hillary on May 29th, 1953. These ascents heralded a new era for Nepal, one in which it began to be known as the ultimate destination for adventure sports such as mountaineering and ultimately trekking.

Trekking has developed into Nepal's largest attraction for foreign tourists and has been estimated to generate approximately USD $10 million per year in revenue for those Nepalese who have chosen to participate in the industry (Odell and Lama 1998). Beginning with one company in the late 1960s and early 1970s, trekking has grown into a large tourism industry with over 300 trekking agencies employing directly and indirectly approximately 100,000 Nepalese citizens in some form or another (Odell and Lama 1998).

Trekking takes several forms, from the most basic form that is referred to as Tea House Trekking, which uses locally available room and board, to the most complex, which is known as expedition style group trekking. The latter employs a large number of porters (load bearers) and a cadre of Nepalese guides, cooks and assistants who offer up scale services to the trip members who generally pay handsomely for such elaborate adventures.

Annually, approximately 34% of all non-Indian visitors have engaged in some form of trekking in Nepal's hill and mountain country. Group trekking has traditionally been the preferred method of travel. However, currently approximately 46% (N=39,067) of the total annual number of trekkers in Nepal (N=84,787) are now participating in teahouse trekking rather than organized group trekking (Nepal Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation 1995). This represents a significant

demographic shift in the trekking industry and its social and economic impacts (Odell and Lama 1998)

Trekking has its roots in the traditional form of cross-country transportation that has been available to Nepalese, namely, an extensive network of foot trails that were used for trade and travel purposes by the local populations. After westerners were allowed into Nepal, the first uses of these trail networks were primarily by official expeditions organized by the British in the early to mid 1800's for the purposes of botanical and zoological surveying and collection (Satyal 1999). Following the opening of Nepal's borders in the early 1950s, Nepal began to see small numbers of foreigners entering the country for the purposes of climbing the mountains as well as exploring the countryside for the purposes of conducting reconnaissance missions for future climbing expeditions (Ortner 1999). These groups maintained their own campsites and used a large retinue of porters to carry the equipment necessary for supporting these expeditions. However, trekkers in the 1950s and 1960s, such as the Late Swiss trekker and close friend of King Tribhuvan Toni Hagen, who held trekking permit Number One, found a well developed system of trails and locally run lodges in existence, leading to a growing reputation for Nepal among westerners as a great destination for hiking and mountain sightseeing (Odell and Lama 1998). In the early 1960s, American Peace Corps volunteers began to traverse the landscape (Odell and Lama 1998; Rhoades personal communication) under government sanctioned development projects (as well as on their own recreational jaunts) and they were later joined by an increase in other foreigners using the trails for 'trekking'.

Commercial trekking tourism in Nepal is said to owe its origins to British Gurkha Colonel Jimmy Roberts who functioned as the British Diplomatic representative to Nepal. As one tourism company owners explained to me in an interview,

37

> Colonel Roberts was the first man to introduce trekking into Nepal. He was sort of the first ambassador to Nepal, actually he was not ambassador, but similar to one. But he started a trekking company, called Mountain Travel and then Tiger Tops (a jungle safari resort in the Royal Chitwan National park owned by another westerner named John Copeland) and Mountain Travel merged together and it was then called Tiger Mountain.

Coming from a background in the British Gurkha regiments, who had been based in the hill stations of the Indian Himalaya, Roberts was the first of many British ex-Gurkhas to become involved in the nascent trekking industry by way of establishing a commercial trekking guide company (Odell and Lama 1998).

The joint venture project of Colonel Roberts and John Copeland's Royal Chitwan National Park-based company, Tiger Mountain, became a celebrated company that combined mountain trekking with an outstanding jungle resort location and has been frequented by a large number of high profile celebrities, including at least two US Presidents and their families. However, in its early days, there was a problem in getting tourists to the resort from Kathmandu, which is both the capital of Nepal and the location of the only international airport in the country (the origin point of the majority of the international tourists that visit Nepal each year). Additionally, since the resort was based on combination packages of mountain trekking and the Tiger Mountain Resort's jungle safari adventures, there was also a problem in getting trekkers out of the resort quickly and easily. As one tourism official explained, "When they were through trekking, there was no road between Mugling and Chitwan so they had to truck way over to Hetauda since there was only one road up to Kathmandu."

This dilemma was solved later on by one of the US Embassy's staff members, Al Read, who in 1973 was investigating another route to the Chitwan area from

Kathmandu by way of using the Trisuli River that flows from the town of Mugling (where the Pokhara-Kathmandu passed through) directly into the Royal Chitwan National Park region. Read was a whitewater boater who explored the lower reaches of the Trisuli River in a variety of river craft and ultimately settled on rubber inflatable rafts (Knowles 1992, 1994, 1999). Read's pioneering efforts eventually led to the development of one of Nepal's largest forms of adventure tourism, the whitewater rafting industry.

The River Tourism Industry of Nepal

Nepal's whitewater rafting industry has expanded six fold in the past ten years (Table 3.1) and ten fold since 1983. It has become the third most popular attraction for tourists to Nepal, after general pleasure seeking tourism, and trekking and mountaineering (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001; Nepal Association of Rafting Agents Unpublished Data 2002). Further, due to the government's plans for hydropower development on the majority of rivers used by the rafting operators, it is absolutely imperative to understand the importance of the rafting industry both socially and economically to Nepal.

Traditional Users of Nepal's Rivers

Local populations have used Nepal's rivers for hundreds of years for the purposes of trade and transport, subsistence (e.g. fishing) and for religious ceremonies and rituals (Sharma 1977). Most towns and villages of Nepal were located alongside major rivers of the country (Sharma 1977). Among Nepalese ethnic groups, two have been particularly associated with the use of the country's rivers, the river

ferrymen known as the Botes and the fishermen referred to as the Majhi (Subba 1989).

Table 3.1: Rafting Client Data for Nepal By River for Years 1990-2000

Name of River	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000
Sun Kosi	400	400.00	750	975	1,100.00	1,400.00
Seti	800	900.00	1,450.00	1,725.00	1,855.00	1,500.00
Arun	450	455.00	490	525	200	100
Kali Gandaki	150	400.00	800	1,500.00	2,500.00	3,500.00
Karnali	700	725.00	700	700	780	300
Bhote Kosi				2,000.00	2,800.00	3,000.00
Tamba Kosi	20	10.00	15		25	-
Marsyangdi				1,725.00	1,500.00	400
Bheri	100	130.00	158	130	100	100
Trishuli	3,000.00	6,000.00	5,250.00	7,000.00	13,500.00	20,000.00
Total	5,620.00	9,020.00	9,613.00	16,280.00	24,360.00	30,300.00

-Data Courtesy of Nepal Association of Rafting Agents (2001)

The Botes are an ethnic group that have traditionally occupied a particular social niche of ferrymen on Nepal's large rivers of the mid and lowlands (Subba 1989). The Bote derive the name of their ethnicity from the Nepali word for tree, possibly due to the use of hollowed out trees for their boats by the Bote (Subba 1989). Residing in at least 12 districts throughout Nepal, the Bote have until recently provided the sole means of crossing the large rivers that crisscross the country. Using large dugout canoes for their river craft, the Bote would ferry fellow Nepalese from trailhead to trailhead across the large, rain and snowmelt-swollen rivers for a small fee. This allowed them to supplement their own subsistence agriculture with income derived from providing the ferry service to their countrymen. However, bridges built by government and non-government organizations have led to a decline in the necessity for ferrymen services and have led to a decline in this form of livelihood except in the more remote regions that have not seen bridge construction projects (Subba 1989).

Another group of Nepalese citizens who have relied extensively upon the river systems of Nepal for their livelihood have been the Majhi fishermen. Traditionally considered as a low status caste/ethnicity in Nepal, the Majhi have oftentimes been confused with the Bote and the two groups have been mistakenly thought by some anthropologists to be related to each other (Bista 1967). However, the Majhi's primary form of subsistence has been based on fishing rather than acting as ferrymen and the two speak entirely different languages (aside from the lingua franca of Nepali) (Acharya 1986). The Maji have subsisted on the riverine resources of Nepal and have, in some cases, moved into the Bote's ferry business (Regmi 1978).

However, even though both of these groups of Nepalese have used the rivers of Nepal for both transport and subsistence purposes, neither of them were interested nor skilled in running their river-craft through the massive whitewater rapids located on the rivers throughout the Himalaya. The whitewater environment, deemed too dangerous to be run by Nepal's traditional river-men, was ultimately capitalized upon by foreigners who possessed both technological advantages in river craft as well as the specialized skill necessary to pilot such craft down difficult whitewater. Whitewater tourism provided a new generation of Nepalese citizens with a means of both exploiting a previously untapped resource for economic gain as well as allowing for changing the status of those who used the rivers from one of low status, the fisher or ferryman, to one of relatively high social status, the international river guide.

History of Nepal's River Tourism Industry

The Nepalese river tourism industry has a relatively short history and it shares many facets of its origins with trekking. Nepal's river tourism began in the late 1960's when a few French, German and American teams began to explore the lower reaches

of several Himalayan rivers. The Sun Kosi and the Trisuli (see Figure 3.1) were the first to be run by these foreigners who descended them in fiberglass kayaks and collapsible 'Fol-Boats' rather than inflatable whitewater rafts which would later allow for a commercial whitewater industry to prosper. These trips were privately organized expeditions that involved Nepalese as porters and support crew rather than active participants on the river. Aside from the Sun Kosi and Trisuli, other teams began to explore other rivers in the mid seventies, including a Czech attempt on the Dudh Kosi in 1973 and English attempt on the same river in 1976 (Knowles 1999). Similar expeditions with marginal Nepalese participation followed in the 1980s and 1990s on other more remote and difficult rivers in Nepal.
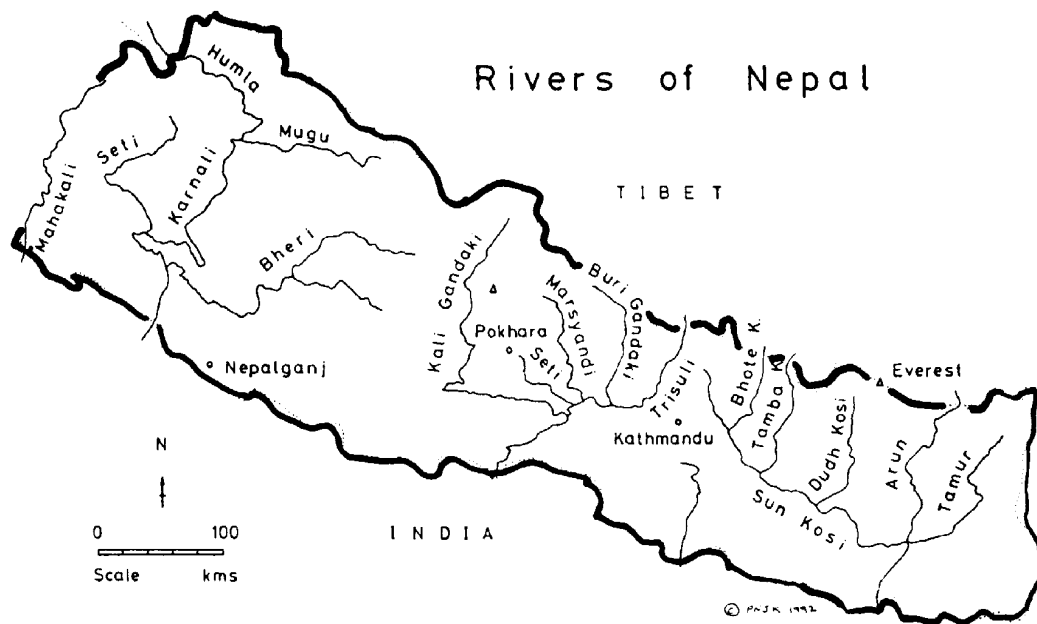
Figure 3.1: Map of the commercially run rivers of Nepal

Source: White Water Nepal (Knowles 1999)

The first commercial rafting company in Asia was launched in 1976. Owned by Al Read, this company was based out of Kathmandu, and staffed by both American and Nepali employees. By 1973, Read had begun to privately run some rivers in a

variety of craft and ultimately began to use the inflatable rafts used by the nascent

rafting company SOBEK Expeditions, which had been pioneering other rivers across

the developing world at the time (see Appendix A for a list of SOBEK's first global

first descents).   Realizing the tremendous commercial potential in developing a

rafting company on the Himalayan rivers, Read formed his own rafting company and

named it Himalayan River Runners (HRE). Read hired veteran American raft guide

Mike Yager to manage the newly established company and to train a cadre of

Nepalese river guides.   These guides were to be given expense paid trips to the

United States to learn how to guide and to gain emergency medical training.

Although Nepalese have existed alongside their river systems and utilized the

water from them for thousands of years, the concept of floating down them in rubber

rafts was a quite alien concept to them at first and led to some rather frightful

encounters for many budding raft guides.   As veteran raft guide Nima Lama

summarizes in a quote included in Knowles' (1999: 67) river runner's guidebook to

Nepal,

> We Nepalese have always revered and at the same time feared our holy
> rivers. To ferry across a river in a dugout canoe was a dangerous and
> fearful experience- no lifejackets or floatation and most Nepalese
> cannot swim. The idea of running rivers, especially whitewater rivers,
> for 'fun' seemed quite crazy to us.

Nevertheless, by way of advertising for the open positions of 'White Water Raft

Guide Trainees' in the local Nepalese daily newspaper the 'Rising Nepal', Yager was

able enlist over 100 Nepalese applicants into his training program for the 1976 rafting

season.   Many of the participants had no idea what the job actually entailed and there

was a high attrition rate after the first few training drills were conducted, some of

which involved flipping the raft over in the middle of moving water and rapids.

However, for those that remained there was a payoff. Yager ultimately selected eight Nepalese to continue on in the training program and these men eventually were sent to the US in 1976 for advanced first aid and guide training (Knowles and Allardice 1992). These guides then came back and began to work for HRE as river guides for the rafts that would shuttle people from the Pokhara-Kathmandu Valleys to the Chitwan area to continue their vacations on a Tiger Mountain jungle safari, as one company owner explained to me,

> The first raft guide in Nepal was from the US, Mike Yager, and he
> started by sending Nepali guides to the US for their training. They
> then came to back to Nepal and began to commercial raft from
> Mugling to Chitwan. You see there was a road from Pokhara to
> Kathmandu but no road from Mugling to Chitwan, so they would raft
> from Kuringhat in 2 nights, 3 days to Chitwan and then they would
> begin a safari in Chitwan from there.

After working for Yager at HRE for several years, many of the Nepalese raft guides decided that they wanted to own their own rafting companies. These guides, oftentimes with Western co-owners or financial backers, established rafting companies and employed Nepalese staff. As a result, Kathmandu and later Pokhara began to witness a growing rafting industry during the 1980s and 90s that would expand considerably from the single company that existed in 1976.

The Nepalese rafting industry has been organized and overseen by the Nepal Association of Rafting Agents (NARA), an organization comprised of rafting company owners. The organization came into existence in 1989 and was formally recognized by the Government of Nepal on December 27, 1989. At the time of NARA's inception, the Government of Nepal required that all rafting clients pay for a permit that allowed them to participate in a rafting trip on a particular river for a specified number of days. Prior to any client's rafting trip commencement, it was

necessary for all outfitters to ensure that all clients had their permits and thus it became important to have an organizational body that could act as an intermediary between the government and the individual rafting companies and thus NARA was formed. One of the primary reason's for the organization's existence was to have a body that was able to issue government rafting permits to rafting companies for clients that signed up later in the day and on days that were traditional government vacation days (of which there are many in Nepal due to the intensive religious calendar). This permitting system was maintained by the Nepalese government until the summer of 1999, when the government repealed the permit system, allowing rafters to traverse the commercially approved rivers without the need for such a registration procedure.

Although the repeal of the permit system aided companies by eliminating bureaucratic red tape and hurdles to get late arriving clients' permits, it nonetheless had a down side for the industry. The government permit system was the only semi-reliable system for record keeping on rafting clientele and with its demise, a void in record keeping has made it difficult for the industry to keep track of its progress in client river days. However, NARA has started to estimate the numbers of clients, which although not perfect, are indicative of the riverine tourist numbers in the past several years. Since 1990, when reliable figures started to be collected by the government and NARA, overall rafting clients went from 5,620 client river days in 1990 to 30,300 in 2000 (NARA unpublished data 2002). This near six-fold increase in clientele has led to a proliferation of both rafting companies and river guides.

Current River Tourism Industry in Nepal

Today, the government of Nepal officially recognizes sixty-one river operators employing over 3000 Nepali employees. Historically, over the past 25 years, approximately 96 government sanctioned rafting companies have been members of the Nepal Association of Rafting Agents (NARA unpublished data 2002). In reality, approximately 40 companies operate today although only about half of those companies have consistent rafting business with the rest drawing the majority of their income from the sales of package tours and guided treks. This large number of operators led to intense competition within the industry for the international tourist's vacation dollars. This competition has resulted in a price war that has not only hurt the tourism operators economically but has also the potential to pose significant dangers in terms of trip safety and quality.

Although westerners originally owned several higher profile companies, the vast majority of all companies today are Nepali owned and operated. Additionally, those businesses not owned 100% by Nepalese were still co-owned by Nepalese and all of the companies employed only Nepali citizens. In fact, The rafting industry leaders of Nepal have erected legislative safeguards to protect Nepali raft guides and offer them a modicum of job security by way of excluding foreigners from serving as raft guides. Westerners can only gain employment in the Nepali rafting industry by acting as safety kayakers and video boater, positions that require more technical skill and high priced equipment. However, a growing number of Nepalese who have become technically proficient at both kayaking and client rescue and have started to fill those niches previously occupied by westerners.

Not only have Nepalese guides had an opportunity to become trained as kayakers and rescue technicians, they have also been able to travel the world alongside western

raft guides and kayakers making a living as seasonal raft guides in a wide variety of countries. Nepalese kayakers have established contacts and developed circular migration patterns to many countries, including the U.S., U.K., Japan, Israel, Iceland, Norway, India, Turkey, France, Chile, Canada, Sweden, as well as visiting other countries for international competitions, such as the ex-U.S.S.R., Spain and New Zealand. The rafting industry has enabled Nepalese the opportunity to not only gain employment in a country with a shortage of meaningful employment for young males who have recently left their home villages, but to also explore the world using the skills that they have gained while employed in the whitewater industry. Further, many guides have earned international rescue, first aid and instructional certifications while traveling abroad and as a result, have been able to command a higher wage at home when they return for the main rafting seasons in Nepal (post and pre-monsoon seasons).

Rafting Industry Membership

Ethnically, the rafting industry appeared to be much more diverse than the mountaineering industry described by Ortner (1999). Employees in many rafting companies represent a variety of ethnic groups rather than one dominant ethnicity as in the case of Sherpas in the climbing industry. Among the members of the Nepal Association of Rafting Agents, ten (N=10) ethnic groups were represented as company owners. Among the river guides, there was even more ethnic diversity, with twelve (N=12) ethnic groups being represented among the membership rosters (Tables 3.2 and 3.3).

However, a disproportionate number of the higher caste Brahmins and Chetris are represented in the river tourism industry (Table 2.2). Among the 62 company owners

of NARA's membership, ten were Brahmin (16%) and fifteen were Chhetri (24%). This is possibly due to the location of the both the rafting company home bases (urban center of Kathmandu) and the close proximity of Chhetri and Brahmin communities to the most frequently and earliest commercially run river in the country, the Trisuli Khola which flows south outside of Kathmandu. Additionally, the relatively economic advantaged Brahmins and Chetris may have been more able to put up the capital to start the rafting businesses. However, the majority of company owners were from the traditionally lower caste ethnicities of Nepal, such as the Gurungs, who owned eleven (18%) companies, Magar and Newar, each of whom owned seven (11%) companies, and Tamang and Rai, who each owned 3 (5%) companies. Other ethnic groups such as Lama, who owned four companies (7%) and lastly Sherpa and Limbu, who each owned one company each (1.5%). There was a high amount of ethnic diversity at the ownership level, even though there appeared to be a higher concentration of company ownership associated (80%) with five ethnic groups in particular.

Among river guides, there was a similar sort of ethnic breakdown, with twelve ethnic groups represented in the membership of the All Nepal River Guide Association (ANRGA) (Table 3.3). ANRGA has functioned as the guide organization responsible for mediating disputes among guides and acting as a union of sorts for river guides. ANRGA was formed in 1987 by river Guide Mahendra Singh Thapa (who is currently the president of NARA) and it has represented the interests of guides industry wide since. According to NARA, there are approximately 550 full time river guides, 400 trainee guides and approximately 1500 seasonal laborers with 600 office staff supporting all of them (total N= 3050). However, in my experience, there were fewer employees during the 2001-2002 field season, due possibly to the

poor tourist seasons experienced because of regional and global instability and conflict. According to ANRGA's membership roster, approximately 75 paid members even though the roster numbers totaled 163. Within the membership of ANRGA, there were twelve ethnic groups represented with three ethnic groups heavily represented (comprising 62% of total N), including Gurung (N=19; 25%), Brahmin (N=16; 21%), and Magar (N=12; 16%). Thus, even though there is representation of a large number of ethnicities in the industry, a predominance of several ethnic groups is found at the organizational level (e.g. Brahmin, Chhetri, Gurung, Magar, Newar).

Table 3.2: Rafting Industry Owners by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Total N	% of Total N
Magar:	7	11
Limbu:	1	2
Newar:	7	11
Gurung:	11	18
Bhotiya:		
Tamang:	3	5
Thakali:		
Brahmin:	10	16
Tibetan:	4	7
Sherpa:	1	2
Chhetri:	15	24
Rai:	3	5
Total N of Owners:		62

Table 3.3: Rafting Industry Guides by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Total N	% of Total N
Magar:	12	16
Limbu:	2	3
Newar:	7	9
Gurung:	19	25
Bhotiya:		
Tamang:	5	7
Thakali:		
Brahmin:	16	21
Tibetan:	5	7
Sherpa:	1	1
Chhetri:	1	1
Rai:	4	5
Kami	3	4

Total N of documented ANRGA members (from total list of 161):   75

Summary

Thus, the river tourism industry of Nepal has developed from the earlier forms of mountain eco-based tourism, such as mountaineering, trekking, and Chitwan jungle safaris. However, since it came onto the tourist scene in the mid-1970s, it has grown considerably and has developed into one of the largest forms of adventure tourism in

Nepal. This rapid growth has led to both an increase in rivers available to be run commercially as well as the number of rafting companies available to raft with. Clients now face a bewildering number of rafting operators and a wide variety of river trips that can cater to any sort of whitewater desire that they may have.

The rafting operators now enjoy the ability to employ Nepalese staff as both guides and safety kayakers, a difference from less than ten years ago, when nearly all of the kayakers and many of the guides were still westerners seasonally coming to Nepal to work for a season or two on the rivers of the Himalaya. Additionally, Nepalese guides are now being trained in western first aid and swiftwater rescue as well as gaining international guiding experience which has risen both the general standard of guiding in Nepal as well as providing skills which allow them to command a higher wage.

Although originally founded by foreigners, the rafting industry in Nepal is now nearly 100% Nepalese owned and operated, something that is rarely seen in the tourism industry due to problems of economic leakages of revenue because of foreign ownership of tourism operations (Butler 1992) Among those who own these companies and the staff that they employ, there is a great deal of ethnic diversity, something which appears to be quite different from the case of mountaineering, which Ortner (1999) has reported to be dominated by a few ethnic groups. Thus, the Nepalese rafting industry provides an interesting case study in the anthropology of tourism in general and mountain adventure tourism in particular.

CHAPTER 4:

RESEARCH SETTING

"…the time will probably be recollected by many persons still living, both in England and in India, when Nepal was spoken of as another Eldorado"
- Colonel Kirkpatrick
(An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal- 1793)

Physical Environment of Nepal:

Nepal is a small land-locked country nestled between India to the south and Tibet (or the new western province of China) to the North (see Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2). The country of Nepal is home to a tremendous amount of climatic, topographical, biological and cultural diversity. This diversity can be clearly seen in the region's geography, of which there are approximately seven different physiographic zones (see Figure 4.3). These zones include the lowland plains (or Terai), the Siwalik and Mahabarat mountain ranges, the inner lowland valleys (or inner Terai), the mid-montane area between the first ranges and the Himalayas, the Himalayas and lastly the high mountain valleys of the Inner Himalayas (Bista 1994:11).   All of this geographical diversity is contained within the approximately 200 kilometers of width between the Gangetic plain and the Tibetan plateau (between 26 22' & 33 27' of the northern latitude) and 800 kilometers in northwest to southeast length (Finlay, Everist & Wheeler 1997).

The tremendous amount of geographical variation exhibited in Nepal is accompanied by a corresponding difference in elevations within each of the geographical regions. The lowland Terai region of Nepal, which begins at an altitude

of approximately 200 feet above sea level, differs sharply from the Kathmandu Valley, which is located at approximately 1500 meters above sea level. The variation between the Terai and the Kathmandu Valley, however, is dwarfed by comparison to the difference in elevation between the Kathmandu Valley and Sagarmatha (AKA Mount Everest), the highest point in the Nepal Himalayas, which rises to over 8000 meters above sea level.
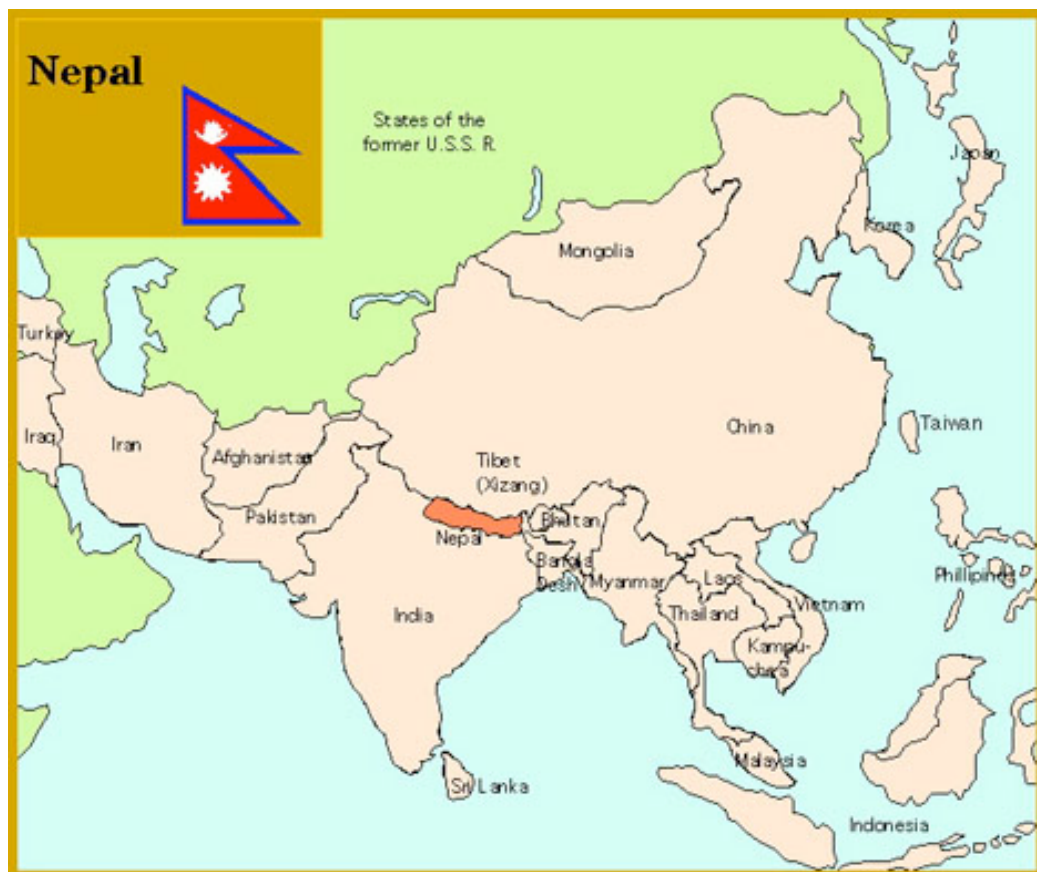
Figure 4.1: Map of Asian region

Source: http://kaladarshan.arts.ohio-state.edu/jpgs/maps/Nepal.jpeg

Figure 4.2: Map of South Asian region.
Source: http://www.tiscali.co.uk/reference/encyclopaedia/countryfacts/images/maps/large/00001859.gif
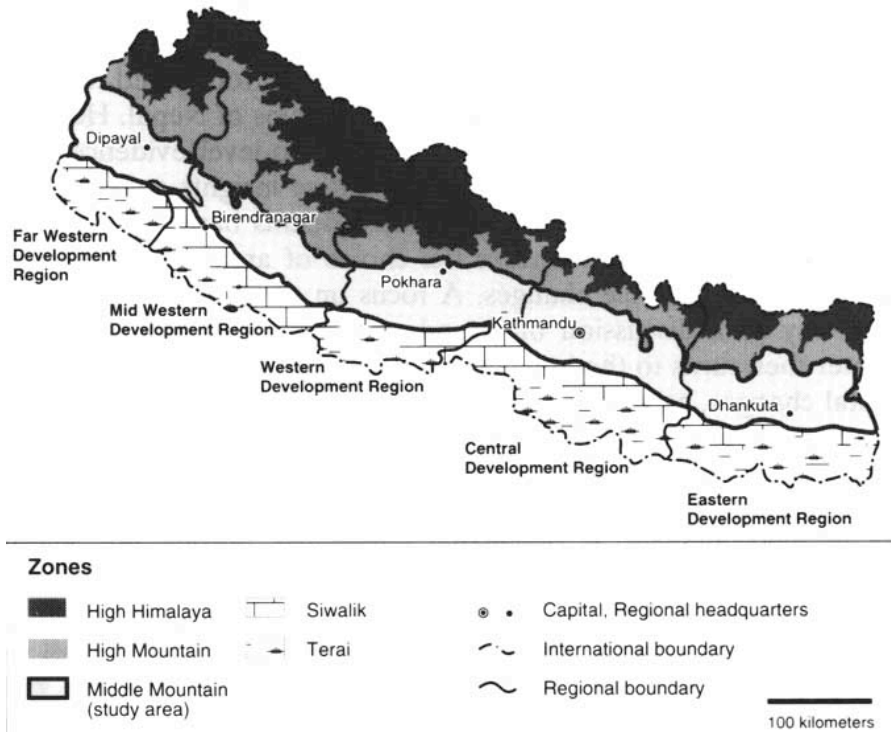
Figure 4.3: Map of Nepal's physiographic zones
Source :www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/ uu14re/uu14re08.jpg

Geo-Ecology of the Himalayan Rivers

The Himalayan Mountain range began to be created by the collision of the Indian tectonic plate with the Eurasian Plate at the location of what would become the Tibetan Plateau approximately 70 million years ago. As the plates collided, the sea floor buckled and the resulting uprising sediment formed rows of high ridges that gave rise to the Alpine-Himalayan mountains that extend from Europe to South East Asia. The creation of the Himalayan Mountains occurred in roughly four temporally progressive stages, with the Trans-Himalayan Mountain range being the first range of mountains to be created by the initial convergence of the two tectonic plates. This range would eventually be elevated higher by the actual collision of the two landmasses themselves approximately ten to fifteen million years ago and formed what is now known as the Tibetan Plateau. This collision was the primary event creating what is now known as the main Himalaya range and the inner mountain valleys, doing so by crushing the surface material and lifting it upward into the high mountains and deep folded valleys characteristic of the region. Approximately 800,000 years ago dramatic upheavals of the mountains by tectonic shift led to both the heightening of the Himalayan Mountains to their status as the world's highest mountains as well as to the draining of the large inland lake created by the water trapped during the initial collision of the two landmasses (Subba 2001). However, this violent tectonic activity also led to landslides and earthquakes which blocked the waters of southward flowing rivers and creeks and led to other large lakes being formed in the inner Himalayan valleys, such as the lake that covered the Kathmandu Valley until approximately 10,000 years ago.

The Himalaya are relatively young in geological age (Subba 2001) and this is reflected in their craggy and rocky composition as well as by the river systems that

flow from their flanks. Prior to the emergence of the Main Himalayan Mountains, the rivers flowing from the Trans-Himalayan Range flowed southward into the large lake formed between the Indian and Eurasian Landmasses referred to as the Ganges Sea. However, as the Main Himalayan Range rose and developed into the highest mountain range in the world, many of these southward flowing rivers began to run into impediments in their southward journeys. Rivers such as the Indus and the Tsangpo-Brahmaputra River systems were forced to make east-west diversions to circumvent the mountain chain that had formed in their path. However, some rivers, most notably the major rivers of Nepal, were able to maintain their southbound paths and rather than being deflected east or west by them mountains, plowed through the mountain range at weak points and carved deep, narrow river gorges that burrowed into the sides of the Himalayan Mountains.

Many rivers that currently flow through Nepal existed prior to the development of the Himalayas and as the main Himalayan Mountains rose, the rivers continued to flow primarily north to south from the Tibetan Plateau through the Himalayas to the lowland Terai and ultimately terminating in the Indian Ocean. This is referred to as an antecedent drainage system (Knowles & Allardice 1992) due to the flow carving its way through the Himalayas and maintaining its traditional course rather than flowing in different directions from the various faces of the Himalayan Mountains.

