CAN TOURISM BOOST DEVELOPMENT OF SUSTAINABLE INFRASTRUCTURE IN NEPAL?

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Cover photo: Tourists at Sarangkot viewpoint early in the morning to view the sun rising over the Himalayan mountain range.
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“Planners should realize the social, economic, and political implications of any line drawn on a plan, because it means the allocation of values.”
(Nnkya 2007, p. 305)
PREFACE
Since I started to study spatial planning at Blekinge Institute of Technology I have become more and more interested in the interconnection between the concept of sustainable development and planning. These two subjects are related to each other and they influence each other, but how does this connection work, and on which conditions? Through all years of studies I’ve noticed that the main objective with planning is how to develop urban areas, leaving rural development and planning almost untouched.

With the growing debate regarding sustainable development my interest for developing countries has grown. How is planning working in developing countries, and is it a functional system? Through University lecturer Gunnar Nyström at Blekinge Institute of Technology I was given the opportunity to perform the studies needed for this report with focus on Nepal and sustainable development.

Thanks to the work I have made new friends and gained knowledge that I feel will be useful for me in my future work. It has given me a new perspective on planning, and I am glad I took the opportunity to travel to Urban Development Training Centre in Pokhara for this work.

Nepal and its people will always be in my heart.

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Namaste!

Carl-Henrik Barnekow
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ABSTRACT
The purpose of this work is to analyse both the existing planning system in Nepal and how tourism affects the local indigenous population. Furthermore it will try to understand how tourism can be used for poverty alleviation and sustainable development of infrastructure through planning.

A study of planning theory has been interspersed with studies of the concept of sustainable development, planning, tourism, and infrastructure while and trying to find linkages between the fields of knowledge. Informal planning is a key function that occurs when the existing planning does not work. Can this form of planning be adapted and accepted as the official planning?

Through case studies in three different locations in the Kaski district in Nepal the theoretical framework has been used to analyse how tourism is used and how planning works. The areas were all chosen because of their different preconditions and location. The study analysis both urban and rural areas, which have different challenges when working with achieving sustainable development.

The result of the studies shows on a possible connection between sustainable development and infrastructure with tourism as an engine in Nepal. Through studies of literature focusing on planning challenges in Africa knowledge was extracted that could be used and adapted to local conditions in Nepal. But the studies also found grave problems with the existing planning system in Nepal - it is not working as the local administration is not capable of fulfilling its’ responsibilities towards the local population. If tourism is to be used for creating sustainable development in Nepal the regulatory and administrative system has to be adapted to the local context.
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Photo: The sun rises over the Annapurna mountain range of the Himalayas. Morning view from the road leading up to Sarangkot from Pokhara.
1. INTRODUCTION
1.1. BACKGROUND

Tourism has turned into global phenomenon. From the current mass-industry different types of tourism have evolved, and nowadays more and more travellers are searching for new experiences far away from the crammed beaches and perfect resorts. Adventure tourism has exploded in numbers and Nepal, with its’ borders opening for foreigners in the 1950’s, has been a magnet for people who want to experience the highest mountains in the world since Tenzing Norgay, Nepal, and Sir Edmund Hillary, New Zealand, reached the summit of Sagarmatha (Mount Everest) in May 1953.

People from all over the world travel to Nepal for trekking and experiencing the wonderful country in the heart of the Himalayas. Through tourism visitors explore a country with steeper terrain than no other, and at the same time they affect the people living there. While Nepal might be regarded as exotic as a tourist destination, it is at the same time one of the least developed countries in the world with approximately 30% of the population living in poverty (CBS 2009, p. 2) and with 85% of the population living in rural areas (CBS 2009, p. 3).

Tourism has turned into an important income for Nepal, as it holds opportunity to bring both investments and development to the country through the flow of visitors. Tourists visit the country for trekking in remote rural areas in the mountains, and visiting religious sites in the southern part of the country, such as Lumbini, where the Lord Buddha was born.

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) sees tourism as tool for poverty alleviation and launched the Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) programme in 2005. The program focuses on utilizing tourism so that local indigenous populations gains possibilities to alleviate themselves from poverty.

The Nepal Tourism Board (NTB) proclaimed 2011 as “Nepal Tourism Year 2011” (NTY 2011) with the goal of attracting one million tourists to the country, and this would be twice as many as in 2009. At the same time the goal is to get 40% of these tourists to visit new areas that never had tourism before, so that more inhabitants can benefit from it.

1.2. PROBLEM

When NTB proclaimed NTY 2011 they emphasised the positive impacts of tourism for poverty alleviation in accordance with UNWTO and the ST-EP programme. While tourism most likely can be positive in some way, it also has negative impacts that should not be ignored. While the local environment and social structure in Nepal are affected by the half a million tourist per year already visiting the country, another half a million more visitors will put more pressure on local infrastructure, environment, and social structures. Especially when 400,000 tourists is intended to visit new locations that never before had any tourism. With the positive impact in focus the NTB disregard the possible negative impacts caused by tourism.

How will this flood of tourists affect the local population, and is it possible for the indigenous population to use the increased tourism so they can develop improvements for themselves in their everyday life, as promoted by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO)? And how will the local authorities manage this transformation as the possible inflow of
tourists most likely will put pressure on existing infrastructure and resources? Are the local authorities in their work with planning able to handle the possible need for investments in new infrastructure, and is it possible for the new infrastructure to be made sustainable?

As Nepal is one of the least developed countries in the world, it can be a challenge for local authorities to develop sustainable infrastructure. The country has a planning system that focus on the local authorities being responsible for presenting and fulfilling periodic and annual plans for development projects. But does the planning system work, and how do the local bodies use it? Furthermore, is it possible for the planning system to provide tools needed to handle development projects in relation to increased tourism?

To cope with tourism and sustainable development local authorities can be a key actor as they have obligations according to the Local Self Governance Act (LSGA). Do local authorities have the best resources to do what the law says they should? Do local authorities know how to handle the influx of tourists into their areas? Is the existing planning system useful for these challenges, and how can it incorporate tourism as a key function for development, or does it have to be transformed?
1.3. ASSUMPTION / THESIS

The assumption when initiating the research for this report was that local authorities in Nepal, such as municipalities and Village Development Committees (VDC), have the legal obligation of providing the basic infrastructure to people according to laws and regulations. But, while the local bodies have the obligation, they do not have the resources to fulfil these duties towards their inhabitants. The lack of resources can be either immaterial, such as lack of knowledge or planning tools, and/or material, such as hired staff or lack of capital assets. Lacking useful tools and knowledge in different aspects of development and planning can result in investments that, when they are made, might be non-sustainable, thus increasing the risk of misuse of scarce resources and endangering the environment.