Having its origins in the snowmelt from the high altitude Tibetan Plateau and the peaks of the Himalayan Mountain range, the Nepalese river system carves deep gorges and canyons into the base of the Himalayas by eating away the soft rock of the valley floor. This results in deep river canyons within which flow relatively warm rivers that make them ideal locations for riverine recreational usage, particularly for whitewater rafting and kayaking. Owing to this geologic anomaly, the river systems

56

of Nepal are uniquely endowed with the ability to offer whitewater rafting enthusiasts stunning views of the world's highest mountains while drifting through sub-tropical forests on rivers swollen with clear warm water. It is this form of riverine usage that this study addresses.

Social Environment of Nepal

The enormous variations in topography, geography, elevation and faunal biodiversity within the country of Nepal are paralleled by a corresponding amount of cultural and societal diversity.   Nepal possesses approximately 533 different ethnic groups speaking approximately 1,200 separate languages (Nepalese Central Bureau of Statistics 2001). The various ethnic groups are scattered throughout the country and historically were relatively geographically isolated from one another by terrain features such as rivers and mountains. This relative isolation led to the development of numerous modes of subsistence and unique cultural traditions that are currently still in existence. Additionally, this variation in cultural and ethnic backgrounds has had historical ramifications that have helped to provide the social context of Nepal's socio-political development.

Nepal's Current Social Context

Currently, Nepal is still one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse counties in the world. However, despite its richness in cultural diversity, economically, Nepal is one of the poorest countries on earth. In fact, according to 1996 census data, the average Nepali citizen makes only approximately $160 a year (Matthews 1996) and over 90% of the populace do not have access to electricity (NMTCA 1995). The impoverished condition of Nepal is even more apparent when viewed from the

perspective of the distribution of resources within the population. Approximately 50% of Nepal's wealth is owned by only 32 families (Matthews 1996) and this inequitable distribution of wealth and resources (i.e. productive land) is at the root of the current efforts at social change so prevalent in the political sphere of the country. However, the uneven power differential in Nepal also has set the stage for an extremely exploitative and urban center-based locus of power, which continually has intense ramifications for the poor and often dispossessed rural villager.

The inequitable distribution of wealth and access to resources in the country of Nepal has been exhibited in a number of ways. One manifestation of this has been the differential access an individual or group has to arable land upon which to practice their mode of subsistence. Another example of societal inequality in Nepal has been the manner in which different groups have representation in the Nepali government, where the elite have almost total control over the country's decision making processes. One final aspect of social inequality in Nepal is the extent to which the infusion of the Hindu caste system into the Nepali cultural arena has led to the development of a rather rigid system of social organization in the country, with the Brahmin upper class dominating those of the traditional ethnic groups of the region (Bista 1994).

With a population of 23.2 million people and an annual growth rate of 2.27, 78 percent of Nepal's populace is under the age of 40 years old and 41 percent is under the age of sixteen years of age. This youthful demographic picture is complicated by Nepal's increasingly bleak economic outlook which can be illustrated in looking at standard economic indicators such as its per capita GNI, which the World Bank estimates at approximately $250 USD per year (World Bank 2002). Nepal's population is young and growing up in increasingly bleak economic conditions

necessitating a form of economic development which can provide steady employment to the increasing number of young Nepalese citizens that are migrating to the cites in search of employment.   Owing to its ability to incorporate large numbers of youthful Nepalese into its workforce, the Nepalese tourism industry may be one solution to this dilemma and is the focus on this research project.

Project's Research Sites:

Nepal possesses some of the largest and most powerful rivers in the world and it has become much sought after by river runners worldwide (as well as other forms of riverine developers (Upreti 1993).   Globally, whitewater rafting is a form of recreation that has grown substantially since the end of World War II (when large numbers of rubber military rafts became available on the open market) wherever it occurs, acts as an agent of globalization by incorporating members of the local populace (e.g. Nepal, Costa Rica, Honduras, Chile, Ecuador, North America, etc.).

This study took place in Kathmandu and Pokhara, as well as on the corresponding rivers of the Bhote Kosi and Kali Gandaki. There are two identical rafting seasons in Nepal, the first of which begins in mid-September and extends until mid-December. The second season begins in mid-January and extends until late April.   Data collection was conducted on the Bhote Kosi River and in Kathmandu during the fall post-monsoon rafting season and on the Kali Gandaki River and in Pokhara in the spring pre-monsoon season.

Urban Tourist Centers: Kathmandu and Pokhara, Nepal

Kathmandu is the capital of Nepal as well as the country's primary urban center, possessing a population of approximately 675,341 (Central Bureau of Statistics 2001)

and has the only international airport in the country. All international tourists arriving in Nepal via air must pass through Kathmandu en-route to any other destination and thus receives the highest number of tourist arrivals in Nepal. Over the past ten years, Kathmandu has seen a dramatic rise and then fall of its international tourism arrivals, from 254885 international arrivals in 1990 to a high of 566,567 in 1993 and down to the lowest figures in ten years of 215,922 in 2002 (CBS 2001).

The second urban field site was the mid-western hill city of Pokhara, located approximately 100 kilometers from Kathmandu, and accessible by bus or plane. Pokhara has approximately 95,286 inhabitants and although tourist arrivals in Pokhara are not recorded centrally, an estimated 20-25% of tourists to Nepal pass through Pokhara en-route to a trek or rafting trip.

The research conducted in the urban areas of Nepal was primarily focused on data collection with clients, employees, owners and officials of the river tourism industry, as well as government tourism ministers and tourism specialists with local NGOs. Methodologically, I was able to conduct structured and semi-structured interviews, administer cultural consensus surveys, and engage in participant observation with each of the aforementioned groups.   By being based in the rafting capitals of the country I was able to interface with the official organizations of the rafting industry, such as the Nepal Association of Rafting Agents and the All Nepal River Guides Association, both of whom are extremely supportive of the project and whose leadership and members have volunteered their time and energies to assist in the collection of data for this project. Such cooperation led to a more participatory form of research and data collection, whereby members of the guide community assisted me in collecting survey data from their ranks. Additionally, participating company

owners worked together to enable me to accompany trips from those sampled from the total universe of available trips on the two rivers being studied.

River Study Locations: The Bhote Kosi and Kali Gandaki Rivers

The research consisted of ten months of ongoing multi-sited fieldwork with the river tourism industry in Nepal. During that time I conducted data collection on seven different rivers (Bhote Kosi, Kali Gandaki River, Karnali River, Marsyangdi River, Sun Kosi, Seti Khola, and Trisuli Khola), covering a considerable portion of the country (Figure 3.1).

The primary research focus was on the Bhote Kosi and Kali Gandaki Rivers, which have witnessed the heaviest use among the rivers in Nepal for tourism. The rivers were selected on several factors, such as presence and/or absence of hydropower projects, the density of clientele and their proximity to the two tourism centers of Nepal. These rivers were excellent for comparison purposes of community benefits from client and company expenditures as well as potential harmful impacts, such as social and environmental disturbances (Table 4.1).

The Bhote Kosi River

Literally meaning 'River from Tibet" in Nepali, the Bhote Kosi River is a short, roadside run by rafting operations based out of rafting riverside resorts (Figure 4.3). Ultimate Descents International, a company owned at the time by New Zealander David Allardice, originally pioneered the Bhote Kosi for commercial rafting in 1992 whose company also pioneered other steep runs such as the Marsyangdi River (Hind 2002). Allardice's skill and experience in running the short, steep, rock filled rivers of the Southeastern United States and his home country of New Zealand led him to

consider the Bhote Kosi as a river very suitable for not only commercial rafting, but also the establishment of a permanent river camp. Shortly afterwards, Allardice and his Nepalese partner built the first whitewater river resort in Nepal at the 'put in' point for the commercial whitewater run. Their camp was later followed in 1998 by another resort owned by Mahendra Thapa of Equator Expeditions located on the lower section of the river. Ultimately Allardice's relations with his Nepalese partner Megh Ale soured and he left the company to found another resort higher up on the river near the border with Tibet as well as a smaller river camp at the take out point of the commercial run. At the time of my research, there existed a total of four river resorts/camps alongside the Bhote Kosi River (Figure 4.4). Since these resorts are permanent structures, they have plumbing and wastewater treatment systems as well as a means of dealing with non-burnable trash (taking it to the local landfill area or returning it to Kathmandu). The environmental footprint of these operations is minimal.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of Two Study Rivers

Characteristics	Bhote Kosi	Kali Gandaki
Trip Length		
Kilometers	17	60
Float Time	1-2 days	3 days
Dam Issues		
Dam Controlled	No	No
Dam Shortened	Yes	Yes
Future Dams Planned	Yes	Yes
Difficulty of Rapids	IV-V	III-IV
Normal Use Seasons	Oct-Nov/Mar-May	Oct-Dec/Mar-May
Annual Commercial Use (2000)	3000	3500
Type of Run	Roadside	Remote
Lodging While on River	Resort Based	Beach Camping
Average Price of Trip	60 USD	100 USD
Trips Based From	Kathmandu	Pokhara

The commercial section of the Bhote Kosi studied is located approximately three hours bus ride from Kathmandu and is situated directly adjacent to the Arniko Highway that connects Kathmandu with Tibet (Figure 4.5). This is a busy road for both tourism and trade purposes. Due to its close proximity to Kathmandu, the Bhote Kosi River has been the third most heavily rafted run among all of Nepal's rivers. The Bhote Kosi hosted approximately 2,500 clients in 1999 (NARA Unpublished data 2000), and its use has been steadily rising over the past 11 years. The commercially run section has generally been a two-day trip. The easier bottom two thirds is run on the first day and then the more difficult upper third along with the bottom two thirds is run on the second day. The river's morphology is such that it has a rocky streambed, a steep gradient (approximately 100 feet per mile) and a lower stream volume than other rivers run commercially (such as the higher volume Kali Gandaki). In regard to its difficulty level on the international scale of river difficulty, the Bhote Kosi is rate Class 4-4+, meaning that it is a difficult run to make in both a kayak and raft.

Other forms of riverine development have occurred on the Bhote Kosi River. For example, one dam built at what is currently the take out point of the commercial section and two others were under construction further upstream which may endanger the commercial viability of this river.

The Kali Gandaki River

Named after the fearsome Hindu Goddess Kali, the Kali Gandaki was a 3-day, 60-kilometer long river trip that was a 5-6 daylong trip prior to the construction of a large dam midway through the run. In 1999, the Kali Gandaki hosted approximately 4,000 river clients (NARA Unpublished data 2000) and it has witnessed a steady increase in

client days since its first commercial runs in mid 1980s and the pioneering runs in the early 1980s (including an expedition by the Indian Navy).

Compared to the Bhote Kosi, the Kali Gandaki was a relatively long, remote river run where trips camped alongside river villages (Figure 4.6) and companies had to carry their own food, shelter and cooking equipment. Trips depart from the tourist town of Pokhara and put in approximately 3 hours away near the town of Baglung (Figure 4.7). The takeout point was located three days downstream at the site of the newly constructed large dam at the confluence of the Andhi Khola and the Kali Gandaki at the village of Mirmi. From Mirmi, it was an approximately five to six hour bus ride back to Pokhara.

The Kali Gandaki has a large streambed and a low gradient with a very high flow. This is very different in character compared to the lower flow, but much steeper Bhote Kosi River, since its large volume but relatively open streambed makes for a difficulty level of Class 3-4, meaning that it had a moderate difficulty level. The Kali Gandaki has been considered one of the best rafting trips of Nepal due to its large water, big waves, sandy beaches and close proximity to Pokhara. Prior to the dam's construction, the Kali Gandaki was the most popular destination for river tourists (aside from the low cost on-day Trisuli River). However, now there is a large amount of flat water that must now be paddled by customers at the end of the run when the river becomes a dam-impounded reservoir. As a result, it has begun to lose some of its popularity in favor of other runs such as the Bhote Kosi and Marsyangdi Rivers (two rivers which are also being dammed currently).

The Kali Gandaki sees a high volume of traffic and has generally been considered by Nepalese raft guides as the most 'polluted' river (by rafting operations). Characterized by many beaches along the river, several are preferred by rafting

companies due to their size, access to clean water streams, and scenic nature. These beaches have had more usage with greater environmental impact (e.g. refuse of toilet paper and food left by companies with poor environmental records).

On both rivers studied, the research focus was to observe all of the contact points where rafting companies and local communities interacted (considered as proxies for economic dispersal of tourism revenue) as well as to survey the members of the tourism enterprise regarding their perceptions of touristic impacts for the purposes of inter and intra group comparisons.

Figure 4.4: Example of a river resort alongside the Bhote Kosi River, Nepal

Bhote Kosi

'Sphincter' 5 — to Tibet

5-

'Jonah' 6 ☠

Choku — Choku Khola

4+

'Ferret in your pants' 5

4+

2737m

4+ Sakhuwa

4+

Borderland Resort
(Private Put In)

3+

PUT IN

2549m 'Gerbil in the plumbing' 4+

4

Frog in the blender' 5-

'Carnal Knowledge' 4+ — TAKE OUT

2548m

4

paper making house

'Midnight Special' 5-

TAKE OUT

4

2318m

Bahrabise

TAKE OUT

'The Great Wall' 5

4+ Sun Kosi Bazaar

Sun Kosi

4

N

to Kathmandu

Dam & TAKE OUT

Khadichaur Lamosangu

Bhote Kosi

0   2

Powerhouse

Scale   Km

to Jiri

3101m

Figure 4.5: River rafting map of the Bhote Kosi River, Nepal

Source: White Water Nepal (Knowles 1999)

Figure 4.6: Example of riverside camping along remote rivers such as Kali Gandaki River, Nepal

Geographical Mapping of Tourism Impact Points:

In studying any community, spatial data and mapping can be an invaluable tool in delineating where the boundaries of one community end, both spatially and socially and where another begins. In the study of tourism, this is especially important in that it is useful to understand which communities may or may not be participating in a form of tourism development. Communities that lie along the route of a tourism operator's daily route may or may not be involved in the tourism arena and there may be wide variability in the benefits that different communities draw from the tourists that traverse their physical landscape.

For the purposes of understanding the locations and densities of tourist/local interactions on rafting trips, I recorded Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinates of locations where tourists and local populations had opportunities to interact. Using a GPS unit, I recorded waypoints at every single stop made by each rafting trip that I

accompanied. This allowed me to document spatially those areas that had contact with rafting company operations and as a result, had the potential to draw revenue from sales of goods and services. Recording these positions has also allowed me to gain an understanding of where the potential existed for over use and negative environmental and social impacts.

Summary

This study took place in the Himalayan country of Nepal, where I worked in Kathmandu and Pokhara as well as on the Bhote Kosi and Kali Gandaki Rivers. Due to the unique cultural, geological and geographical setting, Nepal's rivers have become highly valued by whitewater enthusiasts as world-class destinations for river running and a large river tourism industry has arisen to cater to the incoming crowds of adventure tourists. Although very diverse in their stream characteristics, the two rivers studied made for excellent comparison rivers due to a variety of factors, such as differences in lodging, remoteness, and length of trip.

Employing a multi-sited research design, the project was based in Kathmandu and on the Bhote Kosi River in the post-monsoon fall season and in Pokhara and on the Kali Gandaki River in the pre-monsoon spring season. These was done so that comparisons could be made between both rivers as well as provide the opportunity for me to examine the total river tourism complex in Nepal from both of its major hubs (Kathmandu and Pokhara) as well as from two of its most popular rivers.
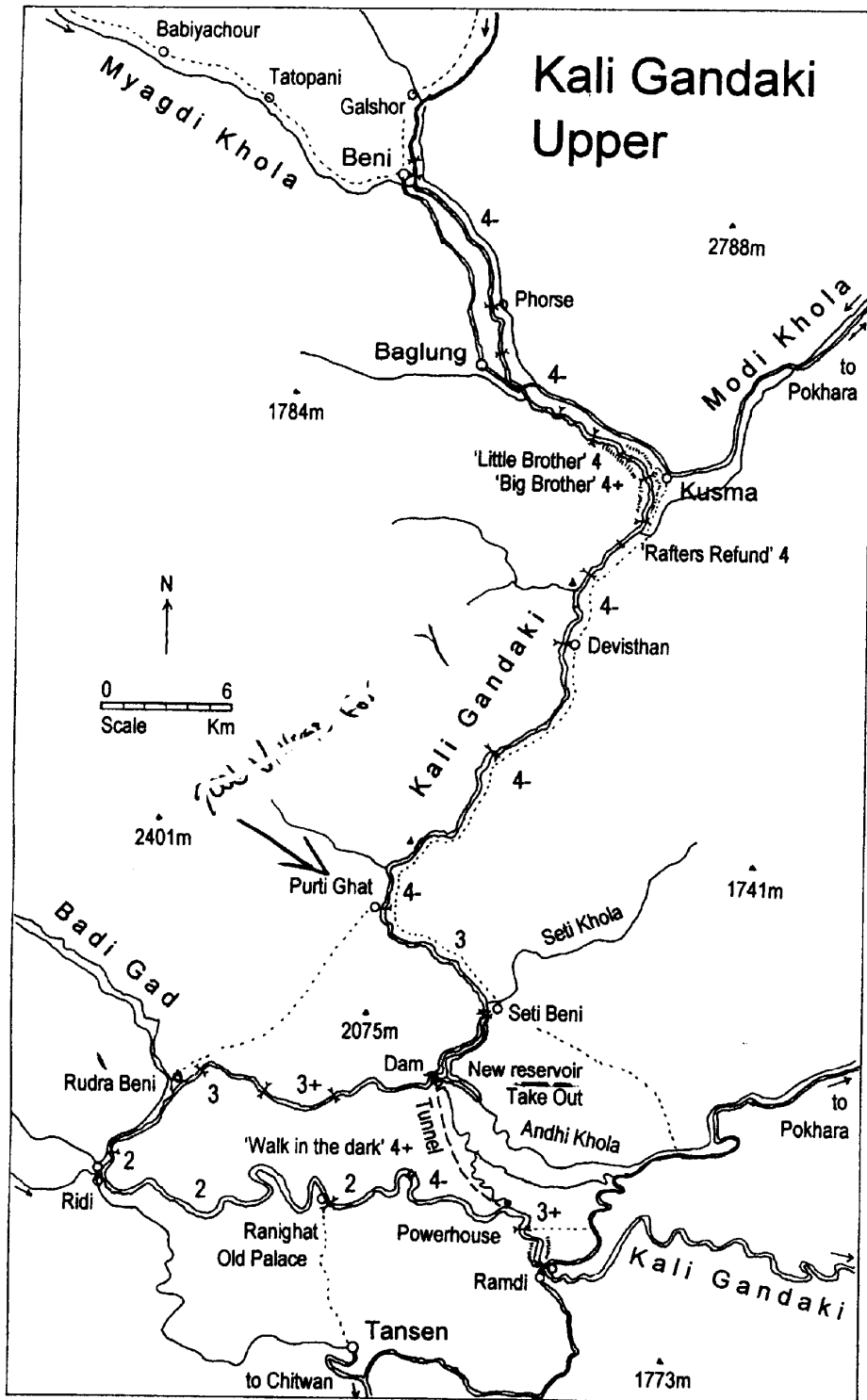
Figure 4.7: River rafting map of the Kali Gandaki River, Nepal

Source: White Water Nepal (Knowles 1999)

CHAPTER 5:

SOCIAL ACTORS AND COGNIZED MODELS OF THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE NEPALESE RIVER TOURISM INDUSTRY

Study Population*:*

One objective of tourism research is to understand how communities are impacted by tourist operations. However, which communities and at what scale do we consider as important in our analyses? Traditional anthropological fieldwork was generally centered on the concept of the village where tourism operations were often times considered to be a negative outside influence. However, tourism today not only involves traditional villages and settings but also involves its members in their newly adopted urban landscapes. Therefore it is necessary to re-consider not only our conception of the 'field' and the 'fieldsite' (Marcus 1995), but also our perceptions of who are the locals (Forbes 1995) and who should be considered when trying to understand tourism's impacts. Rather than focusing only on the members of a particular village, it is necessary in some research contexts to expand the scope of our inquiry to those that have been actively taking part in the tourism enterprise, such as the company owners and their office staff and guides, many of whom are from the local villages where tourism is now taking place (Nash 2000).

This study focused on the differential perceptions of five types of tourism-related populations on key issues in the central region of Nepal. Each group differs in its relationship with the river tourism industry. The first group of respondents was

drawn from the (1) river guides who work for the whitewater rafting companies based out of Kathmandu and Pokhara (Figure 5.1). Raft guides have intensive firsthand contact with the tourism clients and provided insight into the perceived costs and benefits at the local level of their day-to-day operations on and off the river. Additionally, guides also had insight in to the types of threats to their way of life generated both within and externally to the tourism industry. The second group of participants was drawn from the (2) owners of the river tourism companies who lived in the urban centers of Kathmandu and Pokhara (Figure 5.2). These informants were defined as having ownership of at least one river tourism company in the country of Nepal. The third group of respondents was drawn from the (3) rafting company office staff population (Figure 5.2), who will likely differ in their knowledge of the industry due to their lower level of involvement with both river populations and events occurring directly on the river during rafting operations. The fourth group of informants was the (4) river tourism clientele who traversed the two rivers selected for study in the project (Figures 5.3). Clients are the source of foreign revenue for the industry and their inclusion and knowledge of how they perceive of rafting was important. The final group was composed of (5) villagers who lived along the Kali Gandaki and Bhote Kosi rivers (Figures 5.4). Their participation was important to understand how the local communities that are affected by the industry's operations perceive tourism. After providing a thumbnail sketch, or vignette, of people representative of each study group, I will proceed to the core of my research, which is to compare and contrast the views of five groups on key tourism issues.

71

Figure 5.1: Consensus surveying of river guides,

Figure 5.2: Consensus surveying of owners office staff.

Figure 5.3: Consensus surveying of rafting clientele at Bhote Kosi resort

Figures 5.4: Consensus surveying of river villagers

Participants in the River Tourism Industry of Nepal: Vignettes of Informants

The following vignettes of representative members of each group are meant to provide the reader with a sense of who the participants are and their role in the industry. Those chosen for case studies have been selected based on my perception of their ability to accurately represent their respective groups. All names have been changed to protect the informants' identities.

Informant 1: Whitewater Rafting Company Owner

Ram Singh Magar (39 years old) has been in the rafting industry since 1983, when he gained employment with Tiger Mountain as a river guide after responding to a newspaper advertisement. Ram, originally from Solu Khumbu, left after completing high school to pursue additional schooling in Kathmandu. After initially working in the trekking business, Ram began his river guide training in 1983 and worked as a guide and head guide until he and a western guide friend jointly started their own international rafting company in 1990. After co-owning the operations in Nepal for nearly 10 years, Ram bought out his western partner out and now owns the entire Nepal operations wing of the company. His western partner, having sold his share of the Nepal operations, now owns and operates the company operations in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Ram has played a pivotal role in the industry, originally forming the River guide organization when he was a guide and now proceeding on to play a significant role in the company owners' organization. Ram has watched the industry change from a small, relatively nascent form of tourism development to a large industry that has a wide variety of social actors involved. In discussing the costs and benefits of the industry to Nepalese society, Ram felt that the rafting industry is good for Nepal since

young Nepalese would otherwise have a hard time finding work in their native river villages. He feels rafting is growing in importance as a form of tourism since tourists now come to Nepal explicitly to raft. However, Ram recognizes that major problems will have to be dealt with by the industry in the future, particularly the issues of large-scale hydropower development, the Maoist problem and price competition among rafting companies. Nonetheless, if those problems could be properly addressed, then he felt that the rafting industry could become a major form of tourism for the country of Nepal.

Informant 2: Whitewater Rafting Guide

Samish Gurung (22 years old), a river guide from the Chitwan of Nepal, has been in the rafting industry for five years. Having watched as a child rafting trips float the Narayani River by his village, he ultimately decided to get involved in the rafting industry after finishing high school. Following in his older brother's footsteps, who had become a river guide many years before, Samish used his brother's connections to accompany a few rafting trips as a trainee guide. On these trips he worked hard doing manual labor such as loading gear, helping out with kitchen tasks and other tasks given to him by his brother and the other guides. After several trips, Samish gained a full-time trainee guide position with this company where he worked in that status for one year. After gaining river guide status, Samish continued working with the company for two more years until he left it to work for a new company that his brother had started with other river guides. He has been working for his brother's company for the past two years and has undergone several forms of specialized training such as swiftwater rescue, first aid and kayak instruction.

When asked about what his parents felt about him working as a raft guide, Samish said that at first his parents did not know that the was a river guide. When he eventually told his parents, who are farmers, they were happy that he had found a job that he liked and that he and his brother both were able to send money home to them every month from their paychecks. When asked about the hardship that may have been caused to his parents by their absence from the family farm, Samish said that his parents did not have enough land for them all and that his sister and her husband are the family farmers. His absence from the family farm has not led to a decline in the family's condition but rather an increase in wealth through his remittances.

When asked about benefits of the rafting industry for Nepalese, Samish said that,

> For people like us with not much education and who are not into computers and stuff this job is perfect. It has helped me with learning English. Before I knew English but did not know how to speak properly. When I used to talk to tourists I used to get scared that I might say something wrong but now with practice I am more confident.

Samish is happy that he has been able to work in the rafting industry, which has not only given him a job and a profession that has relatively high status among young Nepalese males, but also one that has allowed him to travel the world. Currently, Samish is in Iceland, where he is working as a river guide and safety kayaker. He has met a local Icelandic girl and has developed a relationship with her and he ultimately wants to bring her back to Nepal with him.

Informant 3: Whitewater Rafting Company Office Staff

Surya Prasad (26 years old) is the office manager for a rafting company's outpost in Pokhara, Nepal. Surya, who has been working in the rafting industry for about six

years, entered the industry after going to high school and college in Kathmandu. Surya, who is a member of the Brahmin (or <u>Bahun</u> in Nepal) ethnic group/caste, has never worked as a raft guide and has only been on a few rafting trips in the six years that he has worked in the office for this company. However, his schooling at Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu gave him valuable experience in business and office management critical for gaining employment.

Surya is originally from the Raipur Village Development Committee, Tanahun District, but he now lives in the company office in the lakeside district of Pokhara. When asked what he thought about the rafting industry and its impacts on the lives of those who participate in it, he replied that it gave Nepalese jobs to some Nepalese, was fun and relatively easy work compared to available work in their home villages working in their parents' fields. Surya noted, however, that river tourism was very dependent upon tourism arrivals and as a case in point, he said that since there were very few arrivals in 2001-2002, it has been hard for those who depend on tourism.

Surya was particularly worried about the Maoists and their impact on the rafting industry. He has seen some company trips canceled due to problems on the Karnali River between the Maoists and rafting trips. He is worried that such incidents could spread to other rivers and areas of Nepal. Additionally, Surya is concerned that if the Maoist fighting does not stop soon, that many companies would go out of business and employees would lose their jobs.

Informant 4: Whitewater Rafting Client

Max Van Levinson (32 years old) was a Dutch tourist on a rafting trip on the Bhote Kosi River, where he was on a package trip of rafting and resort vacationing. Max has visited Nepal periodically for the past ten years and has been on several

rafting trips with different rafting companies. He had chosen this particular trip since it allowed him to combine leisure camping in a resort with the excitement of a whitewater rafting trip. Although he was on this trip with his wife as private tourists, Max was also using the trip to scout out companies to use for his own travel agency business. When asked why he had chosen this company's trip in particular, Max told me,

> I have been on several rafting companies in Nepal, and this one is nicely located from Kathmandu. I like the scenery. Its good resort where people can stay and I think the company is very good. The people here normally take care of my people and that is what I like (Max operates an adventure travel agency in Holland). So everybody is happy.

In asking Max about rafting's importance in his trip itineraries, he indicated that rafting was not a primary reason for most people coming to Nepal. Nonetheless, it was a great addition to any trip and that his clients tended to include rafting when it is possible. Max felt that about 20% of his package sales (and that he has been a part of in return) tend to be focused on rafting and the rest of the trips are oriented around trekking and sightseeing. Although rafting was an important part of the trip for tourists such as Max and the people that he in turn brings over for his business, trekking was the most significant part of their trips to Nepal and rafting provided a supplementary activity that enabled them to see parts of the country that they would normally have missed.

When asked about any concerns that he may have had about the Maoist activities in the country, Max replied that he was not very concerned, since,

> Because, first of all I know the Maoists are not doing anything to the
> tourists, and second of all the problems are in some places where I
> don't go to, and third of all I don't think the Maoists are bad about
> Nepal. They know the tourists are very important to Nepal so they're
> not going to touch them.

Tourists such as Max have not let the insurrection affect their travel plans. However, that has not been the case for many others who have canceled their trips to Nepal, which has been reflected in the high number of trip cancellations experienced by the Nepalese outfitters.

Informant 5: River Village Participant in the Rafting Industry

Ram Krishna Chhetri (28 years old) is a villager from B--------, located on the banks of the Kali Gandaki River near the campsite known as 'Scorpion Beach' (owing to the large numbers of scorpions that bite people at this camp site). Ram, who is originally from the village of J----- G----, (which is several miles away from B------), farms near his home and sells some of this locally produced crops to the rafting trips when they stop at the beach near the village. Ram sells bananas, ganja (marijuana), and other seasonal crops to rafters to supplement his income derived mainly from selling produce in the local market and portering in the off agricultural seasons.

When asked about how he likes the rafting companies stopping at the beach near his village, ram replied that he does not mind them and that he enjoys talking to the people since he does not get much of a chance to meet people from outside the local area, especially westerners who do not frequent this area. Ram said that he generally makes about 1000 rupees a month (about $14 USD) from selling produce to rafting groups. This is a great addition to his household's income and he wishes more people would come downriver since there have been relatively few trips this season due to

the U.S. terrorism attacks (9-11) and the Maoist fighting that has flared up again. Ram told me that lately he has only been making about 500 rupees a month from the rafting companies since there were less trips coming down river and he wishes that more would come since he needs the money. When asked if he felt that there were any problems caused locally from the rafting companies, Ram said that he did not think so, since the rafting companies don't really stay very close to the village and they do not come into the village very frequently. He is very supportive of the companies sending river trips to the area and he wished that the war between the Maoists and army would end so that more people could come and buy his produce.

Research Methodology Overview

The central research methodology was broken down into two primary components that addressed different aspects of the project's intended goals: (1) cognized, or emic models of how tourism affects the lives of its participants; and (2) operational, or etic reality of how the tourism industry actually related to objectively discernable social, economic and environmental impacts. This chapter addresses the manner in which I attempted to explore the way in which tourism's impacts are perceived by its participants and the way in which these perceptions are structured by social position within the tourism complex. This chapter will discuss the project's first goal of describing the cognized models of the tourism industry's costs and benefits to the social actors involved. It will attempt to understand how tourism's benefits are perceived to be distributed throughout the entire system by different actors (Jafari 2001), this component of the project addressed the need for this sort of work. The operational reality, or actual behavior, of the tourism industry will be addressed in chapter six.

Comparing Community Perceptions of Tourism's Costs and Benefits Using Cultural Consensus Analysis

A great deal of anthropological work has been focused on the differences between tourism's 'hosts' and 'guests' and the types of impacts that may occur as a result of tourism-induced contact (Nash 1989; Peck and Lepie 1989; Smith 1989; Smith 2001). However, what is less understood is how knowledge or perceptions of tourism's social and ecological impacts may be distributed throughout the various groups of participants in the tourism industry. Such a task is critical in understanding the cognized model of tourism's costs and benefits shared by those participating in tourism operations.

I addressed this component of the study by using Cultural Consensus Analysis (CCA), a cognitive anthropological method used to "describe patterns of agreement about a particular domain or category of cultural knowledge" (Caulkins 1998: 187). The Consensus model is based on a premise that agreement in a particular cultural domain, such as the costs and benefits of river tourism, represents the existence of a particular cultural complex based on shared knowledge (Borgatti 1993; Romney, Weller and Batchelder 1986; Weller 1987; Weller and Dungy 1986; Weller and Romney 1988). Cultural consensus analysis uses factor analysis to compare informants' responses to questions posed by the interviewer to discern the degree of cultural consistency both within and between study groups. In CCA, if an Eigen value for the first factor is three or more times the second factor, then there is an assumption that knowledge exists about that particular domain and that there is a 'culturally correct' answer to each question on the survey instrument. In its use as a research method, CCA can assist in uncovering culturally correct answers to a set of questions in the face of certain kinds of intra-cultural variability (Borgatti 1997: 1).

81

Further, it then can provide the researcher with the level of shared agreement on each issue in the survey instrument, allowing for cross-cultural comparison of perceptions or 'cultural knowledge' between a wide variety of groups (Caulkins 1998; De Alba Garcia, Munck, Rocha, Vargas and Garro 1998); Guest 2000; Kempton, Boster and Hartley 1995; Romney 1994).

My goal was to compare and contrast the perceptions of company owners and office staff, rafting guides, clientele and local villagers on a whole host of factors related to the domain of the costs and benefits of participation in the whitewater rafting industry. Cultural consensus surveying allowed for me to use dichotomous pair choice questions to discern informant's knowledge or perceptions on issues of interest to the project. This was very valuable when comparing across groups of participants with the purpose of understanding where agreements and disagreements may lie in regard to what the perceived costs and benefits to each group of participants were.