Through support of a flexible planning system that includes citizens into the process, development can be strengthened and more sustainable solutions be utilized. Through such a participating perspective knowledge and awareness can be spread amongst a wider group, and citizens can, on their own, take part in, and responsibility over, the planning process.

The thesis for this report is that it is possible for planners in Nepal to create a new and improved planning system that includes the local populations, and that can utilize resources, such as tourism, for developing sustainable infrastructure.

1.4. AIM AND PURPOSE

The aim of this report is to gain knowledge regarding the present situation for planners working with development in Nepal, and to try to explore possibilities how tourism can be used within the planning process to improve the infrastructure situation for indigenous populations.

The purpose is to analyse both the existing planning system in Nepal and how tourism affects the local indigenous population. Furthermore it will try to understand how tourism can be used for poverty alleviation and sustainable development of infrastructure through planning.

1.5. DISPOSITION

The theoretical discussion aims at analysing the historical and present paradigms of planning theory, the evolution of tourism together with positive and negative impacts, and the context of sustainable development. Through the discussion it will try to show the complexity of the subjects and possible connections between them, while trying to analyse if tourism is suitable as generator for poverty alleviation.

Furthermore, the organisation of the local administrative system in Nepal will be described, followed by a short description of influential factors that possibly can affect the topic for the research. After this, the intention is to present a field study of the general situation in the country in regard of existing infrastructure, planning and tourism together with a presentation of actors connected to tourism and development in Nepal. With the general outlines drawn through the field study three different areas will be analysed in a case study, which focus on their present situations followed by an analysis of the gathered material. At last a
discussion will be made that uses the gathered material together with the theoretical discussion trying to show how tourism can be used as a lever for sustainable development in Nepal.

1.6. DELIMITATION
This is a master thesis in Spatial planning at Blekinge Institute of Technology in Karlskrona, Sweden. This thesis has no intention to perform studies or analysis over the existing political system of Nepal. The report describes the administrative system in Nepal for the reader as it can be rather important to understand the situation for planners and indigenous populations wanting to improve infrastructure.

This project focuses on planning and the local effects of tourism and how that might be used to improve sustainable development of infrastructure for indigenous people. Tourism also involves travel across the globe but this paper does not involve any analysis or discussion about the impact and meaning of global travels. This thesis does not include the global aspect of travels when focusing on sustainable development.

Regarding infrastructure, it can be divided into two types: social and physical infrastructure. Social infrastructure includes facilities like education and health care, and will not be analysed within the frames of this thesis. The focus will be on physical infrastructure, with certain focus on waste management and sanitation for private households.

Subjects that are not included in this thesis are the aspects of indigenous culture, social transformations due to tourism and external influences, or local identity. These subjects have been excluded due to focus on planning, tourism, and sustainable development, even though they can be seen as rather important when analysing tourism.

1.7. METHOD AND MATERIAL
Literature studies regarding the discourses of sustainable development and tourism took place mainly in Sweden prior to the case study in Nepal, with a review after the performed on site research. Literature from a wide range of researchers was used, as well as publications from international organisations, such as the United Nations (UN), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and others. For exact details please see the list of references in the end of the document. The documents used were linked together with a focus on Nepal and the focus of this thesis as key aspects.

To perform the field study in Nepal several different techniques where used to gather data and information needed for the thesis. Mr. Sascha Müller, Urban Development Training Centre (UDTC) - Pokhara, provided help with finding useful documents and contact for some of the key interviews. The field study was carried out during April and May in 2010 on site in Nepal.

The analysed areas were chosen in coordination with Mr. Müller at UDTC. The aspect of analysing three different areas was to highlight differences and similarities as well as the challenges these areas could have.
1.7.1. KEY PERSON INTERVIEWS
Key experts were interviewed regarding their field of profession or based on their knowledge. Some of these interviews were recorded and then transcribed for documentation after giving the respective permission to do so. Some direct questions were given to the interviewees, but mostly the interviews were conducted as informal talks having the interviewed person to answer in a natural way so they wouldn’t be led into a specific response in certain questions. This was also done so that the interviewed person wouldn’t be led to a given answer by a certain question. Some questions were asked as general outlines to guide the interview in the right direction if it was felt that it lost track to the subject. The interviewed person could be a villager who was engaged in her/his community’s development, or a person active within an organisation who had knowledge about existing system within their area of interest. Also people working in NGOs were interviewed for their perspective and information about their work.
A problem while performing key interviews is that not everybody speaks English. At times interpreter should be used and it is important to keep in mind that they should avoid putting their own words into questions or answers. To get the true facts there must be a clear understanding from the interpreter are only there to translate and not to express private opinions. A general impression I received when speaking with people is that they seemed to be rather positive to everything when I asked them questions in the beginning. It felt like they “had” to answer in a positive way rather than saying something negative. Sometimes this was shown as an interview prolonged and when returning to some subjects we talked about in the beginning they gave other answers later on. Perhaps it was like this because I was not clear from the start explaining my work and why I wanted to ask them questions.

1.7.2. CASE STUDIES
While being in Sweden no areas of study were selected as the information on different locations were limited as well as their conditions. After arrival in Pokhara the meeting with Mr. Müller was delayed due to the volcano ashes over Europe, and meanwhile the analyse of an area adjacent to Pokhara started. This was found to be an interesting exer-
cise as it was close to a large city while having the conditions of a rural area. Many tourists from Pokhara like to visit the area because of the short distance and the viewpoint at the views available.

After Mr Müller’s arrival to Pokhara the idea of analysis of the areas of study took form. These areas divided into urban, semi-urban, and rural categories with different conditions and handle tourism and infrastructure development differently, which will be shown later on. The three different areas could show the complexity of the local authorities system used in Nepal with VDCs and MPs. The analysis of the three areas has been based on their different type of location, situation and ongoing tourism. All areas are located in the Kaski district, in the Central administrative region of Nepal. One is densely populated, while the others are not. Some have untouched nature in their vicinity, while Pokhara is of an urban pattern, with scarce access to unaffected nature.

Due to a national strike the urban area first intended for the study (city of Tansen) had to be cancelled in the last minute and be replaced by the city of Pokhara. This was a problem as the short time made it difficult to perform good studies over a city of that size (Pokhara is one of Nepal’s largest cities). The two other areas (Sarangkot VDC and MMTR) are located in the Kaski district. It is possible to reach all of them from the office in Pokhara, but the MMTR needed an over night stay as some parts of it are only reachable by foot.