While useful in understanding the patterning of cultural knowledge within and between groups, consensus analysis does not allow for a more in-depth qualitative understanding of how these issues affect the participants' lives (Garro 2000). The CCA component was supplemented with subjective and qualitative data provided by interviews conducted with members of each study group. Combined, this component of the project elucidated how members of each study group perceive of the costs and benefits of participating in the river tourism industry of Nepal.

Preliminary Research: Discerning the Factors for CCA Survey Instrument

To obtain a clear understanding of significant issues regarding riverine development and tourism, I initially conducted informal unstructured and semi-

structured interviews with members of four of the abovementioned groups (Owners, Guides, Office Staff and Clients). This was done to define factors of social, environmental and economic costs/benefits of tourism to the members of the groups under study. Since this preliminary research was conducted in the two summer field seasons preceding the year of dissertation fieldwork, I was unable to elicit the same sort of information from the fifth group of study participants, the villagers, with whom I had not yet established rapport. The villagers had no input into the creation of the survey instrument and that is a potential weakness of the study's results. The factors under study may not have been those that were of concern to the villagers and possibly were artificial constructions from their point of view.

Even though villagers were unable to provide input into the construction of the survey instrument, an effort was made nonetheless to address issues that have been documented by other tourism researchers as impacts of tourism at the local level. Anthropologists such as Smith (2001) and Butler (1992) have outlined a number of tourism impacts that can potentially have both positive and negative repercussions on village populations. In creating the CCA survey, I attempted to weave together the issues that were mentioned by the study participants in the preliminary research as well as the issues that have been noted in the tourism literature to create a survey instrument that addressed both locally salient concerns. They include employment, environmental impacts, hydropower development, the establishment of begging relationships, competition with locals for scarce resources such as food in remote areas and the actions by the rafting industry to support local populations by education and outreach programs. In addition, academically important issues such as tourism induced local inflation of goods and land prices, loss of access by locals to common property due to tourism encroachment, and socially appropriate actions on the part of

83

tourists in village areas were selected. In combining these issues into one survey instrument, it is possible to compare and contrast the perceptions of the study populations on both locally and academically salient issues and thus generate results that would be interesting to both parties. The end result of this process was the creation of a series of agree/disagree questions that were to be used during interviews with all five of the study groups (Appendix C).

This preliminary data collection as well as an extensive review of the tourism literature isolated seven issues deemed to be important in the analysis of the tourism industry. These factors, which formed the basis of the questionnaire construction, were issues surrounding local employment, benefit distribution, local resource competition with tourism industry, tourism induced local inflation, social impacts, environmental impacts, and issues surrounding hydropower development (see Appendix B). From these variables, a series of 35 questions was developed using a dichotomous pair choice format that was then translated into Nepali script (devnagari) as well.

The CCA interview questions were used to discern if there was a general level of consensus both within each group and between all five groups. This strategy has been used in a variety of projects in assessing the amount of agreement among a particular group of people regarding domains of knowledge and cultural information (Caulkins 1998; De Alba Garcia et. al. 1998; Romney et al. 1986). It was thought to be invaluable in understanding how participants in each group perceived of issues that relate to their subsistence. For informants able to read English, these questions were administered by way of a written survey given to informants who were then be asked to and return it immediately. For those informants who did not read and /or speak

84

English, I administered the survey in either written or spoken Nepali, depending on their literacy level.

Additional data collection was done via in-depth, semi-structured interviews with company owners, river guides and members of the riverine villages. This component of the fieldwork was aimed at gaining qualitative perspectives from Nepalese detailing specific cases of costs and benefits derived from river tourism. The topical domains of these interviews revolved around issues such as how and where the economic benefits of river tourism accrue and what sort of social and environmental concerns do the local populations have regarding the rafting industry's use of their local space. Additionally, to those Nepalese who have been integrated into the tourism industry, inquiries were made into what sort of threats to their involvement in the industry the local participants perceive to be arising. Other questions were focused on specifically what sort of goods and services the locals provide to the tourism operators and clients.

Cultural Consensus Analysis: Sampling Strategy

The sampling target was to obtain enough participants to ensure a 95% probability sample from each of the four populations. Drawing on the findings of Consensus Theory researchers (Romney, Weller and Batchelder 1986; Weller and Romney 1988), a sample size of 30 informants was to be taken from each group. This was a number was thought be sufficient to allow for generalizations to be made regarding the perceptions of river tourism among the four populations given that they had agreement on approximately 50% of all test items. While this may appear to be a small sample size, it has been used extensively to assess the level of consensus among informants and has been shown to be effective even with a sample size as small as 4

individuals given that their average level of cultural competence was 90% on the test questions/tasks assigned to them (Weller and Romney 1988: 77).

A total of 291 informants participated in this component of the study, with approximately one-third (N=100) of the informants being non-Nepali rafting clientele and the remaining two-thirds (N=191) Nepalese involved in the rafting industry (Table 5.1). Of the Nepalese participants, 23 were company owners, 99 were guides, 29 were office staff and the remaining 40 were villagers that participated in a variety of ways in the tourism industry. Informants were selected using several techniques owing to each population's characteristics. Due to their small numbers, I attempted to administer the survey to the entire universe of company owners. This was done by visiting all of the companies operating in the Thamel and Pokhara tourism districts and meeting with the owners. All of those owners who chose to participate in the study returned the surveys later during return visits (N=23). Guides were enlisted by having all of the members of the All Nepal River Guide Association as well as other guides encountered on river trips complete the survey (N=99). Office staff members were included by asking office staff at participating companies to complete the survey (N=29). Clientele were selected using cluster sampling where by randomly selected river trips on particular rivers were sampled and all members of each trip were asked to participate in the study (N=100).

Although my original plan was to conduct in-depth surveying of village members in two villages located along the Bhote Kosi and Kali Gandaki rivers, the active Maoist insurgency in those areas made it impractical for me to do so. I was forced to change my original plans and instead employ purposive sampling to survey those villagers encountered that had some sort of meaningful contact with the rafting operations (N=40). Examples of the types of village participants included were

porters, shopkeepers, fishermen, vendors, locally residing resort employees and farmers supplying resorts. Since the days that I passed through each village were randomly chosen by way of random sampling of river trips, this still resulted in a probability sample from which I can (albeit marginally) generalize to other populations. One researcher who used a similar methodology in the past with success was Jeffrey Johnson (2000 personal communication) in his work with pier fishers on the North Carolina coast. For his project, several piers were convenience sampled on random days in the attempt to understand fisher perceptions of the effectiveness of a new fish attractant device. As my project was similar in some respects to Johnson's, I felt that this sampling methodology was appropriate and resulted in data as representative as possible under the constraints of the research.

Consensus Analysis Survey Response Rate

For the CCA component of the study, 291 informants were asked to participate, of whom 100% accepted the invitation and returned CCA survey instrument. Thus the total population sampled for the CCA component of the study participated in the project.

Ethnicity

Among the Nepalese participants, there were over thirteen ethnic groups represented among all four groups studied (Table 5.2). Although ethnicity was not one of the variables specifically studied in the study as an independent variable in the CCA, it nonetheless is an important facet of life in Nepal. Table 5.2 illustrates the ethnic groups whose members participated in the study as well as the percentage of total N of the study.

Among Nepalese company owners, nine (N=23 owners) different ethnicities were represented and among guides, eleven (N=99 guides) ethnic groups were surveyed. In regard to rafting company office staff, fewer ethnicities were represented, with six (N=29 office staff) but among villagers, ten (N=40 villagers) were included in the study. I have also broken down the Nepalese participants by ethnicity and type of participation in the industry, which can be viewed in Tables 5.3 (Owners), 5.4 (Guides), 5.5 (Office Staff) and 5.6 (River Villagers).

Table 5.1: Cultural Consensus Study Participants: Demographic

Participant Type	N	% of Total N	% of Subgroup
Participants Total N:	291	100	
Total Male N:	235	81	
Total Female N:	53	18	
Total unknown N:	3	1	
Non-Nepali (Clients) Total N:	100	34	100
Non-Nepali Male N:	59	20	59
Non-Nepali Female N:	41	14	41
Nepali Total N:	191	66	100
Nepali Male N:	176	61	92
Nepali Female N:	13	5	7
Total Unknown N:	3	1	1
Nepali Breakdown by Tourism Participation Type:			
Owners:	23	8	12
Guides:	99	34	52
Office Staff:	29	10	15
Villagers:	40	14	21

Table 5.2: Nepalese Cultural Consensus Participants: Ethnicity

Ethnicity	N	% of Total N	% Nepalese Informants
Gurung:	41	14	22
Brahmin:	28	10	15
Newar:	25	9	13
Chhetri:	23	8	12
Magar:	21	7	11
Tamang:	18	6	9
Rai:	12	4	6
Limbu:	8	3	4
Thakali:	6	2	3
Tibetan:	2	.7	1
Sherpa:	2	.7	1
Bhotiya:	1	.3	.5
Other:	4	1	2

Table 5.3: Nepali Participants by Type of Participation & Ethnicity: Owners

Ethnicity:	Total N (23)	% of Subgroup	%Total Pop
Magar:	1	4	11
Limbu:	1	4	2
Newar:	2	9	11
Gurung:	3	13	18
Bhotiya:			
Tamang:	3	13	5
Thakali:			
Brahmin:	7	30	16
Tibetan:			
Sherpa:	1	4	2
Chhetri:	4	17	24
Rai:	1	4	5
Lama			7

Table 5.4: Nepali Participants by Type of Participation & Ethnicity: Guides

Ethnicity:	Total N (99)	% of Subgroup	% ANRGA
Magar:	13	13	16
Limbu:	4	4	3
Newar:	9	9	9
Gurung:	29	29	25
Bhotiya:	1	1	
Tamang:	8	8	7
Thakali:	3	3	
Brahmin:	6	6	21
Tibetan:			7
Sherpa:			1
Chhetri:	11	11	1
Rai:	11	11	5
Other:	4	4	4

Table 5.5: Nepali Participants by Type of Participation & Ethnicity: Office staff

Ethnicity:	Total N (29)	% of Subgroup
Magar:		
Limbu:	1	4
Newar:	5	17
Gurung:	5	17
Bhotiya:		
Tamang:	3	10
Thakali:		
Brahmin:	10	35
Tibetan:		
Sherpa:		
Chhetri:	5	17
Rai:		
Other:		

Table 5.6: Nepali Participants by Type of Participation & Ethnicity: Villagers

Ethnicity:	Total N (40)	% of Subgroup
Magar:	7	18
Limbu:	2	5
Newar:	9	23
Gurung:	4	10
Bhotiya:		
Tamang:	4	10
Thakali:	3	8
Brahmin:	5	13
Tibetan:	2	5
Sherpa:	1	3
Chhetri:	3	8
Rai:		
Other:		

Cultural Consensus Analysis: Results

The results were mixed. Results indicated a high level of agreement on the study issues within three of the five groups and high levels of agreement between all of the study groups. However, although the overall agreement levels both within and between groups were high, variance was found between the groups that tended to fit the project's expected results although not always adhering completely to the hypothesized Eigen values. I will present the results below in regard to their percentage levels of agreements and the actual Eigen value ratio. It is important to understand that groups with an Eigen value ratio of over 3.0 fit the cultural consensus model criteria.

Within Group Results

Hypothesis 1: It was hypothesized that there would be high levels of agreement in regard to issues of tourism's social, economic and environmental costs and benefits within each group, thus fitting the cultural consensus model. However, results indicated that only three groups, the raft guides, office staff and clients met the criteria for the cultural consensus model. Among those three raft guides had the highest Eigen values, agreeing with each other at the 86.6% (Eigen value ratio= 10.890) level (Table 5.7). The next highest levels of agreement were among the office staff and clients, who possessed agreement levels of 75% (Eigen value ratio=5.090) and 71.9% (Eigen value ratio=3.904) respectively. The lowest levels of agreement came from the villager and owner groups, who possessed within group agreement of only 57.2% (Eigen value ratio=2.546) and 54.3% (Eigen value ratio=2.189).

The guides possessed the highest levels of internal consistency in regard to their response to the consensus instrument's questions and they met the project's hypothesis that they would have cultural consensus. However, although not as high in regard to their Eigen values, the office staff and river clientele groups did nonetheless meet the requirements for the cultural consensus model. The results indicated that three of the five study groups did indeed meet the cultural consensus model, thus leading to a rejection of the hypothesis for three out of the out of the five groups. However, the low agreement levels among the company owner and river villager populations did not meet the levels required to fit the cultural consensus model. The null must be accepted for these groups.

Although not specifically mentioned as units of analysis in the project, in attempting to discover any other trends that might have been overlooked by way of looking at other independent variables, I also analyzed the informant data from all of the groups in regard to several other types of demographic variables, such as nationality, sex and ethnicity. The results from these analyses indicated that there were minor variances in agreement levels based each of these variables, although all of the groups met the criteria for the consensus model. I will outline the statistical results of these analyses below:

Nationality

In regard to nationality, Nepalese had considerably higher levels of agreement (86.8% and Eigen value of 11.138) than non-Nepalese did (71.9% and Eigen ratio of 3.904). However, within the total N of all 291 participants, agreement levels were very high with 84.6% agreement levels (Eigen value ratio=8.270) (Table 5.7). This appeared to be a function of the higher levels of the Nepalese participants raising the

total within group agreement levels up beyond the lower levels exhibited by the non-Nepalese and the lower scoring Nepalese groups such as the owners and villagers. However, in both cases, the Eigen values were sufficient to meet the requirements of the cultural consensus model, demonstrating that there was a great deal of agreement on each issue based among all of the participants, but that there appeared to be a significant amount of variation in perception of the issues that was possibly nationality based.

Sex

Concerning sex, results demonstrated that in the aggregate there were higher levels of agreement among males than among females (Table 5.7). Among the total N of males, there was agreement at the 84.5% level (Eigen value ratio=8.247) and among females there was 75.9% agreement (Eigen value ratio=5.473). However, when broken down by gender and nationality, there was significant variation from the aggregate, with Nepalese in general faring better than westerners, with Nepalese males scoring 86.6% (Eigen value ratio=11.157) and Nepalese females 77.4% (Eigen value ratio=5.388). In contrast, non-Nepalese males scored a low 67.2 (Eigen value ratio=2.894) and non-Nepalese females having higher levels of agreement at 75.4% (Eigen value ratio=5.905).

Ethnicity

In this study, members of 13 different Nepalese ethnic groups participated in the cultural consensus survey (Table 5.8). Due to the small numbers of each ethnicity present in each subcategory, I did not analyze within group agreement levels among each study group's ethnicity. However, I have analyzed overall agreement levels for

Table 5.7: Cultural Consensus Eigen Values: Within Group

Group	Eigen Value (%)	Ratios
Owners	54.3	2.189
Guides	86.6	10.890 *
Office Staff	75	5.090 *
Clients	71.9	3.904 *
Villagers	57.2	2.546
Nationality		
Nepali	86.8	11.138 *
Non-Nepali	71.9	3.904 *
Total N		
Total N	84.6	8.270 *
Gender		
Total N Males	84.5	8.247 *
Total N Females	75.9	5.473 *
Gender/Nationality		
Nepali Males	86.6	11.157 *
Nepali Females	77.4	5.388 *
Client Males	67.2	2.894
Client Females	75.4	5.905 *

* - Meets 3 to 1 ratio of first to second factor necessary for fit to Consensus model

Table 5.8: Cultural Consensus Eigen Values: Within ethnic groups

Ethnicity	Eigen Value (%)	Ratios	
Magar:	73.7	4.872	*
Limbu:	89.9	8.872	*
Newar:	62.8	2.640	
Gurung:	83.1	8.449	*
Bhotiya:	n/a		
Tamang:	72.3	3.849	*
Thakali:	91	10.165	*
Brahmin:	79.4	7.335	*
Tibetan:	n/a		
Sherpa:	n/a		
Chhetri:	75.9	5.251	*
Rai:	83.9	9.009	*
Other:	n/a		

* - Meets 3 to 1 ratio of first to second factor necessary for fit to Consensus model

each ethnicity and have found high levels of agreement among each ethnic group, with all but one group (Newar) having had high enough Eigen value ratios to fit the cultural consensus model (Table 5.8). Ethnicity (or the caste connotation that it has in Nepal) did not have a significant impact on the Eigen values of the study participants, thus indicating that caste was not a confounding variable in the CCA of this study.

Between Group Results

Between group results were analyzed by way of combining scores of both groups of participants compared in each analysis into one Anthropac file and running the consensus analysis function with all scores included. The Eigen value presented represents the score of both groups of study participants combined.

<u>**Hypothesis 2**</u>: It was hypothesized that there would be low levels of agreement concerning the costs and benefits of the river tourism industry between the group of villagers and the three groups of rafting industry members (owners, office staff and guides). Results indicated that actual agreement levels between villagers and Nepalese tourism industry participants were higher than expected (Table 5.9). The highest levels of agreement were between villagers and guides, with an agreement level of 85.7% (Eigen value ratio=10.848). Next highest were agreement levels between villagers and owners with 75.7% (Eigen value ratio=5.478). The lowest levels of agreement were between office staff and local villagers, with a still high level of agreement of 72.8% (Eigen value ratio=5.314). All groups fit the criteria for cultural consensus model. However, since none of the groups fit the hypothesis, the null cannot be rejected.

Hypothesis 3: It was hypothesized that there would be low levels of agreement between clientele and local villagers in regard to the perceived costs and benefits of river tourism. Results from this study indicated that although there were lower levels of agreement between villagers and non-Nepali clients than between villagers and Nepalese rafting industry members, agreement levels were still relatively high at 69.1% (Eigen value ratio=3.365). Since the Eigen value for these two groups was over 3.0, they therefore also match the criteria for the cultural consensus model and show a level of agreement high enough that the null cannot be rejected as well. However, it is significant that these very disparate groups share agreements on such a wide variety of issues affecting the rivers and river tourism industry of Nepal. I will address these results more thoroughly in the following discussion section of the paper.

Hypothesis 4: It was hypothesized that there would be high levels of agreement between the members of the river tourism industry (owners, office staff and guides) and the clientele and that these levels would be sufficient to meet the cultural consensus model. My results demonstrated high levels of agreement between non-Nepalese clients and Nepalese members of the rafting industry, with guides and clients having the highest levels of agreement among themselves at 88.4% (Eigen value ratio=7.627). The results of the combined scores for these groups met the Eigen value necessary to fulfill the cultural consensus model. The next highest levels of agreement were between clients and office staff with 72.5% (Eigen value ratio=3.9) and between clients and company owners at 71.6% (Eigen value ratio=3.649). These groups also met the requirements necessary to meet the cultural consensus model and the results still match the pattern expected in the study, allowing for the study to reject the null for hypothesis four.

100

Table 5.9: Cultural Consensus Eigen Values: Between Groups

Groups	Eigen Values (%)	Ratios
Villagers/Owners	75.7	5.478
Villagers/Guides	85.7	10.848 *
Villagers/Office Staff	72.8	5.314 *
Villagers/Clients	69.1	3.365 *
Guides/Office Staff	86.2	10.203 *
Guides/Owners	87.8	11.850 *
Owners/Office Staff	81.3	7.845 *
Clients/Owners	71.6	3.649 *
Clients/Guides	88.4	7.627 *
Clients/Office Staff	72.5	3.9 *
Clients/ Villagers	69.1	3.365 *
Total N:		
Total N	84.6	8.270 *

* - Meets 3 to 1 ratio of first to second factor necessary for fit to Consensus model

Within Group Results Discussion

Results indicated that there were high levels of agreement among the various participants in the Nepalese rafting industry in regard to issues of tourism's social, economic and environmental costs and benefits. These results, while not wholly supporting the project's hypotheses owing to the variation in agreement levels elicited, nonetheless indicated that there were high levels of agreement within most of the groups studied. While only three of the study groups had agreement levels high enough to fit the cultural consensus model, there was nonetheless a trend among the other groups to agree with one another. The largest within group variation existed among the rafting company owners and the villagers.

Variation among rafting company owners may be explained by the politically charged atmosphere in which they dwell. Over many of the interviews I conducted with company owners, when I was administering the survey, they would say in regard to some of the questions, "well, it depends… my company does this but many of the other companies are not as environmentally conscious as ours is." Currently, owing to the large numbers of rafting companies that have sprung up in Nepal to compete for the slowly rising numbers of tourists, there has been a tremendous amount of competition developing between company owners that often surfaces when one asks about the quality of other companies' trips. For example in an interview with a local rafting company owner, when asked about what some of the problems were in the rafting industry were, his response was,

> Most of the operators are not professionals themselves. The operators don't have knowledge about safety and they don't have river guide standards and they don't know about the rapids etc. These kinds of operators have a majority in Nepal. Now we have almost eighty companies operating now and there must be about sixty of them who

102

are like that. Only fourteen, fifteen companies operate in a professional manner. Since they have a majority we cannot do what we want. And because of them the price goes down.

Responses to the questions may have reflected the competitive nature of the industry and the ways in which owners' competition for client dollars (and potentially the researcher's attentions) may have been reflected in their responses to the survey's questions.   The mixed responses by company owners seemed to reflect the vast differences in the types of companies and business ethics that are present in the rafting industry in Nepal. Whereas many of the companies are owned by very competent operators that have been raft guides themselves prior to owning a company, other companies are owned by people who have never been raft guides and have purchased rafting companies solely as a money making venture with no previous experience on the river. Thus, the responses from company owners would naturally be more mixed owing to the diverse and polarized backgrounds of the owners in the industry.

However, although owners will often claim that the smaller companies are at fault for many different issues, such as cutting the price of trips and polluting of riverside beaches, there was some evidence that even the larger companies may play a role in some of these problems even though their owners may claim otherwise. For example, in discussing the issue of environmental protection and the reality of what happens on river trips versus the claims of the office staff and owners, one company owner told me,

> Actually the company always says " We will do this and we will do that". The main thing is that they have to focus on their own guides because these are the people who will be working in the river. This year we ran across garbage left by other companies down Marsyangdi and Bhote Kosi and these two rivers are only run by these six top companies in Nepal. I bring back what I can burn but I can't burn all

the plastic and tin cans. I took it to one of my friends (another company owner) and told them the trash is from one of you guys and he better handle that. He had a meeting with a few others and he told everyone that next time he goes on the river he doesn't want to see the trash. We have to educate all the rafting guides about the basic things. Unless you clean their brains you can't clean all the rivers.

The variation witnessed among the owners may have been based on not only a difference in perception of what they think is happening, but also politically charged opinions of what the other companies are doing as opposed to their own company's actions. This was a very common situation that I would run into in working with the company owners, in that owners would claim that their operations were very well run and that they did not contribute to any sort of environmental problems but that there were others in the industry that were the root cause of the problems. When I was administering the CCA surveys to several of the owners, they would tell me, "Well, this depends on who the operator is and who the guides were on the trip." As a result, the variation that was witnessed among owners was probably a function of the difference in quality of rafting operators in the industry and the perceptions that owners have of their colleagues' operations.

Variation among villagers may be explained by the broad cross-section of Nepalese society from which they were sampled. Although grouped together as 'villagers' by this study, the grouping was probably inaccurate in many ways. First, the villagers were drawn from many different locales, with wide variation in regard to their types and frequency of contact with rafting operations. Participants in the villager group were drawn from roadside shop owners, locally-residing resort employees, riverside campsite owners, riverine fishermen, porters, small-scale riverside venders and farmers, just to name a few of the 'villager' participants' backgrounds. With such a diverse group of participants, many of whom have only a

limited sphere of interaction with the rafting companies and some of whom have no experience with the companies at the actual riverside areas, one can expect to see a large amount of variation in responses to perceived costs and benefits of the tourism industry at the local level. This is particularly true since the 'local level' may mean an entirely different thing to those who live alongside the river from those that live alongside the roadway to and from the river. Such a relative notion of localism is consistent with other anthropological work that has been done in Nepal on the issue of locality, such as that done by Anne Forbes (1996) in her work on the Arun III dam and 'local' perceptions of its potential impacts on 'local' populations. Thus, the relatively wide variation in responses seen among the 'villager' population of this study may be merely a natural reflection of locality and social position in the industry that shaped the types of experience each of the participants has had with the rafting industry.

Given the wide variation in background among the villager populations, what seems more interesting is the relatively high amount of agreement that was still present among this vastly heterogeneous population. Although the villager population did not have a high enough Eigen value to meet the criteria for the CCA, they nonetheless exhibited a relatively high amount of agreement on such a broad array of questions related to the costs and benefits of the rafting industry.

Within group agreement levels were very high when analyzed by sex and caste, with eight of twelve ethnic groups having high enough Eigen values to fit the cultural consensus model. Among the remaining four groups (Newar, Bhotiya, Sherpa and Tibetan), only one had enough participants to be able to run an analysis on them (Newar) and they showed a trend towards higher levels of agreement but did not have sufficiently high enough Eigen values to fit the Cultural Consensus model. Aside

from Newaris, the remaining three groups are not highly represented in the rafting industry and play a small role in the river tourism industry of Nepal.

Within group agreement levels were high between both sexes when looked at separately, with males having higher levels of agreement than females in the aggregate but when separated by nationality, non-Nepali females had higher levels of agreement than did non-Nepali males. Nepali males possessed much higher levels of agreement than did non-Nepali males but Nepali females and non-Nepali females possessed nearly identical high levels of agreement on the study's survey.

Between Group

Between group agreement levels were higher than expected in most cases, although in some cases they tended to follow the pattern expected in the study's hypotheses. The highest levels of agreement were among the three primary groups of rafting operators, the guides, company owners and office staff, all of who tended to agree with one another at levels high enough to fit the criteria set forth by the project's hypothesis and fitting into the cultural consensus model. Guides and company owners possessed the highest levels of agreement with guides and villagers and office staff following closely behind.

Although counter to the project's hypothesis, the three primary rafting operation's groups shared high levels of agreement with the villager populations but not to the extend to which they agreed among each other on the surveyed issues. However, river guides shared a very high level of agreement with villagers, possibly reflecting their grounded knowledge of how operations are affecting those living alongside the rivers that they work on.

The lowest levels of between group agreement were among the clientele and the four groups of Nepali rafting participants. The absolute lowest levels of between group agreement recorded was between clients and villagers, which supports the project's hypothesis that there would be significant variation between these groups in their perceptions of the river tourism industry's costs and benefits. However, even though the level of agreement between these two groups was low relative to levels seen between other groups, they were still high enough to fit the cultural consensus model and demonstrate that there is significant levels of agreement between Nepali villagers and non-Nepali clients on issues of river tourism.

Between clients and the various members of the Nepalese rafting industry, guides shared the closest perceptions of the industry to the non-Nepali clients with office staff, owners and villagers following accordingly. This reflects not only the levels of agreement between these groups but also the amount of contact each of the groups has with the clientele.

In closing, it appears that the cultural consensus model holds some promise as a tool to investigate the role that tourism plays in the lives of its local and non-local participants. Researchers in the field of tourism study are encouraged to add it to their methodological repertoire and employ it when it is necessary to investigate what different groups of participants agree and disagree on in regard to how tourism may be affecting their lives. This may allow for an expanded understanding of the global tourism enterprise and the way its costs and benefits are distributed among those who choose to become involved in it.

Within and Between Group Qualitative Results

Cultural Consensus Analysis (CCA) is a theoretical model that holds that shared agreement on a domain can act as a valid and reliable measure of cultural knowledge (Borgatti 1993, Romney et al. 1986). When it has been seen that participants in a CCA study have high Eigen values which are basically values that indicate a high level of shared agreement on a domain, then it can be assumed that this shared knowledge is part of a cultural repertoire, especially when there appears to be similar levels of agreement across many members of a society or group. Thus, the high levels of agreement seen in this study indicate that there was substantial shared knowledge about the impacts of the rafting industry. For members of the study groups, there is agreement about how the rafting industry impacted them and their physical and social environment, but also how the industry itself is affected by other government inspired riverine development projects. Thus the usage of CCA acts a way of understanding localized perceptions of the rafting industry's potential to both help and harm their lives as well as that of the local environment.

In looking at the domains that were studied in this project, it is important to understand that tourism has oftentimes been considered a major force in causing change at the village level that has both positive and negative ramifications, especially in mountain environments (Schrand 1998, Trousdale 2001). Thus, this study was an attempt to understand how participants from several different classes of participants viewed the way in which these positive and negative effects have been distributed throughout the system. For the purposes of my analysis, I focused on seven different factors of potential impacts, each of which had several underlying variables that were to be assessed (see Appendix B). The factors were as follows: Local employment, benefit distribution, local inflation, local resource competition, social impacts,

108

environmental impacts and issues surrounding hydropower development. I will now discuss each of these domains briefly in regard to how they were perceived by the groups collectively (for a view of the statistical results per question, see Appendix C).

Local Employment

In regard to questions of local employment, there were high levels of agreement among all of the groups in regard to the rafting industry's history in hiring local people. Each of the groups indicated that the rafting industry hires and many people from the local areas where they work. However, the biggest disagreement came in regard to the number of employment and training options provided by the rafting companies, with these questions receiving lower levels of agreement, due to the limited forms of training options available to local people. Although the rafting industry does indeed hire people from the areas in which they run trips, there are relatively limited options employment wise for untrained local people until they become familiar with the rafting industry and have access to training programs. Thus, although the industry does hire people from the local area, it appears that the range of options may appear to some to be limited in type and the participants in the industry reflected that in the responses. However, it is significant to note that the lowest levels of agreement came from the clients and office staff, neither of which have very intensive contact with the local people encountered by the rafting operations.

Benefit Distribution

The benefit distribution domain was focused on how the social and economic benefits of the industry are perceived to trickle down to the local level. Interestingly, the that while there were high levels of agreement that the companies re-supply and

purchase goods from shops on the river, there was also agreement that rafting clients spend very little money in the villages while on the river. However, of all of the groups that agreed on that issue, the group that had the lowest level of agreement was the actual river villagers, demonstrating that there may be differences in perception as to what a small amount of money actually is. Aside from the office staff, all of the other groups agreed that rafting has generated a lot of financial benefits for those that have chosen to participate in it and that when Nepalese have gone to work in the industry, they tend to send money home to help out their parents. One very interesting finding was that all Nepalese participants in the study agreed that the rafting industry hired people regardless of their caste or ethnicity, with only the non-Nepalese rafting clients dissenting from this opinion. Lastly, there were varying perceptions over whether rafting companies have helped out local people during seasonal floods, with the villagers having the lowest level of agreement on this issue. This is more than likely a result of a lack of interaction between local villagers and raft guides during periods of flooding in their local area, rather than a 'true' lack of rafting company aid being given during periods of national emergency during flood events. Over the course of the three years that I have worked in Nepal, I have been aware of several situations in which the rafting companies have indeed come to the aid of both local populations as well as local and national rescue groups.

Local Inflation

Issues of tourism induced inflation can be major problems for local populations who are spatially circumscribed and are forced to witness the prices of goods and land spiral out of their grasp when wealthy tourists come into an area and become the preferred customers of local merchants. In response the these questions, there were

mixed responses, with there being relatively low levels of agreement among all groups except for the owners (who have recently purchased land for riverside resorts in some cases), with the lowest levels of agreement being held by the clients and only moderate levels of agreement by local populations. However, when discussing the price of basic goods and the role that tourism played in raising them, there were generally low levels of agreement.   Interestingly, the lowest levels of agreement came from office staff rather than the villagers, indicating that the perceived tourism-induced inflation by office staff may be due to a lack of experience in the river communities than an actual problem of local inflation.

Local Resource Competition

Across all questions there appeared to be relatively little competition for local resources between the rafting companies and the river villagers. Little agreement existed on whether there were tourism induced shortages in local areas as a result of rafting operations as well as very little support for the idea that when rafting companies use local areas , they spoil it for any other form of usage by the local populations. Additionally, it was perceived by all groups that local villagers and rafting company operations can co-exist easily on the same rivers, with farming and fishing being unaffected by rafting operations happening close by.   Although local villagers agreed slightly more than all of the other groups that rafting companies were damaging to the environment due to overuse of local resources, the agreement levels on this issue among villagers was still very low and does not appear to indicate a serious concern among the members of the local populace who participated in the study.

Social Impacts

Although a rather large 'catch-all' category, the social impacts of rafting were measured by looking at issues such as perceived problems resulting from out-migration of village members, tourism generated social offenses, and issues surrounding begging and social relations. In regard to issues of out-migration, although it was recognized by all groups that many Nepalese have left their villages to work for the rafting industry (with the lowest agreement levels being among the clientele), there was much less agreement on the statement that such out-migration caused hardships for the parents of those who migrated to the rafting industry (with villagers having a 50/50 agreement level on this issue). In a surprising result, although local populations generally did not agree that rafting clients acted and dressed appropriately when they entered river villages, they had one of the highest agreement levels on the issue of social relations in the village improving as a result of rafting operations passing through. Thus, although tourists may not be appropriately attired, the rafting operations were still viewed as positive influences on the river villages by local villagers.

Lastly, even though there were relatively low levels within each group regarding the prevalence of villagers begging for handouts from rafting groups, the two groups with the highest levels of agreement were the guides and villagers, both of whom are the one that are directly involved in the activities and accordingly, have more experience in the subject. In my personal experience, local people do tend to show up in river camps when trip leaders camp near local villages. Although the locals do not appear to ask for food or supplies, they have tended to hang out and wait until the meals have been eaten in anticipation that the raft guides will give them the left over food, which is usually the case. However, since both the villagers and guides

surveyed tended to indicate that begging does occur, it appears that there is recognition by both parties that this activity takes place relatively frequently and with fairly predictable results (the guides giving leftover food to villagers).

The issue of begging is a problematic subject in that the Nepalese guides do not feel that the local populations are 'begging' per se, but rather they feel that rather than waste the food by throwing it away, they should instead help out their fellow Nepalese citizens by giving them the food and they can easily be morally justified in doing so. Additionally, this sort of behavior is similar to the traditional practice of hospitality and reciprocity that is has been one of the hallmarks of Nepal and indeed, one of the social features that endeared Nepal to generations of tourists. However, this does extend the possibility that in the future this could tend to become an issue that can get worse and ultimately generate conflict between the two groups. In the far west of Nepal, on the Karnali River in particular, guides are so frightened by the Maoists in the region that they make sure that they over cook food so as to have enough food to feed villagers who come into camp in case they happen to be Maoists or sympathizers who will tell on them if they do not feed them. However, there does appear to be some consciousness on the part of some guides that if they continue to give handouts of food to villagers, that they will reinforce such behaviors by the local populations and create a situation which can spiral out of control and lead to negative experiences for their clients (by having crowds of locals in camp asking for food). On several trips I participated in, the guides have indeed told the clients to not give food to the local people since it will encourage them to begin crowding down to campsites whenever they see rafters showing up.

113

Environmental Impacts

The results from the environmental impact questions are interesting in that they are bi-polar in nature in some respects. In regard to the rafting companies track records in leaving the beaches clean and free of human waste, the lowest agreement levels that this occurred was from the river villagers, who agreed that trash was left and who had the lowest levels of agreement that companies disposed of their human waste in a sanitary manner. However, the river villagers' agreement on the issue of human waste was still fairly high, but they had the lowest scores of all of the study groups as well as having the second lowest score in feeling that rafting companies do not affect the water quality of the areas in which they operate (although again they still had relatively high scores here). Interestingly, river villagers were one of the highest scoring groups in perceiving that rafting companies have conducted re-forestation and environmental education programs along the rivers, but scored lower in knowing whether rafting companies conducted river cleanups (only exceeded in this area by the low scores of clientele). Lastly, there existed a continuum in perceiving whether rafting companies are environmentally friendly and low impact, with clients scoring the highest in this area and villagers and office staff having the lowest agreement scores.

Hydropower Impacts

The last domain studied was in regard to the impacts that future hydropower development plans may have on the river and rafting operations as well as perceptions of compatibility of local lifestyles, rafting operations and hydropower dam construction. This is a very significant issue since there is currently many plans for dams on a vast majority of the rivers that are run by Nepalese rafting companies.

114

When looking at the potential for dams to threaten the rafting industry, all of the groups agreed on this issue, although the river villagers had slightly lower agreement scores on this issue than did the other groups. There was a more mixed response among all groups when asked if rafting companies could operate on rivers that had been dammed by hydropower projects, with all groups hovering in the 50% area roughly. However, interestingly, river villagers and rafting clients scored the highest agreement levels in agreeing that local villagers and rafting operations would benefit in the future if dams do not stop the river's flow completely when they are built, highlighting an awareness of a need for both ecological and recreational flows of water being provided by future hydropower projects.

The responses to this series of questions were very interesting in that there were some remarkable similarities in perspective on the majority of issues addressed by the study. Although it was originally thought that river villager populations would vary wildly from the other members of the study, they were surprisingly similar in perspective regarding both the positive and negative impacts of the rafting and hydropower industries. The use of CCA in studying the perceived impacts of river tourism was successful and surprising in its results.

Tourism Induced Change in Social Structure

One of the primary ways in which tourism has led to change in societies where tourism has been introduced as a form of development has been at the social structural level, with tourism leading to out-migration of males from their home villages. Among the Nepali employees that I interviewed and worked with, the majority said that they had been raised in small riverine villages and had gotten interested in rafting by seeing the boats float by their villages. Approximately 40-50% of the guides

working in Nepal currently have come from the Trisuli River Valley area, which is the river that is the closest to the Kathmandu Valley and is the most frequently run river commercially. Additionally, the Trisuli was also the first river run commercially in the late 1970's and has been the bread and butter river for the majority of the smaller rafting companies. Many of the Nepalese got their entree into the rafting industry by way of tagging along with the raft groups at young ages and asking to help out as cook assistants, laborers. These individuals, as they became more involved in the rafting industry, ultimately became conduits whereby more young males from their village were able to gain employment with the same companies. An example of how this process occurs can be seen in one guide's narrative,

> There are lots of guys from Charaudi. And Trisuli was the first river to start rafting in Nepal. And that was about 20 or 25 years ago. For the first ten years only a few rafting companies went down the river and after that it started growing. People would see us and they always need help in the camp or in the raft or wherever. Sometimes they used to have only three clients and they can't go down the river with just three clients, they had a paddleboat and they needed someone to paddle and then I am like I am up! They used to give me some money. I could go to school and buy food or whatever. It would be my pocket money.

In addition to this mode of entrance, several said that they had served as porters and laborers in and around their village and had decided to come to Kathmandu to seek employment. Upon reaching Kathmandu, they had heard about the rafting industry and decided to work on the river rather than carry heavy loads on their back to and from their villages. Several informants mentioned that not only had many young men from their village left to work in the rafting industry, but several of their own relatives had also become engaged in river tourism work.

Another route into the rafting industry was via family and friendship connections, which seemed to be very important in helping those interested in signing up with

accompany in getting noticed and invited to begin working as a trainee guide. This sort of family connection can be clearly illustrated in an excerpt from an interview with a river guide,

> I have a cousin, actually an uncle who is quite rich and owns a construction company. He was the one who brought me to Kathmandu. I studied in Kathmandu for ten years. There is a company called …….. which belongs to a cousin of mine. And after I finished school he asked me if I was interested to work for this rafting company. Actually when I was in school I had gone for a rafting trip in the Trishuli and I loved it. So after I finished school I worked in the office for two years in the ……….. office. I was learning official work. For two years I was trainee guide and I learned how to cook, do first aid and things like that. I worked there for 5 years. I just started to work with this company a year ago. When I applied for the job I had a talk with the manager for one and a half hours. I told them my experiences and I think they liked it and that's how I started to work here.

Thus, it appears that the river tourism industry is an attractive draw to young rural adolescent males who have grown up in riverine locales and are looking for steady wage-earning employment outside of the local context. Although this out-migration of males may have an impact on the agricultural productivity of the sending communities, the loss of males from the local workforce may be somewhat counter-acted by the wages that are sent home to the raft guides' families, as this was a common strategy among the informants I interviewed. The practice of making frequent trips home to visit family members in between raft trips appeared to be widespread, a pattern that was even more common if the individuals' families lived near frequently run rivers. Ortner (1999) mentions that the mountaineering industry had several impacts on the local social structure, from re-arranging the traditional sexual mores and gender relations to reducing the wealth polarization in high mountain villages by allowing poor indebted Sherpas the chance to pay off their debt

with the cash generated from tourism wage labor. This may be the case with river

tourism as well, although currently the data to support this case are not available.

The departure of young males from their rural homesteads has its price, as many

Nepalese families are concerned about their children and the lifestyle that they have

chosen in raft guiding. This was even seen to be true among guides who used their

income from guiding to support a family member or two, as this guide explains,

"When I was ten years old my father died. My mom is with me now. I am taking care

of her. Sometimes she is really worried about me. Sometimes she tells me to leave

this job. Its very dangerous she says."

This sentiment was also echoed by another guide, who described in an

interview the transition his parents made from disliking his trade to grudgingly

accepting it as a legitimate form of work.

> W: So do your parents like you rafting now?
> R; Now they don't like it either. I am not even in the country
> sometimes (as a result of internationally guiding). First when I started
> rafting I wasn't around the house and then I used to go to the house
> sometimes and now I am out of this country.
> W: Are they bummed out because they lost you?
> R: Yeah, since I am the oldest child in the family. I am out guiding
> instead of helping in the farm or looking after my sister and brothers or
> whatever. But I kinda didn't like the idea (of staying at home and
> farming) and I wanted to go rafting and kayaking you know. So I
> didn't go back home for a couple of years from Kathmandu. They
> didn't like me when I did that.
> W: So they still don't like rafting at all?
> R: Now they have gotten used to it.
> W: Do you bring home money for them?
> R: Sometimes I do that but most of the time they can support
> themselves.

This guide's experience appears to be nearly identical to that of many other

guides, whose parents at first did not approve of their guiding rafts on the swollen

rivers of the Nepalese countryside. However, after seeing that their sons have gained

a skill that has allowed them to not only make money, but also travel the world in some cases and make far earn far larger amounts of income, they have begun to respect the choices of their children.   Nonetheless, there is still a concern by many of the guides' parents for their safety on the river and one guide expressed the reasons why very eloquently when he discussed the difference in perspective on issues of safety on the river from the largely agrarian villagers to the new generation of urban to semi-urban rafting guides.

> Most of the people who are from the village, they are really scared with big water, I mean with the river you know? If they are working on the river, they will use it for a shower or for getting water or whatever, but they are really afraid of big water. Whoever becomes guide, or if they even learn about rafting, they just know what is the life of rafting and how does it work and what are the things you do, they know it is a good job. The families don't like it. Even the people who are students. You know that the father and mother, they love the children and they don't want to be seeing any accidents happen on the river. But, even if you are staying in the home, you can have an accident happen in the home or wherever. If you are driving or even working in the village, some thing can happen. When we are stuck in the village, every day, the people the are always like "the water is dangerous" and always they say "if you are out from the raft, you cannot grab them and there is no where to put your feet (in the raft)" or you just swim from your boat through rapids and you can do nothing to save your life". They just think we fall out and die.

Thus, the shift from a rural, agrarian family background has led to changes in some social structural elements of Nepalese family life, as elder sons leave the village in search of international rafting opportunities rather than remaining on the home farm and fulfilling their traditional family obligations.   Among the participants in the CCA component of this study, there appeared to be agreement among the local village populations that tourism does indeed offer employment options to Nepalese villagers but there was much less agreement as to whether the loss of those who choose to participate in the industry is actual harmful to the families left behind in the village.

What's more, among those that were surveyed, the villagers reported that since tourism related employment options became available, social relations in their villages had actually improved rather than degrade. It is unclear exactly how these 'improvements' occurred and what form they may have taken, but it is significant to note that villagers did not report a decline in social conditions as a result of tourism operations in their local area.

However, the draw of the rafting industry is strong for many young Nepalese males. In discussing the reasons of why they have become involved in rafting as a career instead of working in other employment venues, river guides mentioned a variety of factors that seemed to be important, such as the ability to work in the natural surroundings of the river environment rather than in an office job or in the fields of their parents' village. As one guide mentioned when asked why he likes to guide rafts,

> The main thing is we are always with nature. And then we meet different kinds of people, different cultures. When we talk to them we get very nice knowledge. It's so nice to be with the rivers, trees and the mountains all around you. It's so boring in the office.

Additionally, guides have traveled abroad and guided for other rafting companies, allowing them to explore the world in a fashion similar to that of the clients with whom they work with at home. During periods abroad, Nepalese guides often will engage in training and certification programs to bolster their guiding skills and make them more employable in the international guiding industry. Such training also allows them to command a higher wage in Nepal once they return. As one guide related the beginning of his international experience to me,

Towards the end of the year I got a job in New Guinea. I worked with a company called T------ W------ for a year. I was also training local guides over and then after I finished my contract over there I came back to Nepal and started doing free lance guiding for a bunch of different companies. Then in 1996 I started working with H------- for a eight month contract and I was traveling in the US, in Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, working with a company called D--------. I guided with them for two seasons there and the only reason I worked for them was because I got to do different rivers in different states. It was good experience for me. We also trained in a six-week program in SRT and first aid and other things.

Thus, raft guiding provides Nepalese males with an opportunity to travel, gain employment skills, work in an enjoyable environment and to gain foreign language skills as they interact with foreigners. All of these forms of experience feed into one another. As guides work more often on the river, they have more contact with foreigners and as a result, have a chance to bolster their foreign language skills (mostly English, but also French, German, Hebrew, and Japanese) as well as establish contact that often lead to overseas travel and work opportunities.

These newfound skills and opportunities often lead to further changes in the participants' lives such as meeting and developing relationship with those of other nationalities, usually originally stemming from guide/client relationships and developing in some cases to husband and wife status. These relationships then alter traditional family dynamics and expectations, as with guides who decided to leave Nepal to live with their western wives in their home countries or with western wives who decide live in Nepal with the guide and his family. Although some guides viewed these relationships as desirable since they allow the guide to travel to their western wife's home country with

a marriage visa, they can often generate stress at the family level. Once guide related to me the story of his family's sadness that he did not want to marry a Nepalese girl of their choosing rather than his deciding to marry a western girl in a 'love marriage'. His decision to marry outside of the traditional arranged marriage pattern caused friction between him and his family for a few years he said, until his family finally got used to his wife. However, these 'love marriages' between guides and western girls can also be beneficial in some cases for the guide and his family, as in the case of one guide whose family home was destroyed by an earthquake. Having very little money saved up, his family was under severe constraints to try and rebuild and it was only with the support of his western wife's family that their home was rebuilt. Thus, although there are potential negative consequences for traditional social order due to Nepalese participation in the rafting industry, there are positive aspects that must be recognized as well.

Politico-Economic Change

The Nepali tourism industry has had a tremendous economic impact on both the local and national level. Annually, Nepal has experienced a rise in the foreign exchange earning from the tourism industry over the past several years, growing from over 61 million U.S. dollars in 1992, to almost 168 million USD in 1999 (CBS 2001). In regard to the number of tourists that enter Nepal every year, there has been a corresponding increase as well, with almost 200,000 more tourists entering the country in 1998 than 1993 (CBS 2001 1998). Although the majority of these incoming tourists do not come to Nepal to raft, many tourists do in fact include a rafting trip or two into their itinerary once they have finished their treks or climbs (as

my survey data also suggested). Prior to the recent Maoist insurgency and the decrease in tourist numbers resulting from an increase in Maoist violence, the Nepalese rafting industry was growing very quickly. Such growth has led to growing pains in dealing with the Nepalese government, particularly in regard to its permitting systems as well as the government's future river development plans.

Regarding local and national issues of natural resource management that have affected rafting, several major issues are critical. The first major way relates to Nepal's political machinations and the river rafting permitting system. The river tourism industry has fallen under the same basic regulatory agency as mountaineering has, namely the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation's Mountain Tourism section. The requirements for mountaineering, trekking or paddling Nepal's rivers has historically fallen around the basic centralized permitting system, whereby the individual or commercial agency purchase a permit from the tourism ministry to traverse a particular geographical area (or river in the rafter's case). The permits would cover the person's travel through the proscribed area for a delineated period of time, thus regulating the spatial and temporal passage of tourists throughout the country. All fees for these permits were paid to the central government in Kathmandu by way of the visa and trekking permits office. This system enabled the government to tax all travelers as they traversed the landscape. However, it did not benefit the local communities that were actually being impacted by the tourist's arrival. This issue proved to be one of the points of contention that led to a large-scale effort by the local village development committees (VDCs) to force the Government of Nepal to decentralize the regulation of the country's natural resources.

The result of the VDC's efforts has been a gradual de-centralization in several areas. One area in particular that has relevance to this paper was the disbanding of the

trekking and rafting permit system in July of 1999. That move, which removed the need for permits when traveling in the Annapurna, Langtang and Everest regions of the country, also shifted the locus of permitting control to the local community level. The shift in control was greeted with mixed reviews by the members of the rafting and trekking community. Foreign tourists could now traverse a good deal of Nepal unencumbered with permits that required extra money and often created complex logistics to adhere to, so in general, it has benefited the average tourist. However, owners of companies now have to deal with a menagerie of local permits that are springing up around the country. In fact, some conflict had been generated by this decision even prior to its implementation in July.

On one trip that I participated in where we traveled down the Seti Khola, the trip leader was approached at the put in, a large gravel flood plain area near the village of Damauli, by a local resident claiming to be the town rafting permitting official. This individual, who carried no form of official identification and had never been seen by any of the guides before, demanded that he be paid a rather substantial sum for a permit to put in near his town. However, this was prior to the implementation of the new rules and the trip leader had a trip permit from Kathmandu that he used to argue (rather heatedly) that he did not have to pay any local permitting fees. Eventually this individual left empty handed. This example illustrates one potential problem with this new system, namely that of the potential for either a lack of fee payment at the local level, or fraud and extortion of the rafting companies by people who claim to be local village representatives. Additionally, due to the recent inflammation of the Maoist insurgency in the country, rafting operators are being forced to deal with the extortion tactics of the Maoists, who have forced many companies to pay them money in exchange for the ability to run rafting trips as well as maintain permanent bases or

124

camps. These tactics have led to decreasing operations in some areas and the fear of reprisals id payments are not made in other areas.

Conservation minded rafting agents also dislike the new management strategy because with the old permitting system, the government of Nepal could both account for the individuals traveling throughout the country, allowing for easier location in an emergency, and the regulation of traffic along the rivers of Nepal. With the permitting system came the ability of the government to issue only a certain amount of permits per day on any given river, thus keeping the raft traffic managed and relatively coordinated.   However, with the dissolution of the permit system, there is no form of regulation regarding the levels and coordination of river traffic. This is a concern among the rafting agents who fear that there will be traffic jams and increased environmental and social impact at camping areas on the most heavily frequented rivers.

Another point of contention between the rafting companies and the Nepali tourism ministry that surfaced over the course of my fieldwork was the manner in which the companies obtained their initial permit to operate a rafting company in Nepal. The standard format for obtaining permission to run rivers commercially in Nepal is for the company to register with the tourism ministry to operate in country. This registration process generally takes about four months to transpire. At the end of this period, the government sends a representative to the company to both inspect their offices, boathouses, and finally, their method of running trips, taking special note of their safety levels, environmental and social impact, and level of guide riverine knowledge and boat handling skill. However, the reports that I got from several rafting operators was that when it came time for them to work with the government representative, the representatives were primarily interested in being taken out for free

drinks in Kathmandu and they knew absolutely nothing about proper rafting procedures. Thus, in regard to the ability of the government of Nepal to both educate and regulate the impact the rafting industry may have socially and environmentally, it appears that there is substantial room for improvement and re-modification of the existing program.

Environmental Conservation and Sustainability

Regarding the relationship between the river tourism industry and issues involving riverine conservation and sustainable development, the river tourism industry is, first and foremost, dependent upon the river systems of Nepal remaining in a free-flowing and aesthetically appealing state. One of the primary selling points of this form of outdoor recreation is its ability to transport clients to beautiful and isolated areas, hurling them through memorable rapids and allowing them the opportunity to float and swim in cool, refreshing river water. This places the river tourism industry in a rather tenuous predicament, one it shares with other forms of nature tourism (Boo 1991; Ryel and Grasse 1991; Whelan 1991; Wood 1991), in that in order for it to succeed, the natural scenery must be maintained.

Pollution of the riverside camping locations has been a major issue that the rafting industry has been forced to deal with on several rivers, particularly the Trisuli and Kali Gandaki Rivers. The Nepal Association of Rafting Agents has been in consultation with local communities on the Trisuli River to establish some sort of clean up system that would help to cut back on the amount of pollution that runs off into the river at popular camping spots. During my period of working with NARA on this project, the desire to clean up the river banks of the Trisuli River has gained in support as a result of the efforts of the organization's president, who has recognized a

need for a long term strategy in dealing with waste that leaves the riverside an unattractive location for tourists as well as local populations.

As similar problem exists on the Kali Gandaki River, but the origin of this problem has been the rafting operations themselves, whose human and kitchen wastes have at times been improperly dealt with and begin to pile up on some of the most popular beaches for camping on the river. In some locations, toilet paper and human feces have been left in large quantities in both centralized (i.e. uncovered toilet pits) and de-centralized (i.e. scattered around the campsite) patterns, ruining the appeal of a beach for both clients and guides, not to mention the local populations who frequent these beaches when there are no rafting operations using them. These views were mirrored somewhat in the responses of the CCA questions regarding the environmental impact of the rafting operations, where the least level of agreements on the cleanliness of rafting operations was from the river villager populations who have to deal with the debris left by the rafters on their home beaches.

However, river guides have been quick to recognize this problem and the river guide organization has led several clean up attempts on these beaches, while at the same time trying to educate the river guide population as to the importance of disposing of all waste products in a sanitary fashion and this has been mirrored by the owners organization, which has taken steps to establish enforceable guidelines in this regard. The main problem faced by the rafting industry on this issue has been its lack of ability to legally enforce the rules and regulations that it had established governing waste disposal. However, recent political initiatives by the current president of NARA in gaining legally sanctioned means of punishing transgressors have appeared promising and will hopefully provide the industry with a means of dealing with those companies that have not been up to par in regard to their waste disposal tactics.

However, in Nepal, the primary issue that has affected the natural resource used by the river tourism industry has been the government of Nepal's plans for hydropower development on its river systems. Currently, the government of Nepal has extensive plans for the development of its riverine resources. While recognizing the existence of the rafting industry, the Nepali government is nonetheless primarily interested in generating large amounts of power to be both used domestically and sold abroad to international consumers such as India, China, Bangladesh, and Pakistan.

Currently, the Kingdom of Nepal cannot produce enough electricity to provide continuous power to its urban centers (Chatterjee 1994). The shortage in power, resulting from the discrepancies in production and consumption, causes occasional power cuts (known as brown outs), which place sections of Nepal's towns and cities without power for short periods of time. Thus, it is Nepal's need for energy and its abundance of riverine resources that has led to attempts by the Nepali government to solicit funds for hydropower infrastructure projects. In response, several international lending institutions, led by The World Bank, conducted feasibility studies on the river systems of Nepal in an attempt to discern appropriate hydropower projects for Nepal's economic development.

These feasibility studies ultimately resulted in the creation of Nepal's Least Cost Generation Expansion Plan, which currently is comprised of eighteen medium to large-scale hydropower projects to be constructed throughout the river systems of Nepal, eleven of which will impact the whitewater industry of Nepal (Knowles 1999). Although Nepal has had a spotty record in obtaining funding for the construction of large dams, most notoriously the withdrawal of the World Bank's funding for the Arun III project, it has recently begun to attract investors again and is currently in the middle of constructing a 144-megawatt dam on the Kali Gandaki River. In fact, the

government of Nepal announced in August of 1999 that it was again considering the Arun III project as a viable source of hydropower development and that other projects were currently under review by a variety of private investors who have shown interest in funding them.

While it is critical for Nepal to develop its own power production capabilities, there are several criticisms to be levied against Nepal's desire to construct an array of large, ecologically and socially destructive hydropower projects on the rivers that feed its human and non-human populations. While these are beyond the scope of this paper, I will focus on the impact that this type of infra-structural development will have on the Nepali river tourism industry and the perspectives that members of this industry have regarding the construction of large dams.

Several of the dams planned on the Nepal's rivers will severely impact not only the local inhabitants of those riverine valleys, but will also terminate the ability of commercial rafters to use them for ecotourism purposes. Rivers such as the Bhote Kosi, Karnali, Marsyangdi and the Kali Gandaki are the major rivers used by the Nepali rafting agents and are also the rivers considered by the government of Nepal as prime locations for hydropower development. This has caused considerable alarm among many of those in the industry, especially after they watched the construction of the Kali Gandaki project cut one of their best selling runs in half, rendering the river economically unfeasible to be run commercially by many in the rafting industry. The same is now feared for the rest of the classic commercially run rivers in Nepal, which has some of the most outstanding whitewater rivers in the world.

One guide surmised the situation well when I asked him what the biggest threat facing the rafting industry in the next ten years was, his response was,

The problem is hydropower. Upper Bhote is still under construction. In Kali Gandaki it's happening now. Lots of rivers under construction now, rivers that are the best ones in the world for tourism. There are good rivers in the West as well but not of a very long length. There are good rivers in Colorado but just for five miles. We have like 70 kilometers of grade 3,4 and 5 and with beautiful mountain views. That's the Marsyangdi. And if they are going to build dams no tourists are going to come. I don't know what is good and what isn't. Maybe the government will have more profit that way from electricity. If that river remained untouched maybe there will be more rafting companies coming up every year and there will be jobs for the Nepali people. I see rafting as a long lasting employment source. After they finish the dam so many people are going to be unemployed.

In addition to the rafting employees concerns over the impact that the hydropower projects will have on the rivers they work on, many are also worried about their home villages, some of which lie in the areas that will be directly impacted by several of the dams' construction. Thus, even though these individuals have left their village for a source of external employment, their fates are still entwined with both the rivers of their childhood and those of their families who remain in the villages. As these rivers are changed by national and multi-national development plans, impacts are felt by both the river guides and their agriculturally based families who reside in numerous riverine villages. One guide summed it up well when he told me the damage that hydropower could do to the rafting industry of Nepal if it does not involve the rafting industry in its planning.

In Nepal you can get one of the best white water in the world. Lots of people don't know about it and if we start advertising more it will be so much beneficial to the industry. The government should think about that. It will benefit not only the rafting industry but also the local people in the villages where we buy a lot of vegetables when we are down there. They should think about the amount of foreign currency we are pulling in to our country. It will be a pretty sad thing to see no river left for rafting after a few rivers if the government starts to dam them rivers. We are trying to get together next year and start protesting against the government's plans of damming our rivers. They

already dammed Kali Gandaki and they might be making more money with electricity but how much of that will we need? For example they dammed another river, the Bhote Kosi that is the bread and butter for most of the companies. This is one of the best commercially rafted rivers in the world and one of the steepest rivers. The same thing in Marsyangdi—they already built one and are trying to build the second one. Marsyangdi is also one of the best rivers for rafting. They are talking about the same thing in Karnali. If they continue doing that every year there will be no rafting in Nepal. It will be another story in the history books for our grandchildren to read about. All the people who love the river will have to do something soon and the government should listen.

Summary

The results from this study suggest that although social position in the rafting industry does indeed play a role in the manner in which the participants tended to respond to questions pertaining to their perceptions of the impacts of the rafting industry, the differences between groups were not as pronounced as expected but more than expected within two of the study groups (owners and villagers). The differences within the owner and villager groups, while not expected in the study's hypotheses, were nonetheless to be expected ethnographically given the vast differences in villagers surveyed and the politically charged reality of rafting company ownership.   The other three groups (guides, office staff and clientele) each possessed high agreement scores, indicating that these groups shared a common cognitive model of the impacts (both positive and negative) of the rafting industry on those who participate in it. The agreement within these three groups was also witnessed in the ethnographic research, where informants from these groups verified the CCA data by way of their responses to qualitative interview questions.
Surprisingly, there was a great deal of uniformity in responses to CCA questions when groups were compared with one another. Although there was variation among a few groups, when looked at in combination with other study groups, these differences

were not large enough to affect the combined group's ability to meet the consensus model requirements. Nonetheless, on the whole, the hypothesized pattern of responses did seem to exist, albeit not in the agreement levels (Eigen values) expected. The highest levels of between group agreement was witnessed between guide, owners office staff and clients and the lowest agreement was seen between clients and all of the Nepalese groups aside from the guides. Moreover, the absolute lowest agreement scores were between the clients and the villagers, a pattern predicted in the study.

Interestingly, the other lowest levels of agreement, that between clients and office staff and owners, as well as that between owners and villagers, tended to demonstrate that those with little contact with one another tended to have lower agreement scores than those with more contact. This seems interesting from a network analysis point of view, in that those with the highest level of centrality, the guides, had the most in common in regard to their cognized models of the rafting industry, than did those that had less contact among one another.

All of the CCA results seemed to be supported by the ethnographic data in that responses among each of the groups to interview questions seemed to mimic the more quantifiable results produced in Eigen value form by the CCA surveying. Owners and villagers, while generally in agreement on issues, tended to point out issues that were at variance with the answers agreed upon by the other groups. Examples ranged from owners arguing about the impacts created by 'other companies' to villager's claiming that they tended to make money from rafting operations and that there were employment options for locals in the rafting industry. Thus, the CCA surveying seemed to function well as a means of reliably quantifying subjective perceptions of participants from several study groups.

CHAPTER 6:

OPERATIONAL MODELS OF THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF

WHITEWATER RAFTING OPERATIONS IN NEPAL

Introduction

To discern the operational (Rappaport 1979), or objectively observable and analyzable impacts of the rafting industry, this dissertation research utilized several methodologies within a multi-sited approach in order to accurately determine the manner in which the Nepalese river tourism industry generated overtly observable societal costs and benefits. Efforts were made to understand tourism's role in the lives of its local and international participants by including impact assessment, demographic and socio-economic surveying , geographic information systems (GIS) mapping, extensive fieldnote collection and in-depth qualitative interviewing.

In order to successfully understand the costs and benefits that the rafting industry may generate for participants, traversing the landscape with the tour operators to witness firsthand the entire river tourism complex was necessary. An important facet of this study was its multi-sited research design that demanded that I accompany rafting trips to areas in which they operate and attempt to examine the river tourism industry's economic and environmental impacts at the sites frequented by rafting companies.

The Multi-Sited Approach to Research Fieldwork

Social science researchers have recognized that traditional field sites are no longer isolated entities that can be understood by way of an in-depth, single site approach, but rather are but single nodes in a continuum of social, economic and environmental relationships that are all inter-related and interdependent (Brosius 1999, Kearney 1995, Marcus 1995).   New approaches toward understanding how these nodes are connected must be developed and incorporated into the anthropologists' methodological repertoire. One potential alternative is the 'multi-sited' approach (Marcus 1995), which involves the anthropologist working in several areas on multiple scales of analysis while connecting global, national and local events into a coherent body of social analysis. This form of research strategy has been particularly relevant to the anthropological study of tourism, which is multi-sited and increasingly diverse in the ways it affects diverse populations. However, as some anthropologists have adopted multi-sited strategies, new research tools have been added to the anthropologist's methodological toolkit. Tools borrowed from disciplines such as natural resource economics and geography have increasingly been found to have applications in anthropological research design, enabling the discipline to address questions normally left to others.

Globalization and its Relationship to Changing Methodologies

Social scientists have increasingly turned towards theories of globalization and trans-nationalism as analytical tools for understanding the causes of rapid social and environmental change at the local level. These theoretical positions, whether based on Wallerstein's world systems model (Chase-Dunn 1998, Wallerstein 1974) or the post-structural global ethno-scape position of Arjun Appadurai (1996), have as their

central tenet the perpetual pushes and pulls experienced by populations increasingly engaged in the global world economy. Traditionally, globalization theories have addressed the impact of large-scale transfers of capital, labor and resources between members of the global North and South and the resultant corresponding patterns of economic domination and subordination. Owing to the their long-standing interests in the welfare of local communities in the face of forced acculturation and assimilation, anthropologists have naturally (albeit somewhat lately) entered the contemporary discourse on the relevance of globalization to local level development (Hackenberg 1999).

However, globalization and trans-nationalism have changed the face of not only local communities, but also of the entire discipline of anthropology. The ever-increasing complexity of social relations encountered by anthropologists in their field sites, which had once been perceived of as remote and isolated, have been due to the dynamic interplay of global pressures exerted at the local level (and vice versa). This newfound recognition of globally induced societal complexity has necessitated change at the methodological level for anthropologists who have been forced to contend with the role external forces have had on their local field sites. Marcus (1995) has contended that anthropologists need to resort to a multi-sited approach to ethnographic fieldwork. By following the tendrils of the global network by way of tracing the connections, associations and putative relationships involved in an issue or event, Marcus suggested that anthropologists have been able to more effectively gain an understanding of what has actually been occurring in their research area. This perspective has been echoed by other anthropologists such as Gupta and Ferguson (1997c), Appadurai (1996), Kearney (1995) and Brosius (1999), who have shared a common vision of the need to re-orient anthropological field practices to adapt to

globally influenced changes in the 'field'.   In short, these anthropologists argue that researchers interested in cultural formations produced by the world system must understand that it is necessary to conduct ethnographies of the global system.   Such research may not be possible under the traditional rubric of the single-sited, conventional field 'site'.   Rather, anthropologists studying cultural formations of the global realm understand that the cultural formation is actually produced in several different locales and thus need to plan their research accordingly.

Multi-Sited Research and the Anthropology of Tourism

One area of research particularly suited for the application of this concept is the anthropology of tourism, which is often trans-national or global in orientation and multi-sited in character.   With the use of a multi-sited and multi-methodological approach, anthropologists have been able to benefit by following and analyzing the connections in the touristic experience.   Using tools as diverse as traditional qualitative interviewing to the analysis of satellite imagery, anthropologists have been able to understand the effects that decisions made at the national level by politicians and tourism ministers have on both the urban based tour operators and the rural communities with whom they have interacted on their excursions. This has allowed for a much needed, multi-leveled understanding of the dimensions of tourism development.   Additionally, by maintaining a relative amount of mobility in their fieldwork, anthropologists have been enabled to traverse the geographical landscape along with their tourism-employed research informants who have been by the nature of their work, spatially mobile individuals.

In this study, I collected data in Kathmandu and Pokhara where the majority of the tourism operators and government ministers were located. However, I also made trips out of the city to accompany tourism operators. During these trips, I was able to observe firsthand the types and frequency of interactions that the clients and employees had with both one another and the local riverine populations. This allowed me to gain an understanding of how the companies ran their operations, as well as where and how the clientele of the tourism industry spent their money on the river trips. By following the tourism operators around the country, I was able to assess a variety of components of the river tourism industry that would have been inaccessible had I remained in one primary location such as the traditional single village field site.