The three different areas showed different levels of infrastructure, and also different pressure from tourists. While tourists heavily visited Pokhara and Sarangkot VDC, not so many tourists visited the MMTR. One reason was that the MMTR was a rather newly opened trekking route. Also Pokhara is a rather wealthy city compared to the other areas, and the only municipality chosen for the study.

1.7.3. VISUAL OBSERVATIONS
These analyses were performed on location in the selected locations that were chosen for the field study. It was found suitable to give examples of how development of infrastructure is performed both in rural and urban areas, as rural and urban areas have different ways to handle waste or sanitation. Two of the selected areas clearly represent these different aspects, while the third can be said to represent the type of area in the middle, rural, but in close vicinity to the larger urban areas.

Visual observations were made and photographs were taken of objects to document the situation of sanitation, infrastructure and waste management. Photos can be used to visually document the present situation of these questions in the analysed areas as. The analysis on site also included sitting down and observing how people were acting in their daily life. Of course I stood out from the crowd when being in the villages, but I guess most people thought of me as a tourist and some tried to get me interested of their gift shops or other services. When I first sat down in a village or area people showed interest in me, especially children, but after I’ve been sitting there for a while, sometimes only a few minutes, sometimes after an hour, children and adults lost interest in me, and many people seemed to return to their normal habits. They carried on with their duties just as normal, as I think they were used to having tourists often being present in some way around their neighbourhood.
While performing trekking in one of the study areas, a local guide from one of the villages was hired as both interpreter and guide. A problem with this, which was noted during the research, was that the guide did not translate everything as requested and gave answers that were their own and not from the interviewees. This was noticed when I asked a short question, the interpreter talked for a short while translating the question and the person being interviewed replied with a short answer. Sometimes the interpreter spoke for a longer time than what should be needed, and the interviewees only answered with humming sounds as to agree or disagree to what the interpreter said. Then the interpreter answered what the person had said, when the person in fact hadn’t said a single word. This was noted a couple of times. When this happened I did take a note in the papers I had with me and sometimes I asked other questions around the same theme so that I could try to get a better reply. Sometimes I asked the guide just to tell me the exact words the interviewee had said, but I felt that this was a bit of a problem, as I was in a way very dependent of the interpreter and guide. If it had been possible I would have hired one person as an interpreter who had better skills in doing that, and one person as a guide.

1.7.4. LITERATURE STUDIES

Statistical data regarding the studied areas was received through official offices in Nepal and was used for background information and as a compliment to data received through the on site analysis. Also some literature was studied to understand the historical development of Nepal since the country opened its’ borders to the outside world in 1951. The data is rather good and updated when covering the entire country, but on the local level there are large gaps without any known numbers. Some data is rather old as well, such as the census data on population, which sometimes makes it difficult to interpret today’s situation.

When it comes to tourism, many of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) follow their own agenda and do not coordinate their projects with other NGOs or with the Nepal Tourism Board (NTB). During interviews with staff at NTB there was an expressed feeling that NGOs tried more to make their own work as good as possible and show it off in their documentations, rather than actually trying to do what is best for the overall development of the country. To what exact extent it is true I cannot say.

A challenge with the literature studies was to find relevant material for the study before the actual research on site, as it was not clearly known how the research would evolve. Due to the lack of knowledge of the local situation a more improved focus could not be done before departure, but after the research in Nepal more studies of literature were done. I found many articles written about tourism and local development focused on central and southern Africa, while not so many focused on south Asia. In regards to literature within the field of sustainability there is a problem with sorting out which information is relevant. It is also, a very common expression nowadays with many uses in different situations, which made it difficult to identify the best literature for me to use.
1.8. ACRONYMS USED
The following acronyms are used throughout the report:

ADB - Asian Development Bank
ACA - Annapurna Conservation Area
ACAP - Annapurna Conservation Area Project
BTH - Blekinge Tekniska Högskola / Blekinge Institute of Technology
CPP - Community Participation Planning
IIED - International Institute for Environment and Development
IMF - International Monetary Fund
IUCN - International Union for Conservation of Nature
KEEP - Kathmandu Environmental Education Project
LDTA - Local Development Training Academy
LSGA - Local Self Governance Act
LSGR - Local Self Governance Regulation
MMT - Machhapuchchre Model Trek
NPR - Nepalese Rupee (1 Euro = about 90 NPR, 2010-04-03)
NTB - Nepal Tourism Board
PPT - Pro-Poor Tourism
PPTP - Pro-Poor Tourism Project
SAARC - South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
TAAN - Trekkers Agencies Association Nepal
UDLE - Urban Development trough Local Efforts programme
UDTC - Urban Development Training Centre
UN - United Nations
UNEP - United Nations Environment Programme
UNHSC - United Nations Human Settlement Centre
UN-OHRLLS - United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and the Small Island Developing States
UNWTO - United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VDC - Village Development Committee
WCED - World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO - World Trade Organisation
WB - World Bank
Photo: Urban development in Kathmandu.
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
2.1. INFRASTRUCTURE

Physical infrastructure consists of investments made in water supply, urban roads, waste management systems, drainage, and sanitation facilities amongst other.

“... physical infrastructure can contribute to the standard of living of residents...”
(Choguill 1996, p. 391)

According to Choguill, investments in infrastructure have up to now traditionally been made through a government in a country. Government was seen as the only possible way to provide and manage infrastructure because of the complex structure. The general outline of how the works with infrastructure can be seen in many developed countries today. High tax income to the local and national authorities makes it possible to barely keep the expensive systems maintained and thus make it possible for further investments in them. As the infrastructure is serving the public, the authorities have the ability to collect funds from the users of the systems to manage them through taxes and fees. In many occasions, when the local authorities have not secured and supplied the needed infrastructure to the public some private companies have been the suppliers following strict regulations from the authorities. Even if this is the model, as it has been in some areas, not everybody received the same degree of service. Local authorities might not see it financially wise to invest in high cost systems in rural areas due to the low number of present and future users in correlation to the actual cost of the investment. This is the present situation in many rural and semi-urban areas in the western world today (Choguill 1996, p. 391).

Further on, Choguill continues saying that this model adapted to developing countries has had negative effects as the variation in income and ability to pay for the service can be extreme. The effect of applying a system so focused on central control at the local level and provision was to exclude the ones who couldn’t afford to pay for the service. This has led to the existence of two parallel systems, where one supplies the urban central areas with higher densities, and areas where the public with high incomes lives, while the second is an “on site”-system where people have to invest in their own water well, pit latrine, or septic tank for their needs. Even so many people in the urban areas in the developing countries don’t apply to any of these systems as they perhaps live on occupied land and don’t have the possibility or will to invest in a private system on site, or they live in such a rural area that the local government doesn’t see it as a prioritised investment (Choguill 1996, p. 392).