Thus, the multi-sited approach allowed me to gain a broad understanding of many facets of the industry, particularly those related to the employees, owners office staff and clients. However it did not allow me to gain in-depth insights into every facet of the industry's operations, most notably at the village level. One point of criticism of the multi-sited approach in anthropological fieldwork is the loss of the ethnographic power of the fieldwork due to the inability to remain entrenched in one local field site for an extended period of time. Marcus (1995: 100) addressed this conundrum by pointing out the importance of being able to both "link up the sites with both a common frame of study and to posit their relationships on the basis of firsthand ethnographic research." Additionally, owing to the flare up of Maoist inspired violence in the village areas, the mobile nature of my research project allowed at least a modicum of knowledge about the tourism industry's impacts to be gleaned without putting me at risk. Thus, the contribution of multi-sited ethnography is in its ability to bring a disparate set of locales, social actors, institutions and worldviews into one large framework of interaction analyzed by way of the ethnographic experience.

Operational Reality of the River Tourism Industry: Methods and Practices Used

The methods to measure observable impacts included a client post-trip survey administered to clientele as a way of assessing the rafting operators' environmental impacts based on what they witnessed on the river trips. This provided a way for me to understand what the clientele may have witnessed as well provide a means of comparing clientele observations of rafting operations with my own, which were recorded in fieldnotes. Additionally, clients were also surveyed to assess the amount of money spent on river trips, an important issue when trying to gauge the local economic significance of the river tourism industry.

Post Trip Surveying: Populations and Sampling

The post-trip surveying component of the study consisted of respondents drawn from rafting trips selected from the 61 rafting companies operating out of Kathmandu and Pokhara. Rafting clients in Nepal are primarily non-Nepali (approx. 90% non-Nepali in 1999).   Based on knowledge of the industry's operations gleaned from exploratory fieldwork conducted between May-August 1999 and May-July 2000, I first collected the season-wide schedule of trips from companies operating on the Kali Gandaki and Bhote Kosi rivers and then drew a sample from these populations. Selection from the total rafting populations was based on a stratified random sample format (stratified by rivers operated upon).

Informants for the study's second component were selected using a multi-staged random sampling design. The first group of respondents was selected from those rafting Bhote Kosi River during the post-monsoon season by selecting river trips to survey and accompany randomly from those companies running trips on the river. A cluster-sampling format whereby companies running the Bhote Kosi River were

asked to participate in the study and allow me to accompany their river trips. Among companies operating on the Bhote Kosi River during the 2001-2002 post-monsoon season (N=4), three (N=3) agreed to allow me to conduct research with them. The next step in obtaining my informants in this sampling procedure involved determining the seasonal schedules of each company and randomly sampling from those companies' trips. It was planned that trips would be sampled one after the other with approximately 1-2 days in between each river trip sampled.

Although this initially appeared to be a viable sampling, the drastically reduced tourist arrivals and the resulting decline in rafting clients rendered the seasonal schedules of each company meaningless. Struggled to fill trips, each company was forced to work out cooperative agreements with other companies whereby clients from one company lacking enough for a full enough trip would sell their clients to another company. Trips on the Bhote Kosi were considered 'Full' if a company had 4 or more clients, which is the minimum number of clients necessary to pilot the 14' rafts used on the Bhote Kosi River.

The lack of clientele and the resulting alterations in each company's seasonal schedule forced me to re-design my sampling strategy into one which allowed for daily changes in each company's trip schedule. The result was a sampling strategy which was based on this same cluster sampling design but which forced me to continually update my company trip schedules in the attempt to sample from trips that were actually going to 'float' as opposed to those that did not fill. I would select from those trips that were full and after returning from that trip, I would then re-update my trip schedule and discern which companies had then established full trips that would depart in the next 2-3 day period. I would then randomly select (using pieces of paper with each company's name on them drawn from a hat) a trip from the available

139

universe of trips that were to be departing. Although this was more time consuming due to the constant updating of company trip schedules, it worked well and offered a viable, random way to select trips for data collection.

Once a river trip was selected and accompanied, I would administer post-trip surveys to clientele (as well as cultural consensus surveys to randomly selected trips). During bus rides to each river on these trips, clients were asked to participate in the study and if they agreed, a post trip survey was administered to them at the end of each river trip. These post trip surveys were then collected from each participant before then left the bus on arrival at the final destination of each trip (Kathmandu or Pokhara).

The Kali Gandaki had approximately 4000 (8 people per raft x 2 rafts per trip = 250 trips) clients in 1999 and the Bhote Kosi approximately 2,500 clients (8 people per raft x 2 rafts per trip = 108 trips) over the year. Since Nepal has two paddling seasons, of approximately the same amount of trips, an estimated 125 trips on the Kali Gandaki per season and about 54 trips per season on the Bhote Kosi was calculated. Using the sample sizes to achieve a 5% confidence interval established by Krejcie & Morgan (1970), I planned to administer surveys to 100 trips (5% over sampling rate) on the Kali Gandaki in the spring season and 50 trips (4% over sampling rate) on the Bhote Kosi in the fall season. This allowed me to generalize the project's results to the larger population of rafting trips on both of these rivers.

Due to the low numbers of tourists to visit Nepal over the 2001-2002 seasons because of international terrorism events and the Maoist insurgency within Nepal (see Chapter seven for an in-depth analysis of this issue), rafting operators reported that operations were suffering a 60%-90% decline in clientele, especially from the United States. The potential universe of informants declined as did the number of available

rafting trips for sampling. I was only able to accompany and administer surveys to thirty (N=30) river trips over the 2001-2002 rafting seasons. Trips were conducted on five (N=5) different rivers, the Karnali (Trip N=2, Survey N=25), the Marsyangdi (Trip N=3, Survey N=22), the Trisuli (Trip N=1, Survey N=4), the Kali Gandaki (Trip N=15, Survey N=95) and the Bhote Kosi Trip (N=11, Survey N=104). Although five rivers were surveyed in this study, the vast majority of trips were conducted on the two rivers chosen explicitly for study, the Bhote Kosi and the Kali Gandaki (Total combined Trip N=26, Total combined survey N=199). However, over all five rivers, there were approximately 250 surveys completed and returned to me.

Post Trip Surveying: Response Rates

For the post-trip surveys (PTS), the response rates have been disaggregated into two different categories: (1) the Post-Trip Demographic Survey, and (2) the Economic Survey. The two distinct parts, of the PTS had different response rates due to extraneous variables as well as several different known factors. The known factor that led to variable response rates was the difficulty in responding to questions (the economic survey was more in-depth and difficult to complete). Nevertheless, response rates for all components were still extremely high and surpassed those response rates of other river recreation-related studies that have surveyed clientele by way of other methods such as mailed surveys (Arnold and Price 1993; English and Bowker 1996).

For the PTS Demographic Survey, the survey was administered to 266 clients over thirty (N=30) different trips and 251 surveys were returned, for a response rate of 94%. The PTS Economic test was administered on all thirty trips accompanied and

141

was given to 266 informants, of whom 250 returned the survey resulting in a response rate of 94%.

Post-Trip Demographic and Economic Surveying

To discern the economic impact that river tourism had on local economies, I generated a socioeconomic instrument that was administered to clientele on both river sites. The socio-economic instrument focused on the amount of outfitter and non-outfitter based expenditures that clients made while on the river trip as well as their entire trip in Nepal. Clients were be asked to discern between expenditures made prior to the trip, expenditures made to pay for their trip to the outfitters, and then money spent on the trip that did not go to the outfitter but instead was distributed to businesses/local communities over the course of the trip. For ease in reporting, the instrument asked for expenditures made in each village that is commonly contacted over the course of river trips on each of the rivers (including during transportation to and from the river as well as all expenditures made in villages while on the river). The instrument was pre-tested over two field seasons in Nepal, and was administered to all clients willing to participate in the study.

This project also included marketing and economic components within its research design. Clientele were surveyed in regard to demographics, trip quality indicators (in the post-trip survey) and their travel costs and expenditures over the course of the rafting trip in particular and their trip to Nepal in general. Additionally, I was able to document the stops made by each company, the types of items purchased by clients and companies and the amounts spent on food, gas and drinks on each trip. Using a combination of methodologies used by river tourism researchers, such as economic indicators developed by English and Bowker (1996) and social and

marketing indicators studied by Arnold, Price and Otnes (1999), it is hoped that this component of the project would elucidate what tourists wanted, what they go and how much they spent while engaged in the activity.

The Earthwatch Experience:

A substantial portion of the project's funding came from the Earthwatch Institute, which is a organization dedicated to the funding of scientific research projects that can directly involve non-scientists in the research process. Funding from Earthwatch (EW) entailed my incorporating non-anthropologists into my research plan and using them to conduct data collection with rafting clientele and enter data into computerized databases.   Although it was originally planned to incorporate approximately 36 research volunteers into my research project over the course of the project's data collection, the September 11th attacks in the United States and the breaking of the ceasefire by the Nepalese Maoists and the corresponding state of emergency declared in Nepal led to a canceling of my project by Earthwatch (for insurance reasons) and me receiving only two volunteers. These volunteers came over for the first research trip planned, which was shortly after the 9/11 terrorist strikes, and participated in the project for approximately ten days. Their participation in the project was highly variable, with one volunteer functioning well and the other being less than optimal in both performance and temperament.

Briefly, EW volunteers were trained in basic social science surveying and data entry methods. After administering PTS and conducting interviews with rafting clients, EW volunteers then entered survey data into spreadsheets and transcribed interview data. All data collected by EW volunteers was integrated into the project's database and was analyzed alongside other project data.

Post Trip Demographic and Trip Analysis Survey Results

The purpose of the PTS was to measure the demographic nature of the river clientele as well as assess the social and environmental impacts of the operations as they perceived them based on their experiences. Additionally, a primary purpose of the Post-Trip Survey was to assess the amount of income generated by the rafting company at the local level and to examine where the money being spent by the clientele of the rafting companies is going. This was done so that Hypothesis 5 could be addressed

The post-trip demographic and trip analysis survey was completed by a total of 251 informants out of a total of 266 surveys administered, leaving me with a response rate of approximately 94%. In the analysis of the Post Trip Demographic and Trip Analysis Survey (PTS), I included all informants that were surveyed, including those from river trips on rivers other than the Bhote Kosi and Kali Gandaki since it was not particularly important that this data be river dependent. The data for this component was inclusive of rivers and thus the sample was larger than that of the subsequent survey, the Post-Trip Economic Survey (PTE), which was a river-dependent survey whose purpose was to compare and contrast the economic impacts of two different types of rivers. For an example of the PTS and a listing of the raw data, see Appendix D.

Among the informants that completed the PTS, 57% were male (N= 144) and 43 % were female (N=106). The average age of informants was 28 years old with a range of informants included from 17 to 61 years of age. Regarding their nationality, the modal nationality was British, with the remaining participants being drawn from 31 different countries. After the removal of all outlying informants who had resided in Nepal over 1 year (N=9), the average length of stay in Nepal of study participants

was 48 days (with a range of 1-300 days) and the average amount of time already spent in Nepal prior to taking the trip was 25 days (with a range of 3-75 days).

In regard to the river trip taken, the majority was from the Bhote Kosi River (N=104) with the next largest group being from the Kali Gandaki River (N=95). The remaining informants were surveyed on the Karnali (N=25), the Marsyangdi (N=22), and the Trisuli (N=4) Rivers. The average length of stay on the river was three days (range= 1-11) and two nights (range= 0-9). Clients from a total of eleven companies (N=11) were surveyed on 30 different river trips on the above-mentioned five different rivers.

Among informants, the vast majority were rafting clients (90%; N=225) with only 10% being kayakers (N=26). Among those surveyed, only 48% (N=119) had come to Nepal with specific plans to go whitewater rafting and only 11% (N=27) had come primarily for whitewater activities but the vast majority (72%; N=180) said that they would return to Nepal again to raft. However, although 90% of informants (N=226) said that they would still have come to Nepal if they could not have rafted, only 32% (N=79) said that they would return to the area in which they rafted (for any reason) if the run were shortened by a dam and only 18% (N=44) said that they would return to the area if the river run was entirely flooded by a dam. Policy makers wishing to enhance tourism development in those areas slated for hydropower development may need to seriously consider the impact of such a project on the future tourism earning capabilities of the area. This is especially true since 97% (N=241) clients felt that river conservation was important in providing enjoyable rafting trips.

In regard to the impacts of the rafting operations on the local populations and physical environment, only 43% of the clients (N=108) reported that their guides discussed ways to be socially sensitive to Nepalese customs and only 46% (N=114)

surveyed denoted that their guides talked about the importance of protecting the river environment with their clients. Although the guides may nave neglected discussing social and environmental issues with the clients, they fared much better in their actions. Clients reported that their guides were more successful in their actions, as 91% (N=227) reported that the guides created deep pits for their latrines that were later filled in properly before leaving the campsites and 96% (N=241) said that there were well-defined locations for used toilet paper to be placed so that it could be burned or packed out. Further, 94% (N=234) of the clients reported that the guides either packed out or burned all burnable waste from each lunch or camp site and 94% (N=234) surveyed claimed that their guides packed out all non-burnable waste from each stopping point. Against the recommendations of the Nepal Association of Rafting Agents' own environmental standards, 30% of clients (N=76) reported that their guides used firewood that was either purchased from local villagers or found on the river banks for campfires.

In assessing the rafting industry's environmental impacts, it appeared that the observations of the clientele were similar in many ways to my own, albeit with some variances based on the operational styles of some particular outfitters. My own observational data seemed to suggest that in general, the rafting industry had a minimal environmental impact compared to other forms of riverine development options in the area (such as hydropower dam construction). The most significant impacts appeared to come from poor oversight on the toiletry practices of clientele on the part of some companies, most notably those companies that cater to the high volume Israeli trips (which have at times been comprised of up to 90 clients per trips). Owing to the large number of clients on such trips, the toilet facilities quickly get overwhelmed and as a result, the clientele begin to resort to finding their own private

toilet spots. This can result in a beach full of toilet paper and human feces being left

for the next rafting group to deal, a rather unpleasant task to say the least and one that

tended to leave a negative impression on the clientele. As one client said, "I like

rafting in Nepal, you get to see some beautiful places and raft some great rapids, but

some of the companies need to be better at picking up their toilet paper because this

beach is nasty."

Another potential environmental issue, which was alluded to in the clients' survey

responses, involves the rafting industry's usage of firewood found alongside the

riverbanks as well as that purchased from river villagers. Approximately 30% of

rafting clients reported having had campfires on their trips, which is also similar to

my own experience. However, the NARA guidelines for proper rafting conduct

prohibit the purchasing of firewood from villagers in the attempt to stem any sort

rafting induced deforestation of the riverine corridors in which they operate.

However, I witnessed, as did the clients, several instances in which guides either

purchased firewood from villagers or scavenged wood that could have been used by

local populations for their own fuel wood needs. Campfires were usually built by the

guides for the clientele, who were thought by many guides to want a campfire

whenever possible. Although many clients did indeed want a fire to sit by in the

evening, others felt that they did not want fuel wood burnt on their behalf. In fact, on

one long trip (Karnali River) that I accompanied, several clients approached me to ask

me to intervene with the guides to keep them from starting another campfire. Due to

the guides' rather extensive usage of firewood on several trips, there is room for

improvement in the rafting industry's environmental footprint.

In regard to the rafting companies' operations, clients felt rather highly about the

quality of the services that they received. Ninety-eight percent (N=244) of those

surveyed reported that their guides appeared to be skilled in boat operation and guiding and 99% of all clients (N=248) reported that there were safety kayaks present on their trips. Informants were also pleased with the quality of equipment used by the companies, with 97% (N=242) reporting that the gear was of high quality. Additionally, 96% (N=241) of those surveyed felt that the food served on the trip was prepared in a safe and sanitary manner. Lastly, there was a slight variation in the perspectives of the clientele in regard to the effectiveness of the communication abilities of the river guides, with 94% (N=236) feeling that their guide were able to communicate effectively with them, but only 88% (N=221) of the clients felt that the office staff that sold them the trips conveyed the trip information adequately.

Post-Trip Economic Survey (PTE)

Among those who participated in the socio-economic surveying, there were a wide variety of survey response rates according to each river, with some respondents filling out the first section of the survey but leaving blank the economic component, which was the most in-depth component of the survey and thus required more attention to detail. Since clients were on the trip for recreational purposes, it is believed that those who did not fill out the economic section of the survey neglected this component since it required more work to complete. The actual response rate of the economic section of the socio-economic survey is different than the overall rate of the survey in its entirety. Additionally, since some respondents only partially completed this section as well, for the purposes of effective data analysis, it was necessary to leave out all those who did not completely participate in this component. The results of the economic survey were based on the following subset of the total population sampled (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Percentages of total sample used in economic survey analysis

River Name	Total N Sampled	N used for Survey Results	% of total N
Bhote Kosi	104	89	86
Kali Gandaki	96	74	77

For an example of the survey that was administered to the clientele, as well as a listing of the results of the survey, see Appendix E.

Post-Trip Economic Survey Results

The initial part of the PTE consisted of a series of questions specific to the river trip that the client was on at the time (see Appendix E) as well as some questions related to the importance of the rafting trip to their trip to Nepal. This section of the survey was followed by questions asking the informant to denote how much money that they spent on the river trip, itemized by type of expenditure. The results of the survey indicated that the average number of rafting trips taken by the informants was 1.5 trips, with a range of 1 to 20 trips taken and an additional one more trip planned on being taken (with a range of 0-8 more trips).   Although on a scale of 1 (being least important) and 10 (most important) of how important rafting trip was to their trip to Nepal, the average response was 5.4 (with a range of 1-10), only 9% of all informants surveyed booked their rafting trip prior to arrival in Nepal. However, once in Nepal, the rafting trip assumed significant importance and became a social affair, with 55% of all informants (N=138) taking the trip with as part of a group of two or more people that they knew prior to arriving in Nepal.

The purpose of the economic instrument of this project was to discern if river trip length plays a role in determining the amount of income generated at the local level from the rafting clientele. The project tested the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 5: It was hypothesized that longer trips would generate more economic expenditures from tourism clientele than shorter trips. It was premised that this revenue would be derived from non-outfitter based expenditures and would be spent by clientele in local riverine communities. Results indicated that longer trips do indeed generate more client level expenditure of funds at the local, non-resort level, with the average expense of clients on the Kali Gandaki being approximately $102 USD compared to that of $81 USD by the average client on the Bhote Kosi. Thus, the null should be rejected and the project's hypothesis confirmed, in that longer trip length did indeed seem to generate more non-rafting company income.

However, the picture gets a bit murkier in regard to the interpretation of the data when the all of the data is included (see Appendix E). Total average amount spent on the river trip by clients on the Bhote Kosi was approximately $232 USD, whereas the amount was $249 USD by those clients on the Kali Gandaki, a difference of $17 USD. Although there does appear to be a higher amount spent on the KG, when one looks at the average cost of river trip in outfitters' fees, there is a $17 USD difference between the two rivers, thus accounting for the difference in total expenditure. It would appear that the only difference in the amount of money spent between the two groups would be in the outfitter's fees and no difference in local income existed.

However, on closer analysis of the types of itemized expenditures indicates that when comparing expenses made to either rafting companies and their guides to those non-rafting company related costs, the Bhote Kosi generated less money at the local

level than did the Kali Gandaki. In total, the expenses paid by clients to the rafting companies in the form of payment for services, resort food and lodging, rental equipment and tips for guides, etc. amounted to $179 USD on the Bhote Kosi versus $113 on the Kali Gandaki. The Bhote Kosi generated $53 USD at the local level and the Kali Gandaki led to an input of approximately $136 USD per client into the local economy. However, there is one issue that is difficult to explain, in that many clients indicated that they had purchased food and drinks at rafting company resorts on the *Kali Gandaki* as well (the Kali Gandaki has no river resorts). If one adds the supposed $25 spent at the rafting company resorts to the total amount paid to the rafting company, there is still a higher amount of money going to the local level on the Kali Gandaki as opposed to the Bhote Kosi, with the amounts being $53 USD on the BK and $111 USD on the KG. It appears that longer, non-roadside trips do tend to generate more money at the local level than do resort based runs. These results will be dealt with more fully in the following discussion section of the paper, where the issue of community benefits arising from proximity to rafting company resorts is examined.

GIS Results

In order to identify the communities that had the most frequent contact with the rafting company operations, I aggregated all GPS data and combined all points within a one-kilometer distance from each other and represented different densities of waypoints with different sized and color coded markers (Figure 6.1). This allowed for me to create a map that allows the reader to quickly identify the locations where rafting company and local populations have the highest frequency of interpersonal contact. By way of conducting a density analysis of trip contact points, I have been

able to understand where and in what numerical densities rafting operations came in contact with local populations in particular locations (Figure 6.1). These locations were also the points where I conducted cultural consensus interviews with local populations, thus allowing for a spatially situated understanding of the perceptions of the local populations of these areas.

Roadside Stopping Points

Over the course of each trip on the Bhote Kosi and Kali Gandaki River, the primary points of interactions consisted of stops made by rafting trips at roadside villages for the purposes of gas purchases, bus repairs and allowing for client tea meal purchases (Figure 6.1). While the stopping points tended to vary somewhat depending on trip leaders, they generally tended to be chosen on the basis of convenience for the trip leaders in regard to re-organizing the clients when it was necessary to re-board the bus. Trip leaders usually chose less densely populated areas for stopping points so that it was easier for them to see and 'round up' clients when it was necessary to depart again.

Instead of stopping in larger villages or towns such as Barabesi, Balephi or Dolalghat, which would be natural stopping points for most local buses, rafting trips would usually stop at small villages that possessed only a few small momo (a Tibetan fast food item similar to a steamed Chinese dumpling) stalls (pasals in Nepali). Stopping at these small villages made the task of paying for clients' food and drinks easier (a task that some trip leaders took on themselves) as well as keeping the clients in a relatively smaller geographic space for ease of communication when it was necessary to make public statements (such as, "time to go, lets get back on the bus!"). On the route to the Bhote Kosi, the stopping points were normally at villages such as

Zero Kilometer (Figure 6.1) for snacks and tea and Nalinchowk (for gas), in addition

to the stops made at the put in and take out points.

Bhote Kosi River Rafting Contact Points
Density Map
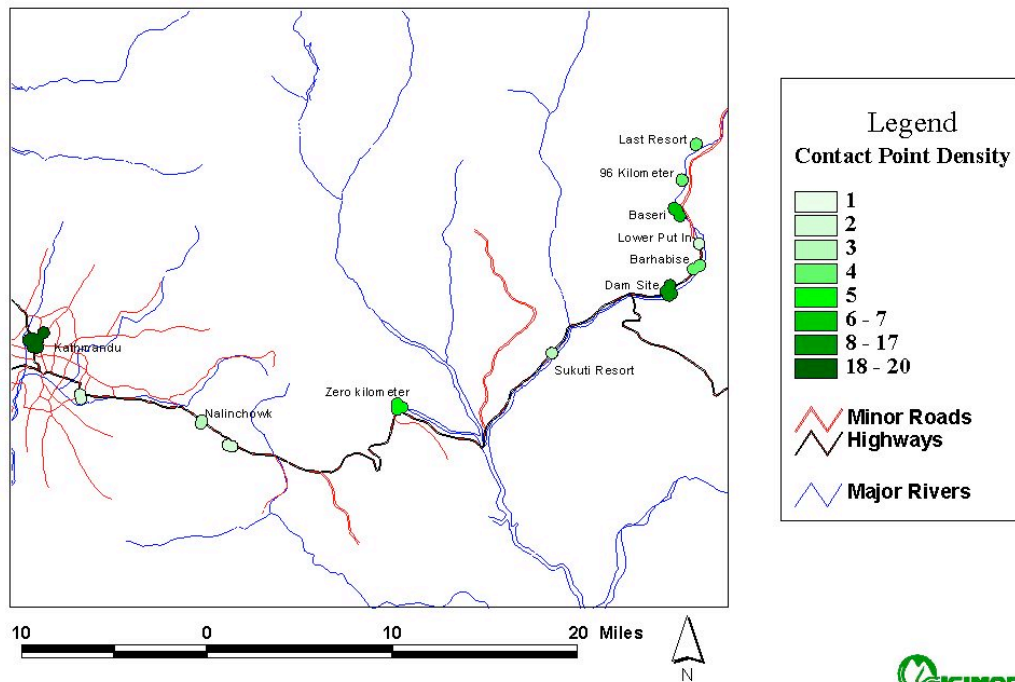
Figure 6.1: Usage of GPS waypoints to document rafting trip contact points. GPS waypoint data aggregated and analyzed using a density analysis function in ArcView 3.1. (Color scale denotes intensity of contact between rafting trips and local populations).

An example of one Nepalese trip leader's perspective on where and why he stops

at the particular locations along the road to the Bhote Kosi can be illustrated in an

excerpt from my fieldnotes:

> We stopped at Zero Kilometer, a village that is roughly at a halfway
> point from Kathmandu to the Bhote Kosi River and one where D
> always tends to stop his trips when he is trip leading. We also stopped

on the way back at the same location. The bus driver had tried to stop in Khadichaur, a town that is on the river, and D had told him to keep going and to stop at Zero Km instead. This appeared to get the bus driver a little upset and D kind of made fun of him to lighten the mood. Once we arrived in Zero KM and got off of the bus, I mentioned to D that I had noticed that every time he is trip leading, he always tends to stop here and I asked him why that is so. He said that it was because it is a good midway point, that there is nothing else to do there so that the clients and guides don't get spread out too far, making it hard for them to get back on the bus in a timely manner. D said that he did not like to stop at the villages close to the river because he wanted to make some headway back towards KTM before he had to stop. Also, all of the places to stop along the river have large markets and lots of shops, which would make it really difficult to get all of the people back on the bus in time to get back to Kathmandu at a decent time (as it is, buses usually get back to Kathmandu between 6-8pm from the Bhote Kosi).

The locations used as put in and take out points on the river for some companies were company owned rafting resorts, such as the Borderlands resort, which is used as a put in for Ultimate Descents Nepal, and the River Side Camp, located at the take out point and used by Ultimate Rivers, Ultimate Descents International and Drift Nepal. These resorts were also the primarily locations where meals were prepared and eaten by clients, which decreased the need for trips to stop in the larger towns where proper meals could be obtained. However, while rafters were on the river or after they had departed back to Kathmandu, the bus drivers and guides would often stop in the larger riverside towns to make purchases and eat meals. Thus, although the rafters themselves would not make a great number of stops in the larger riverside towns, the guides, owners and transportation staff would usually make stops at these towns and spend money in the local shops (pasals) and restaurants (bhojanalaya).

On the road trip to the Kali Gandaki River from the lakeside town of Pokhara (where all trips for the Kali Gandaki depart from), trip leaders would usually stop a several larger towns for snack and lunch stops, which was a different phenomena than on the Bhote Kosi trips. En route to the Kali Gandaki, stops would be made at either

Nayapul or Kusma before reaching the river. These trips were usually made so that the guides could eat a meal of dal bhaat (rice and lentils) before getting to the river and so that clients could buy snacks and have a quick lunch of dal bhaat or some samosas (potato and pea filled fried dumplings). After departing from these villages, the companies would then put in above Kusma at either or an unnamed beach or further up stream near Baglung. Once the river trip was completed at the location of the new dam at the confluence of the Andhi Kola and the Kali Gandaki, companies would usually prepare a lunch for the clients at the loading point, which was eaten prior to taking off for the return trip to Pokhara. At this location, which was located on the edge of the town of Mirmi, there would be groups of local kids who sold cold cokes and beers that would arrive as soon as the rafters beached their boats. Clients and guides would always purchase drinks from these rather persistent venders to consume with their lunches in preparation for the 5-6 hour bus ride back to town.

Once the takeout point lunches were finished and the group was on the road headed back to Pokhara, every rafting trip that I accompanied would stop in the town of Gulang for a quick meal of dal bhaat or noodle soup for the guides. In this town, there were many shops that clients would frequent to buy snacks, drinks and small souvenir items. Additionally, there was also a pharmacy here that was used by both clients and guides to purchase medicines for ailments ranging from anti-biotics for diarrhea to codeine for broken fingers and toes.

River Stopping Points

While rafting on the Bhote Kosi River, no stops were made in any villages or towns for the purposes of purchasing any items or interacting with villagers. The Bhote Kosi River run, owing to its short length and proximity to both the road and local river resorts, was always run in 3 hour long runs and there was never a need for rafting companies to stop in villages for re-supply or allowing customers to shop for snacks. Aside from stopping at shops alongside the road en route to the river, these river trips had very little contact with local populations, with clients only even seeing local populations as they were putting in or taking out (and only then in relatively rare encounters since non-resort based put in points were located a points in between established villages).

On the Kali Gandaki River, the situation was a bit different, since the commercially run section is a three day long run down an isolated and inaccessible river gorge where clients camped on sandy beaches using tents and raft shelters for lodging instead of staying in riverside resorts. On the river, trip leaders would often make short stops in rivers side villages for the purposes of buying any items that may have been needed, such as items like vegetable oil, fresh meat and locally produced rice or millet based alcoholic beverage called raksi (generally consumed with much gusto by raft guides and much timidity by rafting clientele). Accordingly, there was more opportunity for clients to visit villages along the way and spend money in small riverside village shops on the Kali Gandaki than on the Bhote Kosi.

Using GIS imagery combined with detailed fieldnote collection, it was possible to easily identify those communities that were involved in the rafting industry and those that were left out. In illuminating the areas that were both included and left out of the path of tourism operations, this data allowed for an understanding of where

policymakers and tourist officials should concentrate efforts at community involvement in management and conservation of resources utilized by locals and tourism operations. It was observed that on shorter, road side runs, the localized expenditures of clients appeared to be substantially lower than they did on longer, non-roadside runs and this was documented by way economically analyzing the clients' spending patterns and then tracing out the actual stopping points of each trip geographically to look at this process. Regrettably, the loss of the spatial data from the Kali Gandaki River did not allow me to spatially identify the stopping points by the rafting companies on the longer runs, but the Bhote Kosi geographic data coupled with the ethnographic and economic data shows that there were minimal stops on the roadway to and from the river as well as no stops in the river villages by clientele in which to spend money. Local communities appeared to receive very little economic benefit directly from the rafting clientele, whereas on the Kali Gandaki River the amount of economic input into the local communities by clientele appeared to be more substantial. These results were meaningful in that in order to foster sustainable development that provides the greatest economic return to the local communities that are impacted by the tourism operations, it is necessary to understand which form of development can do so. The results in this study indicate that remote, non-roadside river runs tended to put more money into the local economy directly from clientele expenditures.

However, it must be understood that this study compared the amount of direct expenditures made by clientele into the local communities on their own volition. These results do not address the amount of income that is absorbed by the local communities on rivers that have river resorts such as the Bhote Kosi, where many locals both work and sell produce and other necessities to the resorts for consumption

157

by the clients. However, such income would be part of the multiplier effect generated by the client's payment to the rafting operations for their services and can be considered as an extension of the results obtained from this study.

Summary

This chapter addressed the manner in which social researchers can incorporate other research methodologies such as those used by geographers and natural resource economists into their methodological repertoire in the attempt to provide a more comprehensive understanding of tourism's potential operational costs and benefits for the populations who participate in it. The combination of these various methodologies was important in that it allowed for a more holistic understanding of how tourism operations related to ground level benefits dispersal. By following the complex of tourism and studying the geographical patterns of its operations, the observations of the clientele regarding the environmental impacts of the tourism operations, and my own observations and analysis of the actual economic and environmental impacts of tourism, it was hoped that this project could provided analysis that could be used to guide more effective tourism management systems.

The results indicated that there were several locations that were favored stopping points of rafting operations both on and off of the river. On the Bhote Kosi, there were few riverside stops, but a few roadside stopping points where economic exchanges were made, primarily for food and drinks for clients and guides. On the Kali Gandaki, the stopping points included several roadside stops for meals and snacks and the riverside stops were for the purposes of both camping and shopping for snacks and sodas. At all of these points, local populations were able to sell products to both guides and clients, thus providing for direct economic benefits for

local populations. Due to the lack of stops on the Bhote Kosi and the propensity for a larger number of stops on the Kali Gandaki, the longer trip on KG allowed for more purchases at the local level, and thus led to more client-generated income on those trips.

Regarding the environmental impacts of the rafting operations, in general it appeared that both the clients' and my own observations roughly paralleled one another. In general, rafting operations seemed to be run well and leave a minimal ecological footprint since there were no major environmental disturbances resulting from each company's trip and the beaches remained in relatively the same condition throughout each season's usage.   However, there was some variance in what the clients' reported experiences were and what my own were in regard to the rafting operations' success in dealing with human waste produced at each campsite. My own observations indicated that rafting operations varied considerably in regard to their ability to maintain a human waste free campsite, with some operators being very negligent in encouraging clientele to use the designated toilets on each trip. Lastly, there was some usage of firewood, both purchased and scavenged, by guides on river trips. While this may not be a problem in remote stretches of river where driftwood collects and is not used owing to a lack of local populations, in the more settled areas, it can become a problem if it leads to an increase in local tree felling to supply the increasing demand of both local and rafter usage.