2.1.1. SUSTAINABLE INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

There is no easy description on what sustainable infrastructure is. It depends on the local context of where it is being implemented. In a developed country, comparable to Sweden, you can demand a higher reduction of ecological footprint through the physical system that is already in use, while in a less developed country, as Nepal, you have to see what is possible to achieve with the assets available.
Choguill has created a model that focuses on improvements of infrastructure with a sustainable approach in urban areas (Choguill 1996, p. 389-404). The model consists of ten principles and the objective of the model is to be able to design a way where informal infrastructure can be upgraded, over time, to become as good as the one provided to the formal residential sector. The principles span from legal matters, regarding land owning, to maintenance of infrastructure. The principles focus on a wide field of questions, such as technology and political constraints, institutional arrangements, the concept of self-help and decentralisation of decision-making. Some of the principles are summarised below:

• Recognition is needed in the developing world that two inter-dependent circuits exist: the formal and the informal. While some parts of a city are being built according to plans from the authorities, there are some parts being built without approval, and these informal settlements do not receive public service as water or sanitation.

• Either a municipal authority can operate the town’s system of infrastructure that is based on conventional technology or a private firm nominated by that municipality, on full cost-plus recovery basis. It is possible for the local authority to be responsible for the capital investment when it comes to water purification and distribution, and waste management. The fee paid by the formal settlement residents should have an extra adding, that will represent the subsidy to the informal sector, as a key part of sustainable infrastructure is that the cost of the service will be recovered from the users. And poorer people cannot always pay for that service.

• Most informal settlements are built on land to which they have no legal right. This results in their investments in their homes and surrounding area is kept to a minimum. “If the future is uncertain, one does not invest heavily in something that may be destroyed by planning or police officials because one is illegally occupying someone else’s land” (Choguill 1996, p. 396). If residents in those areas are granted rights to the land, they could be asked to make investments in local on-site infrastructure so it later on can be integrated in the city system.

• If infrastructure is developed in poor communities, it is more and more recognised that the community itself must be involved in its planning, construction, operation and maintenance. If the communities are involved at all stages of the project the probability of success is maximised. All parties involved should be prepared to fulfil their obligations and the roles and responsibilities of the national authorities and the community should be clearly defined.

• The maintenance must be in the hands of the community. A long term perspective should be kept on keeping the investments in infrastructure maintained, thus high-tech investments should not be done, as the knowledge and cost of maintaining those investments are hard to reach. Instead it is necessary for local authorities to understand that standards and regulations must be minimised in the first years in order to allow the community to be able to adapt and maintain the investment.

• The infrastructure in the informal sector must be socially acceptable to the community involved, and meet local requirements. There are cultural and/or religious aspects regarding some aspects of sanitation infrastructure that planners might have to be aware of. To avoid infrastructure that is not socially acceptable, the decision-making powers should be within the hands of the community.
**2.2. PLANNING**

**2.2.1. HISTORY OF PLANNING THEORY**

Leonie Sandercock is an Australian academic that published the book “Towards Cosmopolis” in 1998 that set her in the forefront as an urban planning theorist. Today she is teaching at the School of Community And Regional Planning at University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.

- NGOs can play a key role for local communities to develop infrastructure systems. When taking on this key role, NGOs also have to change perspective from project support to longer view and assisting in implementation programmes. NGOs should avoid taking over the communities’ job and not do the work for them, but rather helping the communities with knowledge about how to organise themselves. Once the local community has started to get organised and start acting, external organisations should step back, letting the community have space to act by themselves (Choguill 1996, p. 395-400).

Photo: Waste dumped along the Bishnumati River in Kathmandu.
According to Sandercock the planning profession emerged in the years after the Second World War, and it has its roots in the Enlightenment period between the later part of the 17th-century and second half of the 18th-century, which can be described as an era “that was intoxicated with the idea of progress through reason, of perfecting the good life on earth guided solely by the light of reason” (Sandercock1998, p. 61). To this we can add the social aspect of the profession through a quote from Vestbro: “... planners belong to the well educated élite in society” (Vestbro 2008, p. 12).

Sandercock continues saying that the modern post war planning shaped itself as a model based on the ideas of rationality; comprehensiveness; scientific method; faith in state-directed futures; and faith in planners’ ability to know what is good for the people generally (Sandercock 1998, p. 61-62). On the other hand Strömgren concludes that there are several attempts to write planning history based on the theoretical debate, but there is no consensus about how it actually should be described (Strömgren, 2007, p. 33).

Sandercock displays the diverse discourses within planning and the professions that, have been present since the 1970’s, through criticism towards the function of the planner were she highlights three critics. Friedmann (1973) wanted focus on dialogue and mutual learning rather than one side being the expert. Schöng (1983) continued the criticism towards the expert as he focused more on the identification of the actual problem as the challenge, instead of the solution of the problem. Schöning argued this as the planner separate the focus between problem solving and problem setting. Furthermore, Forester (1989) probably influenced by Schöng, has focused on new methods of knowing, and involves the political nature in planning and how the relation of power is ever present and inequalities systematically influence the result (Sandercock 1998, p. 62-65).

While there has been criticism towards the profession of planners, there has also been a criticism towards the epistemology of Enlightenment. Sandercock shows on the problem of the epistemology as “thinkers” (Friedmann, Schöng, Forester) has been male and thus the feminine side has been ignored. Sandercock asks the question if women can be the ones with knowledge and argues that knowledge has never been gender-neutral and the knowledge within planning is loaded with assumptions about the correct relations (domination and subordination) between the sexes (Sandercock 1998, p. 70).

According to Strömgren, the division by Gullberg in 1986 of the ideology structure of planning into three parts is important: the rational thinking (with the need of a subject and a object to be able to plan; the one planning has all information and knowledge needed to make rational decisions); the utopian thinking (when the one planning have to be able to imagine the different future to be able to plan it); and the voluntary thinking (the one planning has full autonomy to make the decisions and set the goals to achieve development; nor politicians, citizens, or market stakeholders can influence the planning). Yet one more basic assumption can be added to the list by Gullberg according to Strömgren, and that is that the fundamental purpose of planning is to improve life and increase the prosperity for the ones who lives in the community that is being planned; the collective good. These four assumptions clarify how modern planning has its’ roots in the Enlightenment epistemology and they are all linked together (Strömgren 2007, p. 27-33).
2.2.2. EVOLUTION OF THE PLANNING DISCOURSE

Strømgren shows how the discourses in planning have changed since the 1940’s. During the years after the end of the war in 1945 planning in the academic world was seen as a design tool of physical space. During the 1960’s until the 1980’s the first paradigm shift came that turned planning into a rational decision process. In the 80’s yet another transformation came and planning turned into a communicative tool. During the 1990’s Sandercock launched a postmodernistic approach towards planning (Strømgren 2007, p. 33).

Sandercock states that with the historical background and discussion regarding the planning dichotomy there has to be a change in the epistemology of planning. From the voice of rationality and knowledge the planning epistemology should consist of six different ways of gaining knowledge: through dialogue; from experience; through local knowledge; through contemplation; and through learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence; through action planning. This she calls multiplicity discourse in planning (Sandercock 1998, p. 76).

These six different ways of gaining knowledge should not be organised in a list with the most

![Diagram](image-url)

An illustration by Strømgren (2007, p. 241) explains the evolution of planning as it was transformed from the 1940’s perspective as a design tool through the rational process until today, with several different evolutions present at the same time. It also shows how the control over planning has shifted from pure professionals and elected representatives to become more diverse while moving to a more direct democratic perspective with citizens and the market being able to make their voice heard in the process. This raises the question: is that transfer of control good or bad? And if, then for whom has it been good or bad?
important first, but should all be seen as important individual steps a planner has to follow. “Through dialogue” focuses on the importance of the ability to talk and listen to stakeholders. But also the ability of knowing what to listen to and be aware of whom the stakeholders are is important. “Through experience” focuses on the planners’ ability to listen to, and understand, tacit and intuitive knowledge. This knowledge originates from the people in a community or neighbourhood and is sometimes hard to grasp, as tacit knowledge is not always spoken. “Local knowledge” focuses on the need to listen and understand knowledge from local communities even if it might be tainted with self-interest from the one giving the information. “Through contemplation” focuses on the need to understand that different cultures and indigenous populations have different traditions of sharing knowledge and how they look at the surrounding environment. “Learning to read symbolic and non-verbal evidence” focuses on the need to understand and reach out to marginalised groups in the community. Not everybody is able to participate in an official meeting, so finding new ways to reach out and listen is of importance, such as listening to local community action groups. “Through action planning” focuses on the planner with, and from the perspective of, the poor and disempowered instead from the perspective of state. It also focuses on the planners to enable local communities to do things for themselves (Sandercock 1998, p. 76-82).

In parallel to this view on planning by Sandercock during the 1990’s and the communicative era during the 1980’s there was a third discourse established, according to Strömgren. This was the libertarian discourse, but though it has not been proclaimed as a new paradigm, Strömgren states it is a radical alternative compared to the other. Since Sandercock proclaimed her wish for a new change in the planning discourse with her post modernistic ideas in the 1990’s there has been a competition with libertarianism and the communicative perspectives in the academic world (Strömgren 2007, p. 33-34).

2.2.3. SUSTAINABILITY AND THE PLANNER

The planners’ area of knowledge can reach between the global and the local arena. According to Krizek and Powers, the planner is the expert with the knowledge, she has to in a way convince the politicians about the advantages of the sustainable pathway so they better understand the impact of the decisions they make. A planner should not only focus on technical issues on the local level but also try to look beyond her own boundaries of the profession and act as mediator with new knowledge (Krizek & Powers 1996, p. 23).

According to Vestbro’s analysis of the enabling strategy “the most important task of authorities is to remove obstacles when the poor enable themselves to solve their housing problem” (Vestbro 2008, p. 7), and this is the one key element in the “enabling strategy.” This highlights a problem between legislations and regulations that are not adapted to the real world, and it can also be adapted to more than just housing in urban areas.

Authorities should recognize local indigenous populations as capable of achieving change. What they might need is support and help on how to do things in a more sustainable way, and that is a part were the planner could enter the stage. The “enabling strategy” has its’ starting point the assumption that residents being able to produce their own houses through self-help. The opposite of the enabling strategy is the “provider model”, where authorities control all the steps in the process for supplying people with houses (Vestbro 2008, p. 5-12).
2.2.4. INFORMAL PLANNING

Sandercock says that the Enlightenment epistemology, in which modern planning has its roots, is a Western thought that has worked as a colonizer of other cultures and sought to impose its own rationality and language all over the world (Sandercock 1998, p. 74). So what can be done when the official planning does not work, and it has to include and empower the local indigenous populations? For this report studies have been made of examples from Africa on how citizens might act and how they can organise themselves when the official planning system does not work (Kombe & Kreibich 2006; Nkya 2007; Senkatuka 2009). These studies focus on the Community Participation Process (CPP) and how that can be adapted and used to achieve an improved planning process.

A problem according to Kombe and Kreibich, is that when the density increases in an area the ability of grass root communities and local authorities to intervene decrease, as they lose the opportunity to control the growth. The important question is how to empower and sustain the local communities ability to safeguard the public interest in regard of development in the areas affected (Kombe & Kreibich 2006, p. 6).
Kombe and Kreibich point at the importance of empowering and involving the local social and community institutions at the grassroot level. Through this, the local institutions have the possibility to play a key role while strengthening the public capacity. And they can act without legal, technical, and institutional guideline support to be able to improve their performance (ibid, p. 159). Yet, Kombe and Kreibich state that local communities are depending on “enlightened and committed leaders” (ibid, p. 163) to be able to succeed with handling the development problems. To cope with this they argue that the focus should be on providing the leaders with practical tools and skills to make it possible for them to be well informed when making decisions with focus on the administration of land development processes (ibid, p. 163).

An important aspect of Kombe and Kreibich’s studies is that the tools and guidelines used should focus on practical approach and be written by the local community. While training is focused on the leadership of the local community, the guidelines can be widely spread in the community to promote and anchor the process of land transactions and development process among the population (ibid, p. 164).

Nnkya’s study in Tanzania shows on the problem between planners acting in a top-down controlled system where they planned and then wanted people to accept it straight away, and how the planners did not act when people came to them with proposals and funding for the work. When the planners choose not to act upon projects that were presented to them they missed the opportunity to build social trust and credibility between them and the public (Nnkya 2007, p. 176).

In Nnkya’s study there is one good example of the lack of communication and understanding of the on site preconditions, when planners did not work together with the local community while creating a layout plan for an area. While the work was in progress the local leaders negotiated with a landowner next to a school for more space so the school could expand. The planner was aware of this but suggested another piece of land in another direction that would lead to the requirement to move houses and graves, just because the official didn’t like the form of the plot that was suggested by the local community (ibid, p. 191-192). This displays the unwillingness and lack of the planner to listen to the local community when creating plans. As an official it can be rather fruitful to listen to the local community when they come with proposals and try to work with them, as it is for those people that the planner is actually working. Later on in Nnkya’s study officials agree that it would be important to involve the people directly in the planning process, but they were afraid of doing it because they had never done it before (ibid, p. 195).