Figure 6.2: Rafting clientele and guides shopping for lunch at Zero Kilometer village along the roadside en route to the Bhote Kosi

Figure 6.3: Guides and clients re-supply at shop on Sun Kosi River, Nepal

Figure 6.4: Local river villagers selling fresh fruits to rafting clients and guides at river camp on Kali Gandaki River.

Figure 6.5: Local children selling cold beverages to clients and guides at takeout site on Kali Gandaki River.

CHAPTER 7:

TOURISM, TERRORISM AND CONFLICT: NEPAL'S MAOIST

INSURGENCY AND ITS IMPACT ON NEPAL'S TOURISM INDUSTRY

The Vulnerability of Tourism to External Factors: Travel, Tourism and Conflict

Historically, travelers and traders (the pre-cursors to modern day tourists) had to deal with a variety of dangers during their journeys, not the least of which were regional wars, theft and random acts of personal violence. Attacking travelers for the thievery and deceit is an ancient form of profession that may have changed in form (although in some places not so greatly) over the centuries but has not decreased in prevalence. As Smith (2001a) documents,

> To prey upon the vulnerability of travelers is an ancient and lawless profession. Whether termed pickpockets, robbers, dacoits, or highwaymen, the brigands raided caravans on the historic Silk Road; pirates looted Spanish galleons for their New World gold; and criminals now mug tourists in airport parking lots.

Travelers have traditionally been relatively easy targets to those who would wish them harm. This has weighed heavily upon the governments of those nations that have hoped to stimulate international tourism and market their countries as destinations for travelers. From the earliest forms of attacks on trade caravans by bandits, to piracy on the open seas and more recently, to the contemporary suicide bomber, the change in forms of attacks on travelers have required that nations invest heavily in security forces and national police squads to protect tourists and tourism infrastructure.

For tourism destinations, there has been a special urgency in keeping the peace and quelling attempts at violent acts on tourists. Although it has been successful at providing foreign income for those countries that have invested in tourism infrastructure, tourism has also proven to be highly vulnerable to market fluctuations during periods of social instability due to war, terrorism, and revolution. It has been increasingly important to understand the ways in which conflict plays a role in reshaping local and global tourism markets.

War and Tourism

War, one of the most overt and predictable forms of stress on tourism markets, Turney-High (1981) has identified three major periods of impact on an area and its markets: (1) the pre-war period; (2) the war period; and (3) the post-war period. These temporal domains are affected differently by war, but the end result is that there is usually a decline in security accompanied by periods of societal un-ease that affect cultural 'normalcy'. Ultimately war results in destruction and death which must be dealt with in the post-war phase by way of re-establishing social networks and attempting to re-build the social and physical resources necessary for supporting both the local populations and incoming potential visitors.

Generally speaking, wars tend to lead to declining arrivals of tourists and international travelers (aside from the actual combatants of course) in the countries engaged in conflict. However the economic and social impacts of international wars have not historically stopped at the borders of the actual participants in the wars, but rather have led to entire regions being affectedAn by localiz example of such an effect can be seen in the case of the 1991 Gulf War in which the United States and a coalition of other military forces led to the eviction of Iraq from

163

Kuwait. During that war, there was a substantial impact on tourism and international travel in the entire Middle Eastern region as the US Government recommended that all US citizens leave the area, followed shortly by calls by other nations to do the same, leading to a near total abandonment of the region during 1991 and part of 1992. Countries such as Turkey, Jordan, Israel and Cyprus all saw their tourism bookings fall drastically leading to very significant impacts on their economies (Ryan 1991).

However, other non-Middle Eastern nations such as Great Britain (who was a participant in the anti-Iraq coalition) and the other nations of Europe also witnessed a significant decline in tourism during that period as a result of the war. In fact, England saw a 45% decrease in American tourists during the period of the Gulf War, even though it was thousands of miles a way from the actual conflict (British Tourism Association 2001). Over all, American inter-Atlantic travel dropped by 60% during the first two months of 1991 alone leading to dramatic downturns in tourism. The economic impacts of war can have reverberations on the international tourism market beyond the actual regions embroiled war, thus demonstrating the global nature of the tourism industry.

Although it is often the sector immediately impacted by war, international travel and tourism is not always just a passive participant reacting to the ravages of war. Sometimes it can actually play a significant role in stimulating war and conflict. An example of how international travel can stimulate war was seen in the role that the 1915 sinking of the passenger liner *Lusitania* played in generating public ferment for US entry into war with Germany in World War I (Smith 2001). By showing that there had been a massive loss of civilian traveler life due to a surprise German submarine attack, it was easier for US politicians to generate public support for US

entry into what had at the time been perceived of as a 'European' war by the isolationists of the period.

Terrorism and Tourism

Recent events have spotlighted international terrorism's role in impacting national and international markets, particularly those of travel and tourism figures. Nations placing significant resources on tourism development have been increasingly concerned over the impact that an increase in terrorism may have on their international arrival figures. Terrorism experts such as Richter and Waugh (1986) have warned that incidents involving terrorism and tourism will rise since the political and economic consequences of terrorist strikes on tourists and tourism related areas are so large and likely to grow larger through time.

Although there have been widely varying interpretations as to what actually defines terrorism, for the purpose of this paper, terrorists are non-state level actors (although they may be supported by state level actors) who use tactics of violence and intimidation against non-combatant targets (although combatants may also be targeted) for the purposes of reaching political or ideological goals. This is similar to the definition of terrorism contained in Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d). That statute contains the following definitions: The term "terrorism" means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. The term "international terrorism" means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country (US Department of State 2001). Using such definitions helps to distinguish sub-national terrorist groups from sub-national revolutionary groups, who tend to attack combatant targets rather than non-

165

combatants (although there tends to be a continuum here that can blur the boundaries between these classes of violent social actors.

Although the events of September 11th, 2001 have recently focused American interest and concern on international terrorism and its impact on travel-related security, there have been many historical terrorist events against tourists and travelers prior to the 911 events that have led to decreased tourism Figures globally. According to the US Travel Data Center, US citizen concern over travel safety began to be exhibited in the dramatic declines in international air travel following the hijacking of flight 814 from Athens in 1985 in which one American was killed and continued into the late 1980s when hijackings and bombings of flights involving US citizens began to occur regularly frequently (Ryan 1991). Further, the hijacking of the cruise ship *Achille Lauro* in the Mediterranean in 1985 by members of the Palestine Liberation Front also contributed to a decline in international travel by members of the US and European communities during that period.

Current global events have also had similar effects, such as the attacks on tourists in the Egyptian tourist center of Luxor in 1997 in which 58 tourists and 4 Egyptians were killed by Islamic militants led to a near total collapse of the Egyptian tourism industry that year, prompting the government to post armed guards at major tourism attractions. Such a decline was a major blow to the local populace, of which 80% were employed in some manner by the tourism industry (Wakin 2002). A similar result was experienced by those members of the tourism industry of Indonesia following the Bombing of the 'Sari Club' nightclub in Bali on October 12, 2002 (Wakin 2002). Similarly, the attack on the World Trade Center towers in 2001 have led to a decline in tourism Figures worldwide, demonstrating that traveler perceptions of security are critical in shaping their plans for international ventures. As Norton

(1987: 31) stated,

> The most effective fear that the terrorist can generate for the terrorist is that he will never arrive at his destination- or will never return home alive. Convince of this and a supply of tourist visitors could suddenly dry up. A pistol pointed at a hostage in an aircraft, then, could be a pistol pointed at a country's economic heart.

Thus, a single episode of terror (or much worse, a series of such incidents) in a tourism dependent country, such as Egypt, the Philippines, Indonesia or the United States, can lead to the perception that the country is unsafe and lead to a shifting of tourist travel plans away from the affected area (Norton 1987; Norton and Greenberg 1980).   This has been witnessed time and time again, playing out similarly in the US following the 911 attacks and Bali following the attack on the Sari Club (Case 2003), leading to concern for the stability of tourism markets in areas prone to up surges in terrorism and conflict (such as the Middle East and currently, South and Southeast Asia).

Although it is particularly effective at scaring away tourists and travelers, its participants do not only mean terrorism as a vehicle for frightening away tourism dollars. Rather it is a means to an end of crippling a targeted nation's ability to provide necessary services to both its own populace as well as its visitors (Norton and Greenberg 1980). Terrorists use terrorism as a way of demonstrating that the modern nation-state is powerless to prevent their attacks and thus, can't provide critical services such as security, power, water, and other necessary resources that are susceptible to covert attack (Laqueur 1978, 1987, 1999, 2001). The ability of a terrorist group to demonstrate that a nation has declined in its power to maintain social and infrastructural services has been called by Borneman a sign of 'disintegrating political order' and can in some extreme cases, could lead to a

potential collapse of a government. As Lacquer (1999) has demonstrated, terrorist groups have been relatively unsuccessful in fulfilling such grandiose plans and have actually seen their plans become counterproductive as governments become more powerful in rallying their citizens and those of other nations to their cause in an effort to combat the terrorists.

These sorts of attacks can be motivated by a whole host of ideologies, such as the current varieties of radical rightists of Islamic and Christian fundamentalism, what O'Neil (1990) has labeled the Traditionalists, to the other forms of terrorism (the radical left) based on Marxist and Communist schools of thought, referred to by O'Neil (1990) as the egalitarian type. Beginning in the post-World Ware II era and extending up until the 1990s, the face of international terrorism had been one primarily of nationalist, anarchist and, especially during the Cold Ware era of the 1950s to the late 1980s, communist motivated groups whose attacks were more akin to guerrilla strikes than terrorist attacks (Ellis 1995; Joes 1986, 1992; Laqueur 1978, 1977, 1999; O'Neil 1990). In recent history, the word guerrilla or terrorist have meant nearly the same thing to the public, usually denoting either a nationalist group such as the Basque nationalists of Spain or the Marxist inspired groups, particularly of Latin America, such as the Sendero Luminoso (Gorriti 1999; McCormick 1990, 1992) and the Tupac Amaru (McCormick 1993). However, although these groups did indeed attack and kill innocent civilians in some of their attacks, these groups' goals were mainly political in nature and for the most part, their attacks were primarily waged against agents of the governments that they were fighting. They would more suitably be called guerrilla insurgents than terrorist groups.

However, the modern history of terrorism has taken a swing from the radical leftist inspired revolutionaries that were based on populace movements of the 1970s

and 1980s towards the radical right, or what O'Neil refers to as the 'reactionary traditionalist'. This shifting of orientation from one of publicly supported mass movements to one of radical rightist influenced strikes by smaller and smaller fringe groups who often times have little public support (if any, such as the sarin gas attacks by Aum Shinri Kyo on the Tokyo subway on March 20th, 1995) has changed the meaning and form of terrorism dramatically (Lifton 1999; Laqueur 1999). Additionally, the fear of mega-terrorism events with weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) such as chemical, nuclear and biological agents have changed the manner in which terrorism has been viewed recently and the danger posed to societies by small groups such as the Islamic militants that waged the 911 strikes in New York City in 2001 (Mohaddessin 2001). Coherent strategies and rationale for terror strikes on civilian populations, much less an understanding of the impact that these strikes may have on travel and tourism, maybe lacking entirely from future terror groups, making emerging terrorism an especially problematic issue for planners of travel and tourism.

Revolutions and Guerrilla Insurgencies

Although oftentimes considered 'terrorist' activities by contemporary governments, revolutions and guerrilla insurgencies have been one of the chronic problems that the developing nations of the world have been forced to deal with most frequently. The label of 'terrorist' being laid upon insurgents has been especially prevalent in the post-911 world where the 'war against terrorism' has motivated many governments to label their own insurgencies as terrorist events in order to receive more international cooperation in dealing with them. However, there are several fundamental differences between what is considered a contemporary 'terrorist' action and a classical 'insurgent' or 'guerrilla' strike. This has oftentimes been considered

to be the difference between what some would call a 'freedom fighter' and others would call a 'terrorist', and that has traditionally been based on whose side one was allying with. However, there are some major distinctions, especially in the current political climate, as to what a guerrilla insurgency is versus a chronic terrorist threat. Whereas 'terrorism' has traditionally used strikes against civilians as its primary method of waging war against either a stronger enemy or just a nebulous 'society of non-believers' or 'infidel', insurgencies have tended to have more direct political and militaristic goals. Using O'Neil's (1990: 13) definition, an 'insurgency' may be defined as,

> A struggle between a non-ruling group and the ruling authorities in which the non-ruling group consciously uses *political resources* (e.g., organizational expertise, propaganda, and demonstrations) and *violence* to destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy of one or more aspects of politics.

These forms of politically motivated violence have been usually waged by small groups of non-conventional (guerrilla) armies against the larger armies of the state they are trying to over throw for the purpose of establishing a new social and political order. Whereas terrorism strikes are directed against the non-combatants of a society, guerrilla insurgency strikes are usually directed against soldiers or police of the nation states that they oppose. The difference between the terrorist and the guerrilla is not the ideology, nor the actual persons involved, but rather the form of warfare that they practice and the actual tactics that they use in their quest for power. However, these differences are not iron clad and guerrilla fighters can and from time to time, do strike at civilians for the purposes of publicizing their cause.

Oftentimes communist inspired (at least in the Post World War II era), these types of conflicts have usually involved travelers and tourists on many occasions when

travelers happen to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. However, there have been strikes on tourism sites by groups such as the Peruvian Sendero Luminoso, who purposefully struck at tourists and non-Peruvians such as aid workers and development specialists in order to damage the Peruvian economy (McClintock 1998; McCormick 1990; 1992; Ryan 1991).

During the cold war era, insurgencies were often the result of proxy wars being fought between the US and the USSR by way of fostering and supporting forces in non-aligned nations that suited each of the major powers' political agendas. During that period, communism, whether Marxist-Leninist or Maoist based, was one of the primary ideological viewpoints fostering armed rebellion in many of the less-developed nations of the world, such as Sendero Luminoso of Peru and the many communist groups operating in northern India. The post-cold war era has led to aspirations of nationhood and self-rule of groups previously under the rule of the USSR and the satellite states that it supported, leading to homegrown rebellions and insurgencies based on ethnicity, religion and social class.

However, the territories of the ex-USSR and its previous client states have had no monopoly on insurgency and rebellion. Currently, there are Communist insurgencies actively occurring in several countries, particularly in the South Asian region, where Maoist influenced communism has led to ongoing insurgencies in both India and Nepal. These rebellions have led to decreased tourism in the localized areas where they have been the most active as well a generalized decline in tourism and travel in the countries in which they are occurring, particularly in Nepal, which has depended upon tourism for its very livelihood. I will now discuss the Maoist insurgency of Nepal in regard to its political and historical roots as well as its chronological progression in Nepalese society.

The History of the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal

The current Maoist Communist insurgency or 'People's War' in the Himalayan kingdom of Nepal has its origins in the country's 1990 democratic revolution. Prior to its shift to a constitutional monarchy government, Nepal had been ruled off and on by a king who possessed absolute power over both the civilian police force as well as the military. Then King Birendra relinquished his power in order to avoid widespread rebellion and allowed for the efflorescence of democracy in Nepal. However, in a move meant to maintain his strategic power over the government's operations, Birendra allowed for the civilian police force to be relegated to the parliamentary government's authority while he retained control over the country's military forces. Although the movement to democratize the country had been led by several parties, including communist and non-communist groups, the Nepali congress party assumed control after the shift to democracy with a resultant marginalization of the most radical elements of the leftist parties. This led to an eventual withdrawal from the mainstream political process by the two most extreme parties in 1994 and on February 13, 1996; these now united ultra-leftist parties proclaimed their plans for a violent overthrow of the government. These plans started by simultaneous attacks in 6 different districts in the far west and east of the country, which gradually intensified due to a lack of governmental initiative in dealing with the movement in the early stages of the insurgency.

After approximately six years of low-grade conflict, the Maoists chose to intensify their war following the royal massacre that occurred on June 1st, 2001. This was done to both capitalize on a general level of governmental disarray that followed the massacre as well as an attempt on the Maoists' part to drive a deeper wedge of

172

distrust between the Nepalese public and the new King, who many of the citizens did not particularly care for. However, seeing that their efforts did not lead to a general revolt against the new royal family, the Maoists acceded to a cease-fire and several rounds of peace talks with the government. However, in November of 2001 the Maoists unilaterally broke off the talks and staged a large series of attacks on both police and army posts, leading to the sacking of then Prime Minister Koirala and resulting in the new Prime Minister and King declaring a formal state of emergency. This declaration allowed for the use of the Royal Nepalese Army to be called into action against the Maoists, something that the previous king had refused to do and which gained him a good deal of support among many of the citizenry. The State of Emergency, which extends for three months at a time, has now been extended three times allowing for a total of nine months of emergency, during which the Army and Maoists have had several volleys of major confrontations with one another leading to variable results for both sides. For their part, the Maoists have now tended to stage large raids on isolated police and army posts during the night and over periods of inclement weather which limits the effectiveness of the military's air support. These raids generally lead to the destruction and overrunning of these posts and the execution of each member of the bases. The military has engaged in constant search and destroy missions, accumulating a body count that rises daily and which it claims has led to a schism in the Maoist party between those who want to seek a political solution and those who wish to continue fighting.

Currently, the Maoist insurgency has claimed the lives of over 6000 people since its inception in 1996 and the death toll is mounting daily as police and army clash with Maoists rebels and their sympathizers and as Maoists conduct assassinations and murders of civilians and government officials deemed to be anti-Maoist or

government supporters. Although originally supported by the local people in remote regions and later by those in the urban centers and surrounding areas due to their apparent 'pro-people' Nepali Nationalist messages and social equality stance, the Maoists have since begun to lose the support of these masses as they have widened the targeting of their violence. Presently civilians are finding themselves in more danger from Maoist attacks, forced conscription and extortion as they attempt to secure new recruits, supplies and financial resources to support their anti-government activities. This has led to widespread migration and has created a wave of refugees that are pouring into the urban centers from the countryside, particularly of young conscription-aged men, who are landless and jobless. This has not only led to decreasing agricultural production in the remote areas leading to acute food shortages and famine in some areas, but has also placed an increased burden on young women who are not only forced to take up the additional labor but are also increasingly targeted by the Maoists as forced recruits in their army to replace the lost manpower.

Ideologically, the Maoists base their program on a form of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought that is based on a people's uprising against the urban land and power holding elite that is similar in form to other Marxist revolutionary movements like Peru's Tupac Amaru and Sendero Luminoso. Additionally, the Nepalese Maoists have also drawn inspiration and support, both moral and physical, from other South Asian Communist revolutionary groups such as the Maoist Communist Center (MCC) that operates in the Indian State of Bihar and the Peoples War Group (PWG) that is active in five Indian States. The Maoist upper leadership reportedly all currently resides in India and the majority of weaponry not obtained through theft from the Nepalese police and army is also purchased from Indian arms markets and shipped north to Nepal for the insurgency. Additionally, the Nepalese Maoists are also

reported to have some linkages with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) of Sri Lanka and recent British intelligence sources report there may be linkages with the Al Qaida terrorist outfit which has been responsible for the recent series of terrorist attacks on the United States and its interests abroad. However, despite the potential that some financial support may be derived from external sources, the movement finances itself primarily through attacks on local banks, extortion from wealthy peasants and merchants, and "taxes" collected from villagers, as well as from thefts of weapons and equipment from overrun army and police posts.

Recently the Maoists have chosen to diversify their warfare strategies to include the destruction of infra-structural projects, such as power plants, roads, bridges, drinking water facilities, village development committee offices and schools. These strikes have led to increasing hardship for the Nepalese citizenry and as a result, their popularity has begun to wane even among those in the remote villages whose support they are most reliant for their own survival. This loss of popular support has surfaced in such ways as reports of villages fighting against Maoists who have demanded donations of food and supplies as well as by an increase in local villagers informing on Maoist activities in their areas, thus aiding security forces in their efforts are eradicating the Maoists strongholds. However, even though public support for the Maoists has begun to diminish in strength, public confidence in their elected leaders does not appear to be rising accordingly, especially in the face of the current conflict between Congress Party President Koirala and Prime Minister Deuba, who was been expelled from the Nepali Congress Party after his dissolution of the lower house of parliament. Subsequently, the King assumed power and appointed a new Prime Minister who has since been trying to establish control of the insurgency through a combination of military and diplomatic initiatives. Such public infighting among the

country's political leaders and the resultant frequent changes in government has led to a lack of public trust and respect for their elected officials and has fueled the insurgency by sowing the seeds of distrust in democracy that is so desired by the Maoist communists.

Currently, the Nepalese government and the Maoists have entered into another ceasefire with the plans for engaging into a second series of peace talks. The sincerity of these talks may be questionable given the Maoists penchant for breaking off talks after they have used the ceasefire period for reinforcing their troops and repositioning their forces free from threat of engagement by the Nepalese military. However, it is widely hoped that these talks will lead to a lasting peace and thus allow for a return to a state of political and social normalcy within the kingdom, leading to a stabilization of the country's economic situation.

Impacts of Terrorism and Insurgency on the Nepalese River Tourism Industry

In regard to the impact to the Maoist movement on Nepal's tourism industry at large, there has been a significant decrease in tourist arrivals in Nepal since the insurrection resurfaced in November following the abandonment of peace talks by the Maoists. According to the Nepal Tourism Board, which is the agency whose function it is to stimulate and promote Nepal's tourism industry both domestically and internationally, tourism arrivals have dropped consistently in 2002 from levels in 2001 since the recent Maoist strikes and the resulting national state of emergency. Overall, from January until October of 2002, tourist arrivals were down over 31% for all international arrivals and almost 39% for third party (non-Indian) arrivals, demonstrating that there has been a significant decline in tourism receipts experienced in Nepal over the past year (Table 7.1).

Prior to the tragic events occurring in Nepal, South Asia and the US in 2001, there were approximately 60 companies in operation. These events included the Nepali royal massacre, an upsurge in Maoist insurgent activities, the attack on the US on September 11th and the resultant drop in both air travel and international tourism, the war in Afghanistan. Lastly, and most importantly for Nepal itself, tourism arrivals have been affected by the recent declaration of a state of emergency in Nepal that was due to a Maoist breaking of its ceasefire with the government with an end result of increases in Maoist attacks again. All of those events had dramatic impacts on the tourism industry in Nepal and on the river tourism industry in particular, where approximately 1/3 of the companies ceased operations or went completely out of business due to the combined losses experienced since the Royal Massacre. Among the remaining 40 companies, it was reported to me in confidence by several informants that only approximately 20 of them are consistently running river trips, with the rest surviving by money derived from guided treks, safari bookings and from commission earned by selling trips run by other companies.

However, it is impossible to separate the effects of the post-September 11th fear of travel, the nuclear crisis in South Asia between India and Pakistan and the Nepalese Maoist insurgency from one another. Thus, determining the influence that the Maoist insurgency alone has had on Nepal's tourism industry is a difficult endeavor without having specifically conducted a research project attempting to tease these variables apart. Nonetheless, in speaking with tourists on trips informally about what factors seemed to concern them the most before they arrived, overwhelmingly it seemed that the local Maoist issue took precedence over larger, macro-oriented regional or theater level issues and threats.

Table 7.1. Comparison of monthly data of total tourist and third country tourist (non-Indian) arrivals in Nepal up to October for 2001 and 2002

Month	Total Tourist			Third Country Tourist		
	2001	2002	% Inc.	2001	2002	% Inc
January	25,905	13,576	-47.59%	20,611	9,559	-53.62%
February	30,814	16,743	-45.66%	24,897	13,256	-46.76%
March	38,831	21,712	-44.09%	32,808	17,999	-45.14%
Sub Total	95,550	52,031	-45.55%	78,316	40,814	-47.89%
April	35,325	18,078	-48.82%	28,454	13,747	-51.69%
May	25,536	16,666	-34.74%	14,601	8,819	-39.60%
June	10,238	13,841	35.19%	6,137	5,361	-12.64%
Sub Total	71,099	48,585	-31.67%	49,192	27,927	-43.23%
July	15,176	13,458	-11.32%	10,733	7,387	-31.17%
August	18,383	17,285	-5.97%	14,733	11,147	-24.34%
September	25,360	19,074	-24.79%	20,343	14,060	-30.89%
Sub Total	58,919	49,817	-15.45%	45,809	32,594	-28.85%
October	33,037	27,172	-17.75%	29036	22,302	-23.19%
Total	258,605	177,605	-31.32%	202,353	123,637	-38.90%

Source: Immigration office,
TIA.

Analyzed & Compiled by:
Nepal Tourism Board

Over the course of river trips that I took with clientele, the primary points of discussion seemed to focus on when the Maoist inspired country wide strikes were going to occur and how and when clients were planning on either leaving the country or getting back to Kathmandu to avoid them. Frequently, tourists would attempt to either reschedule their departure flights so as to avoid being stuck in Nepal during

these strikes, or attempt to move their flights up a few days so that their departure flights would not be scheduled during the strike, as it would be difficult to find transportation from the tourist center of Kathmandu to the airport. Such tactics by tourists demonstrated that although the insurgency had not specifically involved tourists or travelers in any violence, it has nonetheless had a noticeable impact on the travel and tourism industry. However, this data is strictly anecdotal and would need more rigorous testing to discern if this is indeed the case.

Another Maoist-related topic that inspired frequent (and often constant) discussions among tourists centered on the heavy presence of the Royal Nepal Army and the Nepalese Armed Police Forces that became very apparent after the declaration of the state of emergency by the king in November of 2001. After the declaration of emergency, the Army and armed police units were mobilized both outside and inside the Kathmandu valley and maintained a very visible presence not only in the countryside, but even in the tourist sections of Kathmandu and Pokhara, where patrols of automatic weapons-toting soldiers would trod through the areas frequented by tourists (Figures 7.1 and 7.2), leading to intense discussions among tourists about the soldiers and the fear of accidental weapons discharges by the armed police units (who are feared by most tourists to be poorly trained). To make matters worse, truckloads of soldiers and armed police would patrol these areas with jeeps laden with light and heavy machine guns, aiming their weapons at unseen enemies in the crowds of onlookers. Although many tourists would begin to joke about these patrols (particularly the Israeli tourists who had served in the Israeli army prior to arriving in Nepal), many would get concerned and make disparaging comments about the situation in the country.

Although the presence of Army and armed police forces throughout the country present tourists with a visible reminder of the civil war that is ongoing in the kingdom, for Nepalese raft guides and other Nepalese citizens, their presence is interpreted in an entirely different way. Over the duration of my fieldwork, I was told of many encounters between raft guides and police and army road blocks that lead to fears by the rafting company staff that they would be either arrested or worse by security forces for merely prosecuting their jobs in the tourism industry.

One noticeable difference in Nepal that has emerged after the state of emergency was imposed has been the prevalence of army and police roadblocks on all of the major roads traveled frequently by the rafting companies in the normal operations of their business. At these roadblocks, all Nepalese citizens are forced off of buses and made to walk through bag searching checkpoints and brief interrogations by security forces. Additionally, security forces enter all buses and do searches of varying intensity of all bags and equipment being carried aboard the vehicle. In several incidents, raft guides have been interrogated over the equipment that they are carrying and told that they were no longer allowed to carry gear on top of the bus. However, carrying gear on top of buses is an absolute necessity for rafting operations, which must carry tremendous amounts of rafting, cooking and camping equipment on top so that guides and clients have room in the bus to sit. Guides have been threatened by security officials and have feared for not only the company's equipment, but also their lives as the security forces are feared throughout Nepal for their lack of discriminatory prowess when trying to discern Maoists from non-Maoists in their operations. Thus, the necessity of frequent travel during such an unstable period in Nepal's history has led to a chronic source of stress for Nepalese guides (as well as average citizens).

Figure 7.1: Members of the Royal Nepal Army patrol the streets of the tourism center of Pokhara for the purposes of warding off any Maoist strikes on tourists.

Figure 7.2: Members of the Royal Nepal Army patrol in front of one of the rafting company's offices.

The rafting industry has had some direct contact with Maoists on some of their river trips, leading to fears that more intensive and potentially harmful encounters could occur. The Karnali River, in Western Nepal has been the sight of several Maoist contacts for the rafting industry, where Maoists originally just demanded a camera from a group of rafters after looking through all of the group's equipment. However, subsequent incidents on the Karnali have led to more invasive encounters, whereupon the last event that occurred before I left Nepal resulted in the group being held up for approximately 10,000 Nepalese rupees (approximately $128 USD), three life jackets and three helmets. Additionally, the Maoist commander told the company's head guide that he wanted them to give him one of the group's rafts. After the head guide repeatedly told him that he could not give him a raft as there was no way that he could carry all of the clients the rest of the way down river with one less raft, the Maoist commander relented. However, the commander told the head guide that the next time that they came down the river, they would have to bring them one raft and all of the equipment that was needed to power it (life jackets, helmets, paddles). The head guide, in an attempt to get out of the situation safely, agreed and the Maoists then let the group go. After that incident, the Karnali River was considered closed by most rafting companies for the season.

Other forms of trickle down issues arose from the Maoist insurgency that have impacted the rafting industry as well, such as higher portering fees being demanded by local populations in Maoist dominated areas, such as the Karnali. I was told on a trip that I accompanied on the Karnali River that portering fees for all rafting equipment used to be under 10,000 rupees ($128 USD) but that it had gone up to approximately 30,000 rupees ($385 USD) due to the locals knowing that the companies were afraid to bargain with them since they could report them to the

Maoists if they tried to pay less than they were demanding. However, when we got to the river, the porters demanded 56,000 rupees ($718 USD) instead of the already high rate of 30,000 for a short 45-minute trek to the river. Additionally, several owners and managers of river resorts on popularly run rivers told me that they are forced to pay the local Maoist groups money every few months that is reportedly used to support local community development projects. Although these companies had previously had arrangements to support local schools and other local development initiatives, these Maoist demands oftentimes went above and beyond their previous agreements with the local communities. Operations are becoming more expensive while competition between companies is keeping prices artificially low, ultimately hurting the industry's economic situation.

Even though the Maoists have made public proclamations to the press and the international community that they do not wish to harm tourists and other foreigners, there are nonetheless many opportunities for tourists to inadvertently drift into active war zones without intending to. Public transportation has been targeted more frequently by the Maoists (prior to the current ceasefire) and the infrastructure needed for cross-country travel has been attacked (such as bridges), thus creating the chance that highway accidents could occur as a result of recent Maoist activity as well. Even though there has been no active campaign against tourists by the Maoists, as was common in Peru by Sendero Luminoso and as has been currently happening in Indonesia by members of the Abu Sayyaf Islamic Militant group, there is still the potential for tourists to be injured or killed in this insurgency. Such an incident would surely be widely reported in the international news media and ensure that Nepal's tourism industry, which has already taken a huge hit over the past year and a half, would suffer even more loss.

When discussing the loss that is occurring to the industry, it is important to understand that such losses are not only weathered by the relatively wealthy company owners or international travelers, but the losses are also transferred to those in more vulnerable positions that are depending on the rafting industry's continued growth and well being for their own survival and economic security. The raft guides are one group that have suffered economically from the Maoist insurgency, as they are being forced out of work due to a major decline in river trips being run owing to the lack of tourist clientele. Guides who have been working for many years in the rafting industry have been forced to go back home to their home villages to look for work until tourism picks back up. Additionally, all of the produce sales outlets and other trickle down industries, such as bakeries, restaurants, laundry services, and other tourism related service providers have been impacted by the decline in tourism due to both local and regional instability.

However, in a rather ironic fashion, the rafting industry has benefited from the Maoist operations as well. In conversations with many raft guides and some company owners, the topic of the Maoists and the impacts of their war on the Nepalese government often would end up discussing the role that this fighting has had on the government's hydropower plans. Informants would state that the government's plans to develop its rivers for hydropower, particularly in the far west, have been stymied by the destructive activities of the Maoists and their penchant for robbing construction camps of tools and explosives. As one leader in the industry told me,

> The government wants to build these dams, but when they try to build them, they must first build roads to the dam site. But to build the roads, they need dynamite and when they bring dynamite out to the area to build the roads, they get attacked by the Maoists and the Maoists steal the dynamite. Then they use the dynamite to build bombs to attack the police and army with. So the dams have been put on hold until the war is over and the Maoists stop stealing the

184

explosives. So in a way, the Maoists have actually been protecting the rivers for the rafting industry and have slowed down the dam building.

Thus, even though the Maoist conflict in Nepal has led to a host of problems for the rafting industry, there are relatively widespread perceptions that in some ways, the fighting has helped to preserve the resource that the industry is dependent upon. However, this in no way infers that the participants in the industry are supportive of the Maoists (who are usually referred to as 'the terrorists' in post-9-11 lingo), but rather that they recognize that some good may come from the tragedy that has befallen Nepal as a result of the constant state of warfare that the country has experienced since 1996.

The Aftermath: The Future of Nepal's Tourism after the Insurgency

The future of Nepal's tourism industry has generated a great deal of discussion among tourism industry members. In discussions with tourism officials, the general response was that as soon as the war stopped, that tourists would return and things would be back to business as usual more or less. However, that was thought to be the case for European and Japanese visitors, as well as other foreign nationals, with the exception of the American market, which was recognized as having taken a big decline due to 911 that many did not feel would change significantly any time soon. So has this been the case in other locales that have seen violence due to war, terror or rebellions? Have tourism markets traditionally bounced back or have they remained in periods of decreased arrivals for extended periods of time?

In her analysis of the impacts of the Gulf War on tourism on the Middle East, Smith (2001) stated that, "The dust had barely settled in Kuwait until the first handful of curious visitors arrived", thus demonstrating that international travelers began to

return to the Persian Gulf area almost immediately after the cessation of hostilities. Similarly, in a study of the impacts of terror on the Israeli tourism industry, Krakover (1999) demonstrated that tourists do not tend to identify with the random types of terrorism-related violence for long and that within six weeks, areas that had seen terror strikes (and an associated short term drop in tourist numbers) by Palestinian militant groups were once again being visited by tourists.

Already, Nepal has seen a rise in tourism numbers since the declaration of a ceasefire in January of 2003. This has led to widespread hope among members of the Nepalese tourism industry that there will once again be resurgence in tourist arrivals, leading to a revival of all sectors of the tourism industry. Following the ceasefire, Nepal has seen a rise in its Indian tourists of approximately 38% over the previous year's Figures during the same period of time (from mid January to mid February). Additionally, the overall tourist Figures have seen a rise as well, up approximately 19% over Figures of the same period last year. In fact, the rise over the past month has been the first improvement in tourist arrivals that Nepal has seen in the past 21 months, leading to hopes that the industry may be coming out of the depression that it has experienced since the Royal Massacre in June of 2001. If the past history of tourist responses to a cessation of hostilities in war and terrorism prone areas is any guide to Nepal's future prospect of a revitalized tourism industry, perhaps the country stands to see a relative return to normalcy if the ceasefire holds.

Among those involved in the Nepalese tourism industry, there is a very astute understanding of the role that security and political stability plays in maintaining a healthy tourism industry and this can be clearly illustrated by the following excerpt taken from *The Rising Nepal*, a daily newspaper in Nepal that on March 2nd, 2003 ran

186

an article extolling the recent rise in tourist arrivals following the ceasefire between

the Maoists and Nepalese government security forces. The article stated that,

> The recent cease-fire declared by the government and Maoist rebels
> and initiation of peace process have brought cheers to all Nepalese
> people as well as others. As every sector of the country had been
> severely marred by the mindless violence and terror, the cease-fire has
> ushered in new hope for peace, security, stability and development.
> Among many sectors, tourism industry, which is the mainstay of
> Nepal's national economy, has seen a positive trend and developments
> after the declaration of cease-fire. Once known as a peaceful
> Himalayan Shangri-la, Nepal used to be a popular destination for
> foreigners especially in Europe, America and East Asia. As a result,
> Nepal's tourism business had boomed putting this industry on top of
> all sectors. Tourism industry is Nepal's largest foreign currency earner.
> However, Nepal lost this peaceful image and its once booming tourism
> industry experienced a sharp decline over the last couple of years due
> to violence, in stability and terror. The decline in the tourism business
> also affected overall national economy. Statistics have now shown that
> the arrival of tourists and hotel booking have slightly increased
> showing some positive indications for the growth   and development
> of travel and trade sector. It is a sign of economic recovery in the
> country. Once peace is restored and stability ensured, Nepal's tourism
> business is sure to boom again. For this, efforts from all sectors is
> necessary to end violence and terror and restore peace, security and
> stability in the country at the larger national interest.

Such a 'bounce back' of tourism areas impacted by violent episodes is a relatively

common phenomenon, especially in areas that have been the site of terrorism strikes

since most terrorism strikes are not permanent sites of interest to tourists (Smith

2001). One notable with exception will be the case of the World Trade Center in New

York City, which will feature a permanent memorial to the roughly 3000 victims of

the terrorist strike by Islamic militants on September 11th, 2001.

One other aspect of the Nepalese tourism industry that may be affected by the

current Maoist insurgency is the type of tourism attraction that may be popular in the

future. Based on Smith's (2001) findings, war monuments are the world's largest

tourism attractions and Nepal's war against the Maoists could potentially stimulate

tourist arrivals in relatively un-trampled areas in the future. Since the Maoist war has been highly publicized in the western media, sites such as Mangalsen (where a western publicized Maoist massacre of Nepalese forces occurred after a large battle) may become tourist attractions to people intrigued by the major battles waged in these remote areas of the Nepalese countryside. This is particularly true for the tourists are now being referred to as 'Danger Tourists' (Smith 2001), who follow world events and tend to travel to regions of the world that are experiencing active conflict (Pelton 2000).

However, in general, as Smith (2001: 376) observed, "terrorism leaves few permanent markers. Except for family and friends of the deceased, there is little emotional attachment to the event or its site." Again, this may not accurately fit the sites of terrorist mega-events such as the World Trade Tower attack and any future strikes of similar or greater magnitude (of which there will surely be many more), but that is to be seen. However, it would be a strange and ironic epithet to those that lost their lives in such horrible events that their deaths would create a monument that would ultimately become a draw to domestic and international tourists. Their deaths would give rise to 'sacred ground' whose draw would thus defeat the terrorists' purposes of damaging tourism and international travel, giving tourism and future generations of tourists the last laugh at their vain efforts to control the human spirit of adventure and exploration that the tourism industry caters to.

CHAPTER 8:

CONCLUSION

This dissertation research used the anthropological perspective to study the river tourism industry of Nepal as a multi-leveled cultural complex. Using both objective and subjective methods of data collection, it: (1) addressed the issue of how global market forces relate to changing patterns of subsistence at the local level; (2) expanded an understanding of how incorporation into the global economy is related to changes in individual's perceptions and use of the surrounding landscape; (3) assessed the manner in which the tourism industry is integrated into the local political ecology and economy; and (4) employed a novel approach in integrating the methodological tools of social science within an anthropological context.

In exploring the cognized and operational costs and benefits of participation in the rafting industry for Nepalese participants, I have focused on several factors that were addressed sequentially in chapters five, six and seven. In this chapter, I will address how each of the abovementioned issues was addressed in this dissertation by way of briefly summarizing the results of the study and then expanding on how they can be used to both frame the problems the rafting industry will need to address in order to ensure its long-term sustainability. I will then offer some suggestions as to how the rafting industry may attempt to address these issues and conclude with an overview of this project's policy implications and future research possibilities.

Results Overview

In chapter five, I explored the relationship between social positionality in the rafting industry and perceptions of the types of costs and benefits that are accrued to those that participate. The results from this study indicated that among those who participate in the rafting industry, there is a general group consensus about its perceived costs and benefits when compared with one another, regardless of social position. The members of these groups indicated that the rafting industry has a small ecological footprint but a rather large economic impact on both the national and local levels. It was recognized that there are problems with such issues as trash and human waste occasionally being left on beaches used by rafting companies but impacts such as these were balanced by environmental programs such as river cleanup programs and reforestation projects conducted by members of the river tourism industry.

Regarding the industry's economic impacts, there was widespread knowledge that many people are hired from river communities to work in the rafting industry and that there economic benefits for those communities that were able to sell food and snacks to rafting trips. Participants indicated that they have derived a great number of benefits from involvement in the rafting industry, particularly owners and guides, who have used rafting as a means of gaining a career, establishing social status both within and outside of their immediate social circles and in allowing them to travel domestically and internationally for rafting. Such experiences have led participants to stay in the rafting industry and to attempt to get other family and friends involved in river tourism. However, all participants, including villagers and clientele recognized hydropower development as the major threat to the long-term viability of the rafting industry.

Chapter six addressed the operational, or overtly objective, impacts of the rafting industry. The major finding from this chapter revolved around the economic and environmental impacts of the rafting operations on the riverine social and ecological contexts. Economically, it was observed that longer camping based trips on remote rives tended to generate more client expenditures per trip than did shorter, roadside resort-based rafting trips. Such findings should be taken into account when policy makers are attempting to reach a compromise with rafting operators in the location of future hydropower projects which will reduce long remote trips to short, roadside runs.

Environmentally, rafting operations were found to be relatively benign in its ecological impact. Although room for improvement exists for dealing with issues such as firewood usage and human waste disposal, it appeared that rafting operations performed well in regard to dealing with issues such as trip quality and environmentally responsibility. However, guides were not proficient in relating the importance of social and environmentally conscious behavior to clientele, thus heightening the chances that more problems could arise in the future out of ignorance on the part of clientele.

Chapter seven assessed the role that the recent increase in Maoist activity and international terrorism has had on the tourism industry of Nepal. Taking into account the impact that international conflicts in the past have had on tourism operations, it was projected that once hostilities between the government and insurgents ceased, tourism would rebound back rather quickly. However, in the short-term, the role that international events, such as the terrorist attacks on the US, the war in Afghanistan and the simmering conflict between India and Pakistan, as well as the increasing tempo of fighting between Nepalese armed forces and Maoists have had on the

Nepalese tourism industry have been substantial. Leading to a decline in overall tourist arrivals as well as danger and stressful working conditions for guides, the current Maoist insurgency in Nepal has had significant impacts on the rafting industry in particular and Nepal's tourism in general. However, the Maoist operations have also been perceived by rafting officials to hold up construction on several hydropower operations that currently threaten the rivers run by the rafting industry. Thus, the Maoist conflict in Nepal has led to both positive and negative consequences for the river tourism industry.

Problems and Recommendations

The results of this project indicate that although the rafting industry is a sustainable form of tourism in Nepal, it nonetheless is facing a host of problems that must be dealt if the industry is to be a viable contributor to Nepal's long-term economic and social development. Currently, Nepal's whitewater rafting industry must address several problems arising from both internal and external sources. Internally, the rafting industry faces hyper-competition between rafting outfitters, poor institutionalized environmental training programs for guides and a lack of power by rafting authorities to enforce existing regulations among rafting operators. Externally, the rafting industry faces increasing hydropower development on Nepal's rivers, a global economic slowdown and its impact on international tourism and a growing Maoist insurgency in the countryside. All of these threats can have a substantial impact on the quality and availability of services that the rafting industry will be able to offer in the future as well as on the livelihoods of those who depend upon tourism as a form of employment.

Internally, the government of Nepal must develop legislation that will allow the rafting industry to police its own actions, thus giving power and authority to the rafting organizations best situated to effectively manage the industry's impacts. Without the ability to levy fines and impose punishments on those operators who fail to adhere to proper business and environmental safeguards, the industry's leaders are hamstrung in their attempts to effectively manage the industry's impacts. Rafting industry leaders must also design and implement an effective environmental training certificate course for all guides which stresses the importance of packing out of all garbage from the river as well as discussing the need to active communication between guides and clientele regarding social and environmental impacts. Often, even when guides were effective in minimizing their waste at river camps, I noticed that some clients were less conscious of their own impacts. A more pro-active discussion between guides and clientele on the importance of riverine conservation may be all that is necessary to substantially lessen the physical impact that rafting operations have on riverside camp sites. Lastly, there must be minimum price caps placed on all rivers run by the industry to lessen the problem of price undercutting and cut-throat competition that is leading to substantial problems for the majority of rafting operators. Without a bottom line price that can be enforced by NARA, the spiraling problem of reduced prices leading to reduced quality of trips will ultimately cripple the rafting industry of Nepal and lead to a poor international reputation for both Nepal as a rafting destination and Nepalese guides who want to travel abroad.

Externally, Nepal's rafting industry must stress to the national government its importance in managing Nepal's rivers for both tourism and hydropower so that riverine development can be accomplished in an integrated and cooperative fashion, not in a competitive all or nothing manner. Rafting leaders must make their concerns

known to government officials and if necessary, ally themselves with other riverine user groups and conservation organizations to lobby for best-use practices in the development of Nepal's riverine corridors. For those rivers that have already been developed for hydropower, rafting leaders should lobby for controlled releases of water so that sections located below dams can be run when there is an excess of water, particularly during and after the monsoon, when the number of rivers able to run dwindle due to seriously high water levels. Controlled flows of water below dams could open up other rivers during the monsoon season that would allow for a third rafting season and thus expand the range of options tourists have in rafting in Nepal.

Regarding the dwindling numbers of tourists entering Nepal out of both concern for safety and security due to the Maoist conflict as well as the general poor economic conditions being experienced globally, it is absolutely necessary for Nepal to begin an effective marketing campaign internationally. Due to the recent ceasefire declared by both Maoists and government leaders, the country of Nepal is now safe for tourists to return to Nepal (if it has ever truly be dangerous for tourists owing to the Maoist strategy of avoiding harassing tourists). Nepalese tourism ministers and the Nepal Tourism Board must support and encourage any efforts by tourism operators to stimulate interest in Nepal as a tourism destination. For example, the rafting industry holds an international whitewater rodeo event every year on the Bhote Kosi River as well as yearly river festivals on the Trisuli River. These events must be more effectively marketed and promotion should be aimed at tourists in every major tourist-source country in the world. Only by making itself more visible will the industry be able to re-establish itself in the wake of such well-publicized issues of social unrest (i.e. royal massacre, Maoist insurgency, state of emergency).

Policy Implications

This dissertation demonstrated the usefulness in addressing issues such as tourism and natural resource management from the anthropological perspective. The theoretical background of this project was based in the arena of political ecology and globalization. Following the line of inquiry promoted by many contemporary researchers, such as Bryant and Bailey (1997) Ernst (1999), Gupta & Ferguson (1997), and Hackenberg (1999), a global framework for understanding the political ecology of local natural resource management was utilized. As top down development projects and initiatives have been demonstrated to have adverse effects on local environments (Escobar 1988; 1995; 1999), traditional forms of resource management and ethno-ecological knowledge have become sought after by conservation movements in their attempt to offer alternative natural resource management strategies (Bennet 1990; Berkes 1999; Rhoades 1997).

An enhanced understanding of the cultural and behavioral factors related to environmental degradation can help policy makers design culturally appropriate resource management plans (Berkes 1999; Rhoades 1997). Tourism is part of an overall pattern of development which inevitably introduces external influences to populations and areas that have oftentimes been living in a more traditional pattern of subsistence prior to the introduction of tourism-induced change. These influences are oftentimes desired, as is the case of an increase in household income as a result of participation in the tourism industry in whatever fashion. Such an increase in wages for local populations with few other sources of supplemental income can oftentimes mean the difference between being able to stay in the local area or being forced to migrate to other areas where wage-earning employment is available (Price, Moss and Williams 1997). Thus, tourism can be beneficial to some communities, especially in

mountain communities that may have few other economic development options available to them.

The multi-faceted methodological approach of this project was both conceptually and practically significant to policy makers in that it allowed for a holistic understanding of how land use can influence perception of the local environment. Through the use of qualitative, quantitative and economic anthropological approaches, this project addressed the role tourism played in fostering community development. By incorporating these complimentary methodological approaches into one research model, this project provided a clear example of how to use a wide variety of tools in addressing a socio-environmental research project. This allowed for a greater understanding of human-environmental interactions as they related to issues such as tourism.

An applied significance of this project was in its use of current developments in the realm of political ecological theory to guide an understanding of the importance of environmental conservation and sustainable development. This project documented the importance of the riverine landscape to not only "traditional" riverine inhabitants (Ettenger 1998; Loker 1998), but also to members of a user group who have only recently emerged in Nepal to exploit an unused environmental niche (i.e. rapids) for economic purposes. Thus this work was a valuable contribution to the work in traditional ecological knowledge and its relevance to natural resource management (Berkes 1999; Messerschmidt 1995) in that it allowed for the perceptual integration of the tourism industry and the local communities (Ortner 1999), who have oftentimes been considered to be two very discrete entities (Nash 1981, 1989; Deitch 1989; Hitchcock 1997). This research project also built upon the existing body of literature surrounding the anthropology of tourism, which has been well represented by the

work of anthropologists such as Graburn (1989), Nash (1989) and Chambers (1997; 2000)). This was done by providing the first anthropological study of the socio-economic and environmental effects of international riverine tourism at the local level and its relevance to a sustainable management of the environmental landscape.

Implications for Local Business Operation Managers

It is hoped that the local river tourism business community will benefit from this research sine it has helped to understand the true value of their industry to Nepal's national economy and the multitude of small-scale economic systems it interacts with during its daily operations. Additionally, this project has also provided the business community with an understanding of what its own impacts are at the local level, both socially and environmentally. With this enhanced understanding of its own impacts, it is hope that the river tourism industry will able to assess its actions and correct the forms of negative impacts that were observed and to continue to practice those actions that are viewed as positive by those with whom they interact locally.

Future Research Opportunities

In an apparent similarity to the mountaineering case, members of these ethnic groups who have gained an advantageous position in the industry have facilitated entry by other ethnic groups into the river tourism business by way of their hiring practices. Thus the river tourism industry appeared to be relatively egalitarian in regard to the people who are employed within it and it bore a similarity to the caste boundary leveling induced by tourism noted by Norman (1999) in her analysis of tourism in Pokhara, Nepal. Thus, the river tourism industry has the potential to contribute to the social equality between castes and ethnic groups the government of

Nepal was trying to create when it officially removed the caste system with the 1963 New Civil Code introduced by King Mahendra. However, more research into this area needs to be done to say for sure that this has been the case. Such research may find it useful to work intensively in the village areas from which the rafting industry draws its employees, such as in the Trisuli River region. By focusing on the village level, future researchers may be able to discern if caste does indeed play a role in obtaining employment in the rafting industry initially, since many raft guides became employed originally through friend and family contacts and were hired while in their home village. Focusing on this level of the rafting industry would be useful in determining the role that the river tourism industry plays in fostering social equity.

Additional research is also needed in exploring the actual amounts of income produced by the rafting resorts along the Bhote Kosi River. While this project was successful in determining the amount of money that clientele were putting into the local economy, it was outside the scope of this project to undertake a full economic analysis of the contributions of the rafting resorts at the local level. Since these resorts employ a significant number of local community members and the majority of all produce and labor is obtained from local villagers, there is a great deal of economic interplay between these resorts and the local communities. In order for accurate assessments to be made regarding the benefits of rafting resorts in this area, a more substantial economic study must be conducted.

Closing Statement

To conclude, in looking at the Nepali rafting industry as a form of sustainable development, it is important to understand that, first and foremost, sustainability is not about the past or the present, but rather it is about the ability of future populations to

be benefited by the actions of today. The Nepali rafting industry is one such industry that holds just such a promise. The employees are all Nepali national citizens as are the majority of the company owners. Although the majority of the technical rafting gear has to be purchased from companies abroad, other aspects of the industry are genuinely Nepali in origin, from the foodstuffs that are purchased at small local stores to stock the trips to the transportation that is rented from local Nepali bus drivers. Although some anthropologists may criticize the usage of tourism by Nepali citizens as a form of development and employment, and claim that they are just participating in another form of "neo-imperialism" (Adams 1996; Nash 1989), it is important to understand that these are humans who are attempting to negotiate the constantly shifting playing field of the global economy as best they can. I agree with Ortner (1999) that what we are seeing is not a corruption of a traditional lifestyle, but rather a remaking and reconfiguration of the lifestyles of a select group of Nepalese who have chosen to embrace the river tourism industry as a career choice. In closing, I feel that this point can best be summarized by a statement made by one of my informants, in response to my asking him why he chose to become a raft guide. "I like to raft and I like to go rafting. In rafting I can have a good future. It is not bad work because in Nepal it is hard to get good job and rafting is a good job. I like rafting, this is my life."

APPENDICES

Appendix A:
SOBEK Expeditions
First Raft Descents
Total = 73 as of
2/19/02

Alaska and Canada
  Tatshenshini-1976
  Chilkat- 1976
  Kennicot-Nizina-
  Chitina-1977
  Tsirku-1978
  Hula Hula- 1980
  Kongakut-1980
  Canning-1980
  Tkope-1987
  Eau Claire- 1988
Borneo
  Kayan- 1986
  Boh- 1989
Brazil
  Rossevelt-1991
Chile
  Bio-Bio-1978
  Sereno-1979
  Manso-1980
  Baker-1992
  Melado-1997
China
  Dar Jung Guo-1982
  Yangtze-1987
  Yarkand-1990
Costa Rica
  Upper Pacuare-
  1994
Cuba
  Toa-1979
Ecuador
  Aguarico-1985
  Quijos-1985
  Puyango-Tumbes,
  2001
Ethiopia
  Awash-1973
  Omo-1973
  Gabba-Birbir-Baro-
  1973

Upper Blue Nile-
1974
Tekeze-1996
Lower Blue Nile-
1999
Middle Blue Nile-
2001

India
  Zanskar-1976
  Tons-1980
  Yamuna-1980
Indonesia
  Alas-1984
  Birittingi-1987
  Ayung-1988
  Sala Sadang-1990
Jamaica
  Rio Grande-1980
Kenya
  Upper Tana-1976
Madagascar
  Sakay-Mahajilo-
  1985
  Mahjamba-1985
  Betsiboka-1985
  Manambolo-1991
  Mangoky-1992
  Mahavavy-1998
Malawi
  Shira-1986
Mongolia
  Chuluut-1998
Namibia
  Kunene-1992
New Zealand
  Motu-1974
  Mohaka-1974
  Clareence-1974
  Tasman-1974
Norway
  Reisa-1983
  Alta-1983
  Tana-1983
Pakistan
  Indus-1979
  Hunza-Gilgit-1979
  Kunar-Swat-1993

Ghizar-1994
Papua New Guinea
  Tsau-Jimi-Yuat-
  Upper Sepik-1977
  Bulolo-Watut-1977
  Whaghi-Tua-
  Purari-1983

Peru
  Apurimac-1977
  Tambopata-1982
Tanzania
  Kilombero-Rufiji-
  1979
  Great Ruaha-1990
Turkey
  Coruh-1978
  Euphrates-1978
Uzbekistan
  Chatkal-1989
Zambia & Zimbabwe
  Zambezi-1981
  Luangwa-1982
  Kafue-198

Appendix B: Cultural Consensus Question Factors

Q #	Factor Name
11.	Local employment
12.	Local employment
15.	Local Employment
30.	Local employment
13.	Benefit distribution
17.	Benefit distribution
19.	Benefit distribution
20.	Benefit distribution- Ethnicity
22.	Benefit distribution
25.	Benefit distribution
14.	Local inflation
16.	Local Inflation
18.	Local resource competition
21.	Local resource competition
38.	Local resource competition
39.	Local resource competition
42.	Local resource competition
23.	Social impacts- Village out-migration
24.	Social impacts- parental problems resulting from out-migration
26.	Social impacts- village relations
27.	Social impacts- cultural offenses
28.	Social impacts- begging
29.	Social impacts- begging
31.	Environmental impacts- garbage
32.	Environmental impacts- human waste
33.	Environmental impacts- water quality
34.	Environmental impacts- industry reforestation efforts
35.	Environmental impacts- industry river clean up efforts
36.	Environmental impacts- industry community education efforts
40.	Environmental impact- minimal impact
37.	Hydropower
41.	Hydropower
43.	Hydropower
44.	Hydropower
45.	Hydropower

Appendix C: Consensus Survey and Responses by Group

Disagree/Agree Questions: For all of the following questions, please check whether you disagree or agree with each of the statements. These questions are aimed at understanding how you as an individual feel about the contributions and consequences of the rafting industry in Nepal. If you feel that you can not answer the question because you are unfamiliar with the statement's topic or feel it is not relative to your experience with the rafting industry, please make your best guess.

Q11: The rafting industry employs people in the local area.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 0	AGREE= 23	% AGREE= 100
Guides:	DISAGREE= 7	AGREE= 91	% AGREE= 92
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 3	AGREE= 26	% AGREE= 90
Clients:	DISAGREE= 8	AGREE= 92	% AGREE= 92
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 5	AGREE= 35	% AGREE= 88

Q12: The rafting industry employs <u>many</u> people in the local area.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 0	AGREE= 23	% AGREE= 100
Guides:	DISAGREE= 18	AGREE= 71	% AGREE= 72
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 11	AGREE= 18	% AGREE= 62
Clients:	DISAGREE= 58	AGREE= 42	% AGREE= 42
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 10	AGREE= 30	% AGREE= 75

Q13: Rafting clients spend very little money in the villages along the river

Owners:	DISAGREE= 5	AGREE= 18	% AGREE= 78
Guides:	DISAGREE= 18	AGREE= 81	% AGREE= 82
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 5	AGREE= 24	% AGREE= 83
Clients:	DISAGREE= 16	AGREE= 84	% AGREE= 84
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 16	AGREE= 24	% AGREE= 60

Q14: Since rafting companies have begun using the land near the river for camping, prices for land have risen for local people.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 4	AGREE= 19	% AGREE= 83
Guides:	DISAGREE= 37	AGREE= 62	% AGREE= 63
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 9	AGREE= 20	% AGREE= 69
Clients:	DISAGREE= 61	AGREE= 39	% AGREE= 39
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 13	AGREE= 26	% AGREE= 65

Q15:   The rafting companies offer a great deal of employment options for people from river villages:

Owners: DISAGREE= 7   AGREE= 16   % AGREE= 70
Guides: DISAGREE= 35   AGREE= 64   % AGREE= 65
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 11   AGREE= 18   % AGREE= 62
Clients: DISAGREE= 56   AGREE= 44   % AGREE= 44
Villagers: DISAGREE= 13   AGREE= 27   % AGREE= 68

Q16:   Since rafting companies have come into the river villages, prices on basic goods have not gone up.

Owners: DISAGREE= 9   AGREE= 14   % AGREE= 61
Guides: DISAGREE= 54   AGREE= 45   % AGREE= 46
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 20   AGREE= 9   % AGREE= 31
Clients: DISAGREE= 37   AGREE= 63   % AGREE= 63
Villagers: DISAGREE= 22   AGREE= 18   % AGREE= 45

Q17:   When they come into the river villages, rafting companies buy goods to re-supply their trips, such as food, drinks and other items.

Owners: DISAGREE= 1   AGREE= 22   % AGREE= 96
Guides: DISAGREE= 9   AGREE= 90   % AGREE= 91
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 2   AGREE= 27   % AGREE= 93
Clients: DISAGREE= 28   AGREE= 72   % AGREE= 72
Villagers: DISAGREE= 8   AGREE= 32   % AGREE= 80

Q18:   When rafting companies buy goods in river villages, this causes shortages in these items for local people.

Owners: DISAGREE= 21   AGREE= 2   % AGREE= 9
Guides: DISAGREE= 87   AGREE= 12   % AGREE= 12
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 27   AGREE= 2   % AGREE= 7
Clients: DISAGREE= 89   AGREE= 11   % AGREE= 11
Villagers: DISAGREE= 26   AGREE= 14   % AGREE= 35

Q19:   Rafting has generated a lot of financial benefits for those who participate in the industry.

Owners: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 20   % AGREE= 87
Guides: DISAGREE= 10   AGREE= 89   % AGREE= 90
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 10   AGREE= 19   % AGREE= 66
Clients: DISAGREE= 8   AGREE= 92   % AGREE= 92
Villagers: DISAGREE= 4   AGREE= 36   % AGREE= 90

Q20: The rafting companies hire their employees regardless of their ethnicity.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 0	AGREE= 23	% AGREE= 100
Guides:	DISAGREE= 2	AGREE= 97	% AGREE= 98
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 1	AGREE= 28	% AGREE= 97
Clients:	DISAGREE= 32	AGREE= 68	% AGREE= 68
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 4	AGREE= 36	% AGREE= 90

Q21: Since the rafting companies have begun using certain areas along the river for camping, local people can no longer use these areas for activities such as fishing and farming.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 20	AGREE= 3	% AGREE= 13
Guides:	DISAGREE= 89	AGREE= 10	% AGREE= 10
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 24	AGREE= 5	% AGREE= 17
Clients:	DISAGREE= 71	AGREE= 29	% AGREE= 29
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 23	AGREE= 16	% AGREE= 40

Q22: Rafting companies have volunteered to help people during seasonal floods.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 3	AGREE= 20	% AGREE= 87
Guides:	DISAGREE= 9	AGREE= 90	% AGREE= 91
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 8	AGREE= 21	% AGREE= 72
Clients:	DISAGREE= 38	AGREE= 62	% AGREE= 62
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 16	AGREE= 24	% AGREE= 60

Q23: Many Nepalese have moved from their home villages to work for the rafting industry.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 3	AGREE= 20	% AGREE= 87
Guides:	DISAGREE= 25	AGREE= 74	% AGREE= 75
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 10	AGREE= 19	% AGREE= 66
Clients:	DISAGREE= 44	AGREE= 56	% AGREE= 56
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 14	AGREE= 26	% AGREE= 65

Q24: When Nepalese move to the city to work in the rafting industry, this causes problems for their Parents.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 21	AGREE= 2	% AGREE= 9
Guides:	DISAGREE= 76	AGREE= 23	% AGREE= 23
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 20	AGREE= 9	% AGREE= 31
Clients:	DISAGREE= 72	AGREE= 28	% AGREE= 28
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 20	AGREE= 20	% AGREE= 50

Q25: When Nepalese work in the rafting industry, they send money home to help their parents.

Owners: DISAGREE= 0   AGREE= 23   % AGREE= 100
Guides: DISAGREE= 8   AGREE= 91   % AGREE= 92
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 4   AGREE= 25   % AGREE= 86
Clients: DISAGREE= 7   AGREE= 93   % AGREE= 93
Villagers: DISAGREE= 4   AGREE= 36   % AGREE= 90

Q26: Since rafting companies have begun to operate on this river, social relations in the village have gotten better as a result of their passing through.

Owners: DISAGREE= 1   AGREE= 22   % AGREE= 96
Guides: DISAGREE= 13   AGREE= 86   % AGREE= 87
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 8   AGREE= 21   % AGREE= 72
Clients: DISAGREE= 45   AGREE= 55   % AGREE= 55
Villagers: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 37   % AGREE= 93

Q27: Rafting clients generally act and dress appropriately when they enter villages on the river.

Owners: DISAGREE= 5   AGREE= 18   % AGREE= 78
Guides: DISAGREE= 24   AGREE= 75   % AGREE= 76
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 6   AGREE= 23   % AGREE= 79
Clients: DISAGREE= 37   AGREE= 63   % AGREE= 63
Villagers: DISAGREE= 23   AGREE= 17   % AGREE= 43

Q28: When rafting companies float through villages, people frequently beg for handouts from them.

Owners: DISAGREE= 14   AGREE= 9   % AGREE= 39
Guides: DISAGREE= 52   AGREE= 47   % AGREE= 48
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 17   AGREE= 12   % AGREE= 41
Clients: DISAGREE= 63   AGREE= 37   % AGREE= 37
Villagers: DISAGREE= 22   AGREE= 18   % AGREE= 45

Q29: When people beg the raft companies for food and goods, they usually give it to them.

Owners: DISAGREE= 11   AGREE= 12   % AGREE= 52
Guides: DISAGREE= 35   AGREE= 64   % AGREE= 65
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 19   AGREE= 10   % AGREE= 35
Clients: DISAGREE= 76   AGREE= 24   % AGREE= 24
Villagers: DISAGREE= 18   AGREE= 22   % AGREE= 55

Q30:   Rafting companies have trained and hired people from villages on this
       river.

Owners: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 20   % AGREE= 87
Guides: DISAGREE= 38   AGREE= 61   % AGREE= 62
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 13   AGREE= 16   % AGREE= 55
Clients: DISAGREE= 42   AGREE= 58   % AGREE= 58
Villagers: DISAGREE= 13   AGREE= 27   % AGREE= 68

Q31:   Rafting companies leave trash on the beaches where they camp.

Owners: DISAGREE= 23   AGREE= 0   % AGREE= 0
Guides: DISAGREE= 76   AGREE= 23   % AGREE= 23
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 22   AGREE= 7   % AGREE= 24
Clients: DISAGREE= 80   AGREE= 20   % AGREE= 20
Villagers: DISAGREE= 28   AGREE= 12   % AGREE= 30

Q32:   Rafting companies dispose of their human waste in a sanitary manner.

Owners: DISAGREE= 0   AGREE= 23   % AGREE= 100
Guides: DISAGREE= 9   AGREE= 90   % AGREE= 91
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 7   AGREE= 22   % AGREE= 76
Clients: DISAGREE= 17   AGREE= 83   % AGREE= 83
Villagers: DISAGREE= 12   AGREE= 28   % AGREE= 70

Q33:   Rafting operations do not affect the quality of the water in the rivers.

Owners: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 20   % AGREE= 87
Guides: DISAGREE= 15   AGREE= 84   % AGREE= 85
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 2   AGREE= 27   % AGREE= 93
Clients: DISAGREE= 33   AGREE= 67   % AGREE= 67
Villagers: DISAGREE= 10   AGREE= 30   % AGREE= 75

Q34:   Rafting companies have helped to establish reforestation projects along the
       rivers they run.

Owners: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 20   % AGREE= 87
Guides: DISAGREE= 33   AGREE= 66   % AGREE= 67
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 13   AGREE= 16   % AGREE= 55
Clients: DISAGREE= 58   AGREE= 42   % AGREE= 42
Villagers: DISAGREE= 15   AGREE= 25   % AGREE= 63

Q35: Rafting companies have conducted river clean up projects along the rivers they run

Owners:	DISAGREE= 1	AGREE= 22	% AGREE= 96
Guides:	DISAGREE= 14	AGREE= 85	% AGREE= 86
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 6	AGREE= 23	% AGREE= 80
Clients:	DISAGREE= 29	AGREE= 71	% AGREE= 71
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 9	AGREE= 31	% AGREE= 78

Q36: Rafting companies have conducted environmental education seminars for their employees and the villages they interact with along the river.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 4	AGREE= 19	% AGREE= 83
Guides:	DISAGREE= 42	AGREE= 57	% AGREE= 58
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 16	AGREE= 13	% AGREE= 45
Clients:	DISAGREE= 52	AGREE= 48	% AGREE= 48
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 15	AGREE= 25	% AGREE= 63

Q37: Rafting operations are less damaging to the rivers than are hydropower projects.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 3	AGREE= 20	% AGREE= 87
Guides:	DISAGREE= 19	AGREE= 80	% AGREE= 81
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 5	AGREE= 24	% AGREE= 83
Clients:	DISAGREE= 5	AGREE= 95	% AGREE= 95
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 12	AGREE= 28	% AGREE= 70

Q38: Where rafting companies use beaches for camping, the local villagers can no longer use them for any other purpose.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 13	AGREE= 10	% AGREE= 44
Guides:	DISAGREE= 53	AGREE= 46	% AGREE= 47
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 21	AGREE= 8	% AGREE= 28
Clients:	DISAGREE= 80	AGREE= 20	% AGREE= 20
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 21	AGREE= 19	% AGREE= 48

Q39: Rafting companies are damaging to the river environment because they overuse the local resources.