According to Nnkya the Sustainable Cities Programme (SCP) by the UN-Habitat and UNEP can be one way to develop planning. The SCP focus on development-environment interaction; promotion of inter-sector and inter-organisational collaboration; involvement of stakeholders in the public, private, and community sectors; bottom-up and demand-led responses; emphasis on process, problem-solving, and local capacity-building for addressing problems in a collaboratively way (ibid, p. 276).

In the report, Nnkya points to planners’ insensitivity to land rights, and points at three important basic problems with that based on the case presented in the report. First, there was a difference between the land rights holders’ and the government’s perception of what land-
ownership was and the value of it. Secondly, there was an insensitivity to land rights that was based in the planning practice wherein after an area had been declared a planning area, the existing customary land rights would be automatically extinguished. Thirdly, the problem of providing land for collective interests, as everybody continued to care for themselves at first hand, and not the development of the community (ibid, p. 301-305).

Finally Nnkya points out the fact that it is not the planning in and of itself that people objected to, nor the urbanisation that was ongoing. It was the form of the process where planners did not listen or discuss with people affected by the plans in progress that was objected to. Planners thought they knew what was best for the community, while the people in those communities had another perspective. Through the peoples’ protests the planners had to change perspective in their planning process into a more open and democratic one. This was also connected to people involved who knew about their legal rights (ibid, p. 314-316).

Senkatuka’s report focuses on the possible participation of the community in the planning process through the enabling perspective while analysing road management issues in Kampala, Uganda. Senkatuka shows how community participation can be achieved through pointing out how the Community Participation Process (CPP) can be enabled on different levels, from the neighbourhood level up to the national level. An important point made by Senkatuka is that if a neighbourhood is to be successful in managing the project by themselves, the CPP has to be implemented on two different levels - both at the local neighbourhood level and at the city/national level (Senkatuka 2009, p. 146).

In the report Senkatuka lists eight steps on how to implement the CPP at a local community level. The steps listed are as follows: initiation, mobilisation, planning, design, training, pre-implementation, implementation, maintenance and management. The steps are not mandatory for every single project, but can act as guidelines and all steps do not have to happen after each other. Some steps are possible to do in parallel time periods. Through these steps local populations can be involved and made aware of their part in the planning process, but it also reveals some problems, as how to get people involved and to understand the process. The importance of giving people who are to be involved the proper training is emphasised in Senkatuka’s study, as people without knowledge do not know how to do things in the best possible way (ibid, p. 148-155).

An important observation made by Senkatuka is the importance, and possible problem, of the long time perspective when working with Community Participation Planning (CPP). A challenge for all involved is to keep people from getting tired of the project. Results have to be shown from start, and through working with a clear and open process people can be helped to understand the process. The use of milestones that are being finished during the project’s duration can help to make people aware of the achievements happening with the project (ibid, p. 155). Furthermore Senkatuka points to the importance of the CPP to be well organised and consciously adapt methods that are sensitive to community members differences, so as many as possible feel welcome and are included in the project (ibid, p. 162).

As shown earlier, Vestbro discusses the enabling strategy, which is a strategy that focus on grass root empowerment through local efforts, in a perspective of how it is being used in
Lima according to John Turner. The concept of the enabling strategy is that citizens build their own houses in a self-help process, and Vestbro continues saying that a problem with the enabling strategy is to find a good balance between order and freedom so that the willingness and creativity amongst the citizens is not destroyed (Vestbro 2008, p. 5-12). The enabling strategy should be seen through the perspective of the traditional form of planning described by Strømgren (2007) where planning is seen as rational process with elected representatives being responsible for the decision making. The rational process of planning does not acknowledge the capability of the citizens to take control of their needs.

2.3. TOURISM
Tourism is defined by some factors that together make up the definition, such as travel outside your normal home and workplace, the activities you do while away, and the facilities needed to handle the tourism on location (Fennell & Dowling 2003, p. 1). The key feature of tourism is that it involves someone travelling to another destination than home and temporary stay there for less than a year. It can be a travel for pleasure, business travels, or to visit relatives or friends (Lutz & Prosser 1994, p. 56).

2.3.1. THE DIVERSITY OF TOURISM
Tourism takes many forms. From a domestic perspective where people travel to a neighbouring area or city for visiting friends, or when people travel from one side of the globe to another just for pleasure and relaxation. The tourism industry is complex and reaching almost every country in the world. According to Lutz and Prosser the structure of the industry is mostly seen as controlled by a small number of international organisations based in developed countries trying to supply the market with different types of experiences (Lutz & Prosser 1994).

Tourism strongly depends on the global financial situation and can be very sensitive to trends. It can almost be compared to the fashion industry where trends are very sensitive, and development driven by image and status (ibid). Instead of relaxing in the garden or at the park at home to get your suntan, it’s more popular and trendy to go to Thailand and relax there while improving the suntan.

Tourist destinations can be said to pass through a product cycle (ibid). One of the main focuses for different tourist destinations is to stay attractive, and this forces them to keep themselves updated and “fresh”, otherwise tourists might choose to go to another destination.

Furthermore, Lutz and Prosser argue that while tourism in earlier decades mainly was focused on mass relaxation in sunny locations it’s changing more into giving the tourist an experience. The mass tourism with people visiting sunny resorts is still present, but now has to compete more and more with other types of tourism where you go hiking and/or river rafting instead of laying on the beach. Lutz and Prosser say that this change in the tourism industry can be seen as increasing market segmentation and product differentiation as people turn away from the mass packages for more individual experiences (ibid).
2.3.2. COMPLEXITY WITH TOURISM

The mass tourism of yesterday meets challenge today in a growing field of alternative tourism. According to Kirsten and Rogerson, the defining characteristics of alternative tourism are in direct contrast to those of mass tourism (Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002, p. 32). Ecotourism is one of these alternative forms of tourism, and focuses more on the respect for environmental and cultural qualities and aims to minimise the tourists’ environmental impact, than what mass tourism does, where the main focus can be leisure and pleasure for the tourist.

Buckley states that there are four main links between tourism and the environment, and due to the nature there is an environmental aspect to every sector of tourism (products and markets, management, money, and people) as shown in the box above.