Owners:	DISAGREE= 22	AGREE= 1	% AGREE= 4
Guides:	DISAGREE= 94	AGREE= 5	% AGREE= 5
Office Staff:	DISAGREE= 28	AGREE= 1	% AGREE= 4
Clients:	DISAGREE= 88	AGREE= 12	% AGREE= 12
Villagers:	DISAGREE= 26	AGREE= 14	% AGREE= 35

Q40: Rafting companies are very environmentally friendly and have a minimal environmental impact.

Owners: DISAGREE= 5   AGREE= 18   % AGREE= 78
Guides: DISAGREE= 20   AGREE= 79   % AGREE= 80
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 8   AGREE= 21   % AGREE= 72
Clients: DISAGREE= 13   AGREE= 87   % AGREE= 87
Villagers: DISAGREE= 12   AGREE= 28   % AGREE= 70

Q41: The rafting industry is threatened by the development of large dams on the rivers they run.

Owners: DISAGREE= 1   AGREE= 22   % AGREE= 96
Guides: DISAGREE= 1   AGREE= 98   % AGREE= 99
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 26   % AGREE= 90
Clients: DISAGREE= 9   AGREE= 91   % AGREE= 91
Villagers: DISAGREE= 9   AGREE= 31   % AGREE= 78

Q42: Local villagers can still practice their farming and fishing when rafting companies are operating on the rivers near their homes.

Owners: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 20   % AGREE= 87
Guides: DISAGREE= 11   AGREE= 88   % AGREE= 89
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 26   % AGREE= 90
Clients: DISAGREE= 4   AGREE= 96   % AGREE= 96
Villagers: DISAGREE= 4   AGREE= 36   % AGREE= 90

Q43: Rafting companies can still operate on rivers that are dammed by hydropower projects.

Owners: DISAGREE= 11   AGREE= 12   % AGREE= 52
Guides: DISAGREE= 44   AGREE= 55   % AGREE= 56
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 13   AGREE= 16   % AGREE= 55
Clients: DISAGREE= 58   AGREE= 42   % AGREE= 42
Villagers: DISAGREE= 19   AGREE= 21   % AGREE= 53

Q44: The future of Nepal's rafting industry may be severely impacted by the government's plans for hydropower development.

Owners: DISAGREE= 3   AGREE= 20   % AGREE= 87
Guides: DISAGREE= 5   AGREE= 94   % AGREE= 95
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 2   AGREE= 27   % AGREE= 93
Clients: DISAGREE= 10   AGREE= 90   % AGREE= 90
Villagers: DISAGREE= 9   AGREE= 31   % AGREE= 78

Q45:   Local villagers and rafting companies can benefit from the rafting
       operations in the future if dams do not stop the river's flow completely.

Owners: DISAGREE= 8   AGREE= 15   % AGREE= 65
Guides: DISAGREE= 19   AGREE= 80   % AGREE= 81
Office Staff: DISAGREE= 4   AGREE= 25   % AGREE= 86
Clients: DISAGREE= 6   AGREE= 94   % AGREE= 94
Villagers: DISAGREE= 4   AGREE= 36   % AGREE= 90

Appendix D: Nepal River Rafting Post-Trip Survey

1. Age: Avg-28   Min-17   Max-61

2. Sex: Male: 144   Female: 106

3. Nationality/citizenship

   Mode: British   Total N- 32 different nationalities

4. In what country do you primarily reside?   Mode: United Kingdom

5. On this trip to Nepal, how long will your total stay in Nepal be?

   Avg-76   Min-1   Max-1080

6. How many days have you already spent in Nepal on this trip?

   Avg-77   Min-3   Max-1080

7. Which rafting outfitter did you go with on this rafting trip?

   Total N- 11 different companies

8. On this rafting trip, which river did you run?

   BK-104   KG-95   TRI-4   MAR-22   KAR-25

9. How long did you stay in the river region for this trip?

   Days: Avg-3   Min-1   Max-11

   Nights: Avg-2   Min-0   Max-9

10. Are you on this trip to raft or kayak?

    Raft-225;   Kayak-25;   90% Rafting

11. Did you come to Nepal with specific plans to do whitewater rafting?

    Yes: 119   No: 131   %Yes: 48

12. Did you come to Nepal primarily for rafting?

    Yes: 27   No: 223   % Yes: 11

13. Was this trip part of a 'Package deal' where you will engage in other activities?

    Yes: 30   No: 220   % Yes: 12

14. Do you plan on returning to Nepal to raft again in the future?

    Yes: 180   No: 45   % Yes: 72

15. If you were unable to raft in Nepal, would still have come on this trip to Nepal?

    Yes: 226   No: 24   % Yes: 90

16. If this river run was shortened by a dam, would you come back to run this river?

    Yes: 79   No: 171   % Yes: 32

17. If this river run was entirely flooded by a dam, would you visit this river area?

    Yes: 44   No: 206   % Yes: 18

18. Do you feel that river conservation is important in providing enjoyable rafting trips.

    Yes: 241   No: 9   % Yes: 97

19. The guides discussed ways to be socially sensitive to Nepalese customs.

    Yes: 108   No: 117   % Yes: 43

24. The guides appeared to be skilled in boat operation & guiding,

    Yes: 244   No: 6   % Yes: 98

25. The guides created deep pits for latrines that were later filled prior to leaving.

    Yes: 227   No: 23   % Yes: 91

26. The guides burned or packed out all burnable waste from each camp and lunch site.

    Yes: 234   No: 16   % Yes: 94

27. The guides packed out all non-burnable waste from each camp and lunch site

    Yes: 234   No: 16   % Yes: 94

28. There were safety kayaks present on this rafting trip.

    Yes: 248   No: 2   % Yes: 99

29. The food on this trip was prepared in a way that was sanitary and safe.

    Yes: 241   No: 9   % Yes: 96

30. There were well defined locations (i.e. bags) for placement of toilet paper after use.

    Yes: 241   No: 9   % Yes: 96

31. The rafting equipment that was used on the river was of high quality.

    Yes: 242   No: 8   % Yes: 97

32. The guides talked about the river environment and its protection to clients.

    Yes: 114   No: 136   % Yes: 46

33. The guides were able to communicate effectively with the clients on the trip.

    Yes: 236   No: 14   % Yes:94

34. The company office staff effectively conveyed the trip information to me.

    Yes: 221   No: 29   % Yes: 88

35. Firewood was bought from local villages or found on river banks for campfires.

    Yes: 76   No: 174   % Yes: 30

Appendix E: Post-Trip Economic Survey Results Breakdown by Question

1. Number of rafting trips taken on this trip to Nepal
   Avg- 1.5;   Min-1;   Max-20
2. Number of other rafting trips planned to be taken during this trip to Nepal
   Avg-1;   Min-0;   Max-8
3. How many rafting clients were there on your river trip?
   Avg- 11;   Min-3;   Max-20
4. Did you book this rafting trip prior to your arrival to Nepal
   Yes: 22   No 228   % of Yes: 9%
5. On a scale of 1-10 (1 least ,10 most important), how important was rafting to your trip to Nepal?
   Avg-5.4;   Min-1;   Max-10
6. Did you take this rafting trip as part of a group of two or more people that you knew prior to arriving in Nepal (such as with friends, family, etc.)
   Yes: 138   No 112   % of Yes: 55%

BK/KG   Avg. Amount spent on Bhote Kosi (BK) or Kali Gandaki (KG)

Lodging:

$39/ $29   Hotels/camping/Lodges <u>on rafting trip only</u> (separate from rafting outfitter fees)

Food and Beverages:

$12/ $25   Food and drinks purchased <u>at rafting company resorts</u> (separate from trip cost)

$20/ $25   Food and drinks purchased at local restaurants, shops and bars <u>on rafting trip only</u> (rafting company resorts not included)

Transportation:

$8/ $10   Amount spent on taxis/rickshaws/tyampus/buses <u>on rafting trip only</u> (if not part of trip cost)

$0/ $32   Porter fees <u>on rafting trip only</u> (if separate from outfitter fees)

River rafting and kayaking:

$70/ $87   Rafting company trip price (money paid to rafting company for rafting trip/trips)

$2/ $5   Instruction (i.e. Kayak instruction course, etc.)

$51/ $16   Rental fees (i.e. rental kayak, paddle, etc.)

$11/ $10   Equipment/gear purchased in Nepal <u>for purposes of rafting trip</u>

$5/ $5   Tips to guides

$14/ $6   Souvenirs, clothing and gifts <u>purchased on rafting trip</u>

$232/ $249   Total Average Amount Spent on each river

$1316.00   Avg. Total Amount of Money budgeted for entire trip to Nepal

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acharya, M.R.
    1986   Nepal Concise Encyclopedia. Baneshwor: Geeta Sharma.

Adams, V.
    1996   Tigers of the Snow and other Virtual Sherpas: An ethnography of Himalayan encounters. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Appadurai, A.
    1996   Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arnould, E.J. & L.L. Price
    1993   River Magic: Extraordinary Experience and the Extended Service Encounter. Journal of Consumer Research 20:24-45.

Arnould, E.J., L.L. Price, & C. Otnes
    1999   Making Consumption Magic: A Study of White-Water River Rafting. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 28(1):33-68.

Aviation, Nepal Ministry of Tourism and Civil
    1995   Annual Statistics Report. Kathmandu: Nepal Ministry of Tourism and CIvil Aviation.

Bangs, R.
    1999   The lost river : a memoir of life, death, and transformation on wild water. San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books.

Bangs, R., and C. Kallen
    1989   Riding the dragon's back : the race to raft the upper Yangtze. New York: Atheneum.

Bangs, R., and McQuiston & Partners.
    1990   Whitewater adventure : America's great scenic rivers. San Diego: Thunder Bay Press.

Bennet, J.W.
    1990   Ecosystems, Environmentalism, Resource Conservation and Anthropological Research. *In* The Ecosystem Approach in Anthropology. E.F. Moran, ed. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Bennett, J.
1993   Rafting! : the complete guide to whitewater rafting techniques and equipment. Portland, Or.: Swiftwater Pub. Co.

1996   The complete whitewater rafter. Camden, ME: Ragged Mountain Press.

Bennett, J. M., and L. Hallewell
1998   Sendero Luminoso in context : an annotated bibliography. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press.

Berkes, F.
1999   Sacred Ecology: Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Resource Management. Philadelphia: Taylor & Francis.

Bhatia, A.K.
1996   Tourism Development: Principles and Practices.New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

Bista, D.B.
1994   Fatalism and Development: Nepal's struggle for modernization. Calcutta: Orient Longman.

1967   People of Nepal. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

Boo, E.
1991   Making Ecotourism Sustainable: Recommendations for Planning, Development, and Management. *In* Nature Tourism: Managing for the Environment. T. Whelan, ed. Pp. 187-199. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Boo, E., and World Wildlife Fund.
1990   Ecotourism : the potentials and pitfalls. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund.

Borgatti, S.
1997   Consensus Analysis, Vol. 2002.

1993   Anthropac 4.0. Columbia: Analytic Technologies.

British Tourism Association
2001   A summary analysis of how markets (by purpose of visit) performed during and after the Gulf (1991) & Libyan (1986) conflicts. London: BTA Market Intelligence Department

Brosius, J.P.
    1999   On the Practice of Transnational Cultural Critique. Identities 6(2-3):179-200.

Brown, D.F.
    1999   Mayas and Tourists in the Maya World. Human Organization 58(3):295-304.

Bruner, E.M.
    1995   The Ethnographer/Tourist in Indonesia. *In* International Tourism: Identity and Change. M.-F. Lanfant, J.B. Allcock, and E.M. Bruner, ed. Sage Studies in International Sociology, Vol. 47. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Bryant, R.L. & S. Bailey
    1997   Third World political ecology. New York: Routledge.

Burns, P. M. and A. Holden
    1995   Tourism: A New Perspective. New York: Prentice Hall.

Burns, P.
    1999   An introduction to tourism and anthropology. London ; New York: Routledge.

Case, David
    2003   Terror in Paradise. *In* Men's Journal. Pp. 36-80, Vol. 11.

Cassady, J. and D. Dunlap
    1999   World Whitewater: A Global Guide For River Runners. New York: Ragged Mountain Press.

Caulkins, D.
    1998   Consensus Analysis: Do Scottish Business Advisors Agree on Models of Success? *In* Using Methods in the Field. V.C.a.E.J.S. de Munck, ed. Pp. 179-196. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press.

Ceballos-Lascurain, H.
    1996   Tourism, Ecotourism, and Protected Areas. *In* Politics of Travel. Nicholson-Lord, ed. Pp. 1-5. Gland: IUCN.

Chambers, E., ed.
    1997   Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective. Albany: State University of New York Press.

2000   Native Tours: The Anthropology of Travel and Tourism. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, Inc.Chand, D.

Chand, D.
2000   Nepal's Tourism Uncensored Facts. Kathmandu: Pilgrim's Publishing.

Chase-Dunn, C.
1998   Global Formation: Structures of the World Economy. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Chatterjee, P.
1994   "World Bank: Bank defiant against barrage of cakes and criticism" Madrid, Oct. 3, 1994 {online}

Cosgrove, D.E.
1985   Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape. Totowa: Barnes and Nobles Books.

Cox, K.R.
1993   The Local and the Global in the new urban politics: A critical view. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 11:433-448.

1997   Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the power of the local. New York: The Guilford Press.

De Alwis, R.
1998   Globalisation of Ecotourism- New Marketing Concepts. *In* Sustainability in Mountain Tourism: Perspectives of the Himalayan Countries. P. East, K. Luger & K. Inmann, ed. Pp. 231-236. Verlag: BookFaith India.

Deitch, L.I.
1989   The Impact of Tourism on the Arts and Crafts of the Indians of the Southwestern United States. *In* Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. V.L. Smith, ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ellis, John W.
1995   From the Barrel of a Gun: A History of Guerrilla, Revolutionary adn Counter-Insurgency Warfare, from the Romans to the Present. Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books.

Ellis, Robert
2001   Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoimperialism. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

217

English, D.B.K. and J.M. Bowker
    1995   Sensitivity of Whitewater Rafting Consumers Surplus to Pecuniary Travel Cost Specifications. Journal of Environmental Management 47:79-91.

English, Donald B. K., Jean-Claude Thill, and United States. Forest Service. Southern Research Station.
    1996   Assessing regional economic impacts of recreation travel from limited survey data. Asheville, NC: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture Forest Service Southern Research Station.

Ernst, T.M.
    1999   Land, Stories, and Reosurces: Discourse and Entification in Onabasulu Modernity. American Anthropologist 101(1):88-98.
Escobar, A, ed.
    1996   Constructing Nature: Elements for a poststructural political ecology. London: Routledge.

Escobar, A.
    1988   Power and Visibility: Development and the Invention and Management of the Third World. Cultural Anthropology 3(428-443).

    1995   Encountering Development: The Making and the Unmaking of the Third World. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

    1999   After Nature: Steps to an Antiessentialist Political Ecology. Current Anthropology 40(1):1-30.

Ettenger, K.
    1998   "A river that was once so strong and deep": Local reflections on the Eastmain Diversion, James Bay Hydroelectric Project. *In* Water, Culture & Power: Local struggles in a global context. B.R.J.M.D. Johnston, ed. Washington D.C.: Island Press.

Feifer, Maxine
    1985   Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the Present. Briarcliff Manor: Stein and Day Publishers.

Feld, S.
    1996   A Poetics of Place: Ecological and Aesthetic Co-Evolution in a Papua New Guinea Rainforest Community. *In* Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication. R.E.K. Fukui, ed. Pp. 61-87. Washington D.C.: Berg Publishers.

218

Finlay, H., R. Everist, and T. Wheeler
      1996   Nepal. Oakland: Lonely Planet Publications.

Fisher, J. F.
      1990   Sherpas : reflections on change in Himalayan Nepal. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Forbes, A.A.
      1996   Defining the "Local" in the Arun Controversy: Villagers, NGO's and the World Bank in the Arun Valley, Nepal. *Cultural Survival*. 20(3):31-34.

Frake, C.O.
      1996   A Church Too Far Near a Bridge Oddly Placed: The Cultural Construction of the Norfolk Countryside. *In* Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication. R.E.K. Fukui, ed. Pp. 89-115. Washington D.C.: Berg Publishers.

Garcia, J.G.D.A., V.D. Munck, A.L.S. Rocha, G.L.A. Vargas, and T. Garro
      1998   Consensus Analysis: High Blood Pressure in a Mexican Barrio. *In* Using Methods in the Field. V.C.a.E.J.S. de Munck, ed. Pp. 197-210. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press.

Garro, L.C.
      2000   Remembering What One Knows and the Construction of the Past: A Comparison of Cultural Consensus Theory and Cultural Schema Theory. Ethos 38(3):275-319.

Gorriti Ellenbogen, Gustavo
      1999   The Shining Path : a history of the millenarian war in Peru. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Graburn, N.H.H.
      1989   Tourism: The Sacred Journey. *In* Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. V.L. Smith, ed. 1989: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Greenwood, D.J.
      1989   Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization. *In* Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. V.L. Smith, ed. Pp. 171-186. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Guest, G.
    1999   Global Vision and Local Lives: Policy, Participation, and Coastal
    Management in Ecuador. Culture and Agriculture 21(1):1-13.

Gupta, A. & J. Ferguson
    1992   Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference.
    Cultural Anthropology 7(1):602.

    1997a Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference.
    In Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology. A.J.F.
    Gupta, ed. Durham: Duke University Press.

    1997b Culture, Power, Place: Ethnography at the End of an Era. *In*
    Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology. A.J.F.
    Gupta, ed. Durham: Duke University Press.

    1997c Discipline and Practice: "The Field" as Site, Method, and Location
    in Anthropology. *In* Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds
    of a Field Science. A.J.F. Gupta, ed. Pp. 1-46. Berkeley: University of
    California Press.

Gurung, H.
    1998   Sustainablity and Development in Mountain Tourism. *In*
    Sustainability in Mountain Tourism. P. East, K. Luger & K. Inmann, ed.
    Pp. 29-46. Verlag: BookFaith India.

Hackenberg, R.A.
    1999   Advancing Applied Anthropology. Globalization: Touchstone
    Policy Concept or Sucked Orange? Human Organization 58(2):212-215.

Harris, Marvin
    1976   The Rise of Anthropological Theory : a history of theories of
    culture. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Hasrat, B.J., ed.
    1970   History of Nepal as Told by Its Own and Contemporary
    Chroniclers. Punjab: V.V. Research Institute Press.

Hind, R.
    2002   Whitewater Legend: David Allardice. *In* Kayak Session. Pp. 34-39,
    Vol. 1.

Hitchcock, R.K.

    1997   Cultural, Economic and Environmental Impacts of Tourism among Kalahari Bushmen. *In* Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective. E. Chambers, ed. Pp. 93-128. Tourism and Culture: An Applied Perspective: State University of New York Press.

Holton, R.J.

    1998   Globalization and the Nation-State. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.

Holyfield, L.

    1999   Maufacturing Adventure: The Buying and Selling of Emotions. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 28(1):3-32.

Honey, M.

    1999   Ecotourism and sustainable development : Who owns paradise? Washington, D.C: Island Press.

Hopkirk, P.

    1991   The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hosken, F.P.

    1974   The Kathmandu Valley Towns: A Record of Life and Change in Nepal. New York: Weatherill.

Huser, V.

    2001   River running : canoeing, kayaking, rowing, rafting. Seattle: Mountaineers Books.

Ingram, C. D., P.B. Durst, and Southeastern Forest Experiment Station (Asheville N.C.)

    1987   Marketing nature-oriented tourism for rural development and wildlands management in developing countries : a bibliography. Asheville, N.C.: U.S. Dept. of Agriculture Forest Service Southeastern Forest Experiment Station.

Ives, D.D. and Messerli, B.

    1989   The Himalayan Dilemma: Reconciling Development and Conservation. New York: Routledge.

Jafari, J.

    2001   The Scientification of Tourism. *In* Hosts and Guests Revisted: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century. V.S.a.M. Brent, ed. Pp. 28-41. Elmsford: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Joes, A.J.
1986   From the Barrel of a Gun: Armies and Revolutions. Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's.

Karan, P. P. & H. Ishii
1996a The Development of Tourism. *In* Nepal: A Himalayan Kingdom in Transition. P.P.H.I. Karan, ed. Pp. 256-283. New York: United Nations University Press.

1996b Nepal: A Himalayan Kingdom in Transition. New York: United Nations University Press.

Kearney, M.
1995   The Local and the Global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. Annual Review of Anthropology 24:547-565.

Kempton, Willett, et al.
1999   Environmental values in American culture. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Kinney, T.D.
1997   Class V Whitewater Paddlers in American Culture: Linking Anthropology, Recreation Specialization and Tourism to Examine Play. MA, Northern Arizona University.

Knowles, P.
1994   Rafting Nepal: A consumers guide. Kathmandu: Rivers Publishing UK.

1999   White water Nepal : A rivers guidebook for rafting and kayaking: Birmingham: Menasha Ridge Publishers.

Knowles, P. and D. Allardice
1992   White water Nepal : A rivers guidebook for rafting and kayaking: Surbiton : Rivers Publishing.

Krakover, S.
1999   The Effect of Terror on the Flow of Tourists to Israel. Annual Meeting of Association of American Geographers, Honolulu, HI, 1999.

Krejcie, R.V. and D.W. Morgan
1970   Determining Sample Size for Research Activities. Educational and Psychological Measurement 30:607-610.

Kunwar, R.R.
    1997   Tourism and Development: Science and Industry Interface.
    Kathmandu: Laxhmi Kunwar.

Lanfant, M-F, and N.H. Graburn
    1992   International Tourism Reconsidered: The Principle of the
    Alternative. *In* Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problems in the
    Development of Tourism. V.L.S.a.W.R. Eadington, ed. Pp. 88-112.
    Philadelphia: Niversity of Pennsylvania Press.

Lanfant, M-F., et al.
    1995   International tourism : identity and change. London ; Thousand
    Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Laqueur, W.
    1977   Terrorism: A Study of National and International Political
    Violence. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

    1978   The Terrorism reader : a historical anthology. New York: New
    American Library.

    1987   The age of terrorism. Boston: Little Brown.

    1999   The new terrorism : fanaticism and the arms of mass destruction.
    New York: Oxford University Press.

    2001   A history of terrorism. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction
    Publishers.

Lifton, R.J.
    1999   Destroying the world to save it : Aum Shinrikyåo, apocalyptic
    violence, and the the new global terrorism. New York: Metropolitan
    Books.

Little, C.
    1996   Principals of Sustainability. Environmental Action 28(1&2):9.

Little, P.D. & M.M. Horowitz
    1987   Introduction: Social science perspectives on land, ecology, and
    development. *In* Lands at Risk in the Third World: Local Level
    Perspectives. P.D.M.M.H.w.A.E.N. Little, ed. Pp. 1-16. Boulder:
    Westview Press.

Loker, W.M.

    1998   Water, Rights and the El Cajon Dam, Honduras. *In* Water, Culture & Power: Local struggles in a global context. B.R.J.M.D. Johnston, ed. Washington D.C.: Island Press.

MacCannell, D.

    1976   The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. London: Macmillan.

Marcus, G.

    1995   Ethnography in/of the world system: The emergence of multi-cited ethnography. Annual Review of Anthropology 24:95-117.

Matthews, J.

    1996   "Nepal Review 1996", Vol. 1998: Asia Pacific Review World of Information March 1996.

McClintock, C.

    1998   Revolutionary movements in Latin America : El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

McCormick, G.H.

    1992   From the sierra to the cities : the urban campaign of the Shining Path. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

    1993   Sharp dressed men : Peru's Tâupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

McCormick, G. H., et al.

    1990   The Shining Path and the future of Peru. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.

Mckean, P.F.

    1989   Towards a Theoretical Analysis of Tourism: Economic Dualism and Cultural Involution in Bali. *In* Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. V.L. Smith, ed. Pp. 119-138. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Messerli, B.

    1987   The Development of Tourism in the Swiss Alps: Economic, Societal and Environmental Effects. Mountain Research and Development 7:13-23.

Messerschmidt, D.
    1995   Local Traditions and Community Forestry Management: A View
    From Nepal. *In* The Cultural Dimension of Development. D. Warren,
    Slikkerveer, L., and D. Brokensha, ed. London: Intermediate Publications.

Miller, Kenton
    1993   Planning National Parks for Ecodevelopment: Methods and Cases
    from Latain America. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Modi, Shalini
    2001   Tourism and Society. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.

Mohaddessin, Mohammad
    2001   Islamic fundamentalism : the new global threat. Washington, D.C.:
    Seven Locks Press.

Nash, D.
    1981   Tourism as an Anthropological Subject. Current Anthropology
    22(5):461-481.

    1989   Tourism as Form of Imperialism. *In* Hosts and Guests: The
    Anthropology of Tourism. V.L. Smith, ed. 1989: University of
    Pennsylvania Press.

    1996   Anthropology of tourism. Kidlington, Oxford Tarrytown, N.Y.:
    Pergamon ;Elsevier Science.

    2000   A Window of Opportunity in the Anthropological Study of
    Tourism. Society for Applied Anthropology, San Francisco, CA, 2000.

Nazarea-Sandoval, V.D.
    1995   Local Knowledge and Agricultural Decision Making in the
    Philippines. Ithica: Cornell University Press.

Nazarea, V., Rhoades, R., Bontoyan, E. and G. Flora
    1998   Defining Indicators Which Make Sense to Local People: Intra-
    Cultural Variation in Percpetions of Natural Resources. Human
    Organization 57(2):159-170.

(Nepal), Central Bureau of Statistics
    2001   Statistical Year Book of Nepal 2001. Kathmandu: Central Bureau
    of Statistics (Nepal).

Nickum, J.E. & D. Greenstadt
    1998   Transacting a commons: The Lake Biwa Compreshensive Development Plan, Shiga Prefecture, Japan. *In* Water, Culture & Power: Local struggles in a global context. B.R.J.M.D. Johnston, ed. Washington D.C.: Island Press.

Norman, M.
    1999   Tourists, Untouchables and Ethnic Invisibility in Pokhara, Nepal. American Anthropological Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, 1999.

Norton, A.R., and M.H. Greenberg
    1980   International terrorism : an annotated bibliography and research guide. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Norton, G.
    1987   Tourism and International Terrorism. *In* The World Today. Pp. 29-33, Vol. Feb.

O'Neill, B. E.
    1990   Insurgency & terrorism. Washington: Brassey's.

Odell, M.J. & W.B. Lama
    1998   Tea House Trekking in Nepal: The Case for Environmentally Friendly Indigenous Tourism. *In* Sustainability in Mountain Tourism: Perspectives of the Himalayan Countries. P. East, K. Luger & K. Inmann, ed. Pp. 191-206. Verlag: BookFaith India.

Ortner, S. B.
    1999   Life and Death on Mount Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Peck and Lepie
    1989   Tourism and Development in Three North Carolina Coastal Towns. *In* Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. V.L. Smith, Ed. Pp. 203-222.

Pemble, J.
    1971   The Invasion of Nepal: John Company at War. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Powell, John Wesley
    1961   The exploration of the Colorado River and its canyons. New York,: Dover Publications.

Price, M.F., L.A.G. Moss, and P.W. Williams
    1997   Tourism and Amenity Migration. *In* Mountains of the World: A Global Priority. B. Messerli and J.D. Ives, ed. Pp.249-280. New York: The Parthenon Publishing Group.

Rappaport, R.A.
    1979   Ecology, Meaning and Religion. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books.

Regmi, M.C.
    1971   A Study in Nepali Economic History: 1768-1846. New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House.

    1978   Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

Rhoades, R.E.
    1997   Pathways Towards a Sustainable Mountain Agriculture for the 21st Century: The Hindu Kush Himalayan Experience. Kathmandu: International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development.

Richter, L. and Waugh, W.
    1986   Terrorism and Tourism as logical companions. *In* Managing Tourism. S. Medlik, ed. Pp. 318-327. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Riley, R.W. and L.L.Love
    2000   The State of Qualitative Tourism Research. Annals of Tourism Research 27(1):164-187.

Romney, A.K.
    1994   Cultural Knowledge and Cognitive Structure. *In* The Making of Psychological Anthropology II. M. Suarez-Orozco, G. Spinfler, and L. Spindler, eds. Pp. 254-283. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace.

Romney, A.K., S.C. Weller, and W.H. Batchelder
    1986   Culture as Consensus: A Theory of Cultural and Informant Accuracy. American Anthropologist 88(2):313-338.

Rose, L.E.
    1971   Nepal: Strategy for Survival. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ryan, C., and Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism.
    1991   Tourism, terrorism and violence : the risks of wider world travel. London: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism.

Ryel, R. & T. Grasse
    1991   Marketing Ecotourism: Attracting the Elusive Tourist. *In* Nature Tourism: Managing for the Environment. T. Whelan, ed. Pp. 164-186. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Satyal, Y.R.
    1999   Tourism in Nepal: A Profile. Delhi: Adroit Publishers.

Schrand, A.
    1998   Social Indicators of Sustainable Tourism. *In* Sustainability in Mountain Tourism: Perspectives of the Himalayan Countries. P. East, K. Luger & K. Inmann, ed. Pp. 207-212. Verlag: BookFaith India.

Shaha, R.
    1975   An Introduction to Nepal. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

Sharma, C.K.
    1977   River Systems of Nepal. Calcutta: Shri K. Ray.

Sheridan, T.E.
    1988   Where the dove calls : the political ecology of a peasant corporate community in northwestern Mexico. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

    1998   The Big Canal: The Political Ecology of the Central Arizona Project. *In* Water, Culture & Power: Local struggles in a global context. B.R.J.M.D. Johnston, ed. Washington D.C.: Island Press.

Smith, V.
    1989   Eskimo Tourism: Micro-Models and Marginal Men. *In* Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism. V.L. Smith, ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

    2001a Hostility and Hospitality: War and Terrorism. *In* Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century. V.S.a.M. Brent, ed. Pp. 367-379. New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

    2001b Tourism Issues of the 21st Century. *In* Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century. V.S.a.M. Brent, ed. Pp. 333-353. New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.

Subba, B.
    2001   Himalayan Waters. Kathmandu: Panos South Asia.

Subba, S.
    1989   Botes: Ferrymen of the Tanahun. Kathmandu: Ashok Kumar Limbu.

Swift, A.
    1993   Global political ecology : The crisis in economy and government. Boulder: Pluto Press.

Trousdale, W. J.
    2001   Appropriate Tourism Impact Assessment: A Case Study of Kaniki Point Resort, Palawan, Philippines. *In* Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century. V.S.a.M. Brent, ed. Pp. 242-256. Elmsford: Cognizant Communications Corporation.

Turney-High, H.
    1981   The Military: The Theory of Land Warfare as Behavioral Science. West Hanover, MA: The Christopher Publishing House.

Upreti, B.C.
    1993   Politics of Himalayan River Waters: An Analysis of the River Water Issues of Nepal, India and Bangladesh. New Delhi: Nirala Publications.

Van De Berg, W.
    2000   Tourism, Globalization, and a Multi-Sited Approach to Fieldwork in Nepal. Journal of Ecological Anthropology 4:76-86.

Wakin, D.
    2002   Egypt Shores Up Security, and Tourism Slowly Recovers: New York Times online:.

Wallerstein, I.
    1976   A World-System Perspective on the Social Sciences. British Journal of Sociology 27:343-52.

Weller, S. and C.I. Dungy
    1986   Personal Preferences and Ethnic Variations among Anglo and Hispanic Breast and Bottle Feeders. Social Science and Medicine 23(6):539-548.

Weller, S.C.
    1987   Shared Knowledge, Intracultural Variation and Knowledge Aggregation. American Behavioral Scientist 31:178-193.

Weller, S.C. and A. K. Romney

      1988   Systematic Data Collection. Volume 10. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Whelan, T.

      1991a Ecotourism and its Role in Sustainable Development. *In* Nature Tourism: Managing for the Environment. T. Whelan, ed. Pp. 3-22. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

      1991b Nature tourism : managing for the environment. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

Wood, M.E.

      1991   Global Solutions: An Ecotourism Society. *In* Nature Tourism: Managing for the Environment. T. Whelan, ed. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.

World Tourism Organization.

      1995   Collection and compilation of tourism statistics. Madrid, Spain: World Tourism Organization.

World Travel and Tourism Council, WTTC

      1994   Annual Report. Brussels: World Travel and Tourism Council.

THE END- ANTA