Various organisations and agencies advocate different definitions of ecotourism. According to Buckley, environmental organisations have a more general focus on the aspects of sustainably-managed, nature-based, environmentally-educated, and conservation-supporting labelling tourism as ecotourism; while governments and the tourism industry have had focus more on the product, and linking the term ecotourism to nature-based tourism (Buckley 1994, p. 661).

Buckley continues and says it might even be unnecessary with a definition of ecotourism if you’re not going to use the term in legal or administrative documents, such as planning (Buckley 1994, p. 664).

Ecotourism is one of many definitions used by researchers for the term “alternative tourism”, as in contrast to “mass tourism” (Fennell & Dowling 2003, p. 2). Some say that the term “ecotourism” was formed by the Mexican environmentalist and architect Héctor Ceballos-Lascurain in 1983 and this definition has since 1996 been adapted by the IUCN, a global environmental network for non-

This graph by Buckley shows how environmental organisations see their definition of ecotourism in perspective of their four main criteria’s (Buckley 1994, p. 662).
governmental organisations (Mader, 2005). Ecotourism should not be mistaken for “nature tourism”, as nature tourism is more focusing enjoyment of natural scenery and appreciation of the nature (Sæþorsdottir, 2010, p. 38).

There are many other definitions of ecotourism that have been discussed by researchers, and none stands out as a better example than the others. Further, some are positive while others are critical (Fennell & Dowling 2003, p. 3; Bauer 2008, p. 279).

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES) was founded in 1990 in Florida, USA, as the first international non-profit organisation with focus on ecotourism as a tool for sustainable development and conservation. TIES works through networking between the tourism industry, institutions, and individuals. They also work with educating tourists and tourism professionals about the meaning of ecotourism.

TIES’s definition of ecotourism is “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people” (TIES, 2010).

Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) compiled a list of 9 characteristics that an activity must fulfil to qualify as ecotourism. He has adapted and expanded these 9 characteristics from James Butler’s publication “Ecotourism: Its Changing Face and Evolving Philosophy” published in 1992.

**CEBALLOS-LASCURAIN’S LIST OF THE 9 CHARACTERISTICS FOR ECOTOURISM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>It promotes positive environmental ethics and fosters “preferred” behaviour in its participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>It does not degrade the resource. In other words, it does not involve consumptive erosion of the natural environment. (Hunting for sport, and fishing, may be classified as wild land (green) tourism, but they are most aptly classified as adventure tourism, rather than ecotourism.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>It concentrates on intrinsic rather than extrinsic values. Facilities and services may facilitate the encounter with the intrinsic resource, but never become attractions in their own right, and do not detract from the resource.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>It is oriented around the environment in question and not around man. Ecotourists accept the environment, as it is, neither expecting it to change or to be modified for their convenience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>It must benefit the wildlife and environment. The question of whether or not the environment (not just people) has received “benefits” can be measured socially, economically, scientifically, managerially, and politically. At the very least, the environment must attain a net benefit, contributing to its sustainability and ecological integrity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>It provides a first-hand encounter with the natural environment (and with any accompanying cultural elements found in undeveloped areas). Zoological parks do not constitute an ecotourism experience (although they may contribute to the development of a person’s interest in ecotourism). Visitor centres and on-site interpretive slide shows can be considered to form part of an ecotourism activity only if they direct people to a first-hand experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>It actively involves the local communities in the tourism process so that they may benefit from it, thereby contributing to a better valuation of the natural resources in that locality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Its level of gratification is measured in terms of education and/or appreciation rather than in thrill-seeking or physical achievement; the latter is more characteristic of adventure tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>It involves considerable preparation and demands in-depth knowledge on the part of both leaders and participants. The satisfaction derived from the experience is felt and expressed strongly in emotional and inspirational ways.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.3. IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENT

The number of international arrivals generated by tourism on a global level has increased from 25 million in 1950 to about 880 million arrivals in 2009, with a peak of 920 million arrivals in 2008 (UNWTO 2010), and is one of the world’s largest industry sectors (Buckley 1994, p. 661).

According to Lutz and Prosser, all types of tourism cause impacts with positive and negative effects. These impacts can be divided into three wide categories: socio-cultural, environmental, and economic. The scale and character of tourism has impacts on the balance between these three categories (Lutz & Prosser 1994, p. 54).

Increased tourism in an area strains infrastructure and raises the risk of harming the values that visitors want to experience (Muhanna 2007, p. 39). Motavalli says it is obvious that almost one thousand tourists entering the Manuel Antonio National Park in Costa Rica each day affect the situation for the indigenous people and wildlife there, and continues, saying that it is also important that it is the local population that is working with the local tourism. The indigenous population can own and operate the tourism within its’ area to earn as much as possible from it (Motavalli 1995, p. 2).

The environment and population can only handle a certain amount before it starts to deteriorate. The “carrying capacity” is a concept that focuses on local areas ability to handle external influences, such as tourism and tries to explain the balance needed so that the output will not be exceeded. Since this might result in an exploitation of land and population (Wang 2009; Sæþorsdottir 2010), it can destroy the main reason for tourists visiting the area. Previous research shows that the problem with the concept of carrying capacity is that it is very difficult to give an exact answer regarding how many tourists an area can handle and the system of calculating the exact numbers has to encompass questions, such as the level of acceptable changes to the physical environment (Sæþorsdottir 2010, p. 30). Though the concept of carrying capacity is not perfect, it can still be a central part of framework regarding tourism development in an area.

2.3.4. POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND TOURISM

Since the UN proclaimed their Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000, tourism has been seen as a vital part in reducing poverty and has been incorporated by several global institutions, such as the ADB, IMF, UNWTO, and WB in their fight for reducing poverty (Harrison 2008, p. 852-852). UNWTO states that “poverty is characterised by hunger and malnutrition, poor health, lack of access to water and sanitation, lack of participation in education, lack of marketable skills, insecurity and vulnerability” (UNWTO 2004, p. 3). Can tourism help fight these problems?

According to Harrison, the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership (PPTP) was started in the UK in 1999 with focus on Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) after the government had requested a report on how outbound tourism from the UK could help improve the situation for poor people. They produced a wide range of case studies from several parts of the world to show how tourism could alleviate poverty. After the case studies the PPTP produced working papers to analyse different working methods, mechanisms, literature reviews, and other aspects that could be of importance to their work. The staff within the PPTP were involved in the initiative for the ST-EP project, later on adopted by the UNWTO (Harrison 2008, p. 854).
The UNWTO launched the Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) program with focus on using tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation in 2002 at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE EFFECTS OF TOURISM ON DEVELOPMENT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Job creation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social welfare</td>
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<tr>
<td>External debt reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diversification of the economy</td>
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Different positive effects that tourism can generate in developing countries according to UNWTO.

The ST-EP initiative can be seen as a response from the global tourism industry towards the UN Millennium Development Goal to halve extreme poverty until 2015. According to Muhanna the ST-EP is an approach toward tourism that directs benefits towards the poor (Muhanna 2007, p. 56).

UNWTO states that a well-developed tourism sector in an area can make it possible to help people start making their way out of poverty (UNWTO 2004, p. 9). Muhanna argues that an important factor for tourism to be able to fight poverty is that people themselves have ownership of the resources that are to be used for the tourism activities in the area. Also, a partnership between the private sector and the local and national tourism authorities might be required to be able to implement the ST-EP programme (Muhanna 2007, p. 55).

While ecotourism might be seen as tourism with a main focus on the environmental aspect with an approach of development and conservation it uses the incentive of cash for conservation. Ashley and Roe says that PPT has another goal, and that is to produce net benefits for the poor, as PPT covers more different aspects, and so includes ecotourism, community tourism, responsible tourism and many more other strategies to improve the situation for the poor (Ashley & Roe 2002, p. 63).

The UNWTO points out seven different mechanisms for maximising the benefits for the poor directly or indirectly from tourism. First, the poor can get employment within tourism enterprises. This can be as porters, guides, or other forms of employment that is requested by visiting tourists. Second, the poor can supply goods and services to the tourism enterprises, such as a local carpenter providing furniture to a local hostel business. Third, tourists can sell their own products to tourism, as example handicraft or food. Fourth, the poor can start up enterprises of their own or together in the community to make benefit from tourists. Fifth, national or local tax or levy on tourism incomes that benefit the poor. Sixth, a voluntary support by tourism enterprises and tourists directly aimed towards helping poor with different projects. Seventh, investments in infrastructure stimulated by tourism also benefiting the poor directly or through support to other sectors (UNWTO 2004, p. 17).
UNWTO argues that tourism is more capable of being an actor to alleviate people from poverty, as “tourism is better placed than many other sectors in relating to the needs of the poor” (UNWTO 2004, p. 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE EFFECTS ON DEVELOPMENT BY TOURISM</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumed at point of production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumers are more aware of production process and the conditions of those who are providing them with the benefit. Opportunity for direct interaction and additional purchases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative advantage over developed countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High value assets for tourism industry – culture, art, music, landscape, wildlife and climate. Can generate income and employment for surrounding communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributes to geographical spread of employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>¾ of people in extreme poverty live in rural areas, usually remote from the main centres of economic activity. Can provide new source of income where few other industries can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More diverse industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential to support other economic activity, both through flexible, part time jobs, and through creating income throughout a supply chain of goods and services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour intensive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Can provide a wide range of employment opportunities – from highly skilled to unskilled ones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employs more women and young people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing economic benefits and independence to women is important in terms of supporting child development and breaking the cycle of poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for small entrepreneurs</td>
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<tr>
<td>An industry in which start-up costs and barriers to entry are generally low or can be lowered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides understanding for unseen values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besides material benefits, values as cultural pride, environmental awareness and its’ value, a sense of ownership, and reduced vulnerability through diversification of income sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor communities can benefit from infrastructure needed for tourism, such as health services, water supply and sanitation, transport and communications</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table with positive impacts on development by tourism according to UNWTO.

The aspects listed in the table above can be interpreted as tourism being a key part in poverty alleviation through the different fields of interest where it affects people. Tourism is consumed at the location of production; it makes it possible to earn an income at the location were the tourists travel. Tourism can help to create an understanding amongst the local population for unseen values in their surrounding areas. Tourism also requires infrastructure that can be developed in a way so the local communities can take advantage of it as well. It is interesting that the list does not present any negative impacts of tourism in regard of development.

2.3.5. NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF TOURISM

While several sources studied points on positive impacts of tourism, not many of them focus on the negative ones. A danger with tourism and poverty alleviation according to Ashley and Roe is the risk of becoming too dependent on tourism as it’s a fluctuating industry, and it is important to remember that poverty is not only about the lack of financial assets (Ashley & Roe, 2002, p. 73).

While IUCN argues that tourism can be an important component for support of conservation of cultural and biological heritage, tourism can at the same time threaten biodiversity, diminish energy and water resources, displace agricultural land and open spaces, contribute to deterioration of cultural landscapes, increase poverty, and disrupt social systems (IUCN 2005, p. 177).

From a economic perspective tourism might be positive contributor, but it cannot be relied upon
as a source of guaranteed income as it is affected by political instability or global economic downturns (ibid, p. 106). Furthermore the report from IUCN also points to the importance of developing the domestic tourism together with other sources for economic profit, as ecotourism is a fickle industry and the flow of resources can be unstable (ibid. 109).

As example Cunha studied tourism impacts in wildlife in a national park in Brazil and found tourism to affect both nature and wildlife in a negative way. Through the studies Cunha found less mammals and birds in tourist visited areas, than in non-visited areas (Cunha 2010, p. 294).

Kasim focuses on negative impacts on both environmental and social structures because of tourism. As example Kasim mentions the contact between visiting tourists and local people as one factor that can lead to problems such as importation of lifestyle and culture that can have an negative effect on local values. Furthermore negative social impacts due to tourism may start before tourists arrive at a destination and may act as a catalyst for a transition from traditional local to western-styled modernization (Kasim 2006, p. 5).

### NEGATIVE IMPACTS BY TOURISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental</th>
<th>Social</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Habitats loss to tourism related developments particularly resort development in pristine areas.</td>
<td>1. Transition of traditional lifestyle to modernism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Land erosion and water runoff during construction.</td>
<td>2. Value conflict or deterioration of local identity and value system from the meeting of different cultures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Increased demand on water supply.</td>
<td>3. Loss of traditional economies in favour of tourism related economy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Increased demands on energy supply.</td>
<td>4. Potential displacement of local people in favour of tourism development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Increased burden on solid waste management.</td>
<td>5. Loss of authenticity of local arts and crafts to commodification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Air pollution from various mode of transport.</td>
<td>7. Increased crimes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Alteration of the natural environment in sensitive areas.</td>
<td>8. Low paying jobs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kasim 2006, p. 4)

The table shows negative impacts that tourism can cause on the local level according to Kasim.

Opposite to the chart with positive effects of tourism by UNWTO, Kasim highlights different negative environmental and social impacts due to tourism in the chart above (2006, p.4). These impacts span a wide range of questions important for development of tourism in a area. Both positive and negative impacts of tourism must be taken into consideration when tourism is used as tool for poverty alleviation.
Furthermore Kasim refers to Mowforth and Munt, who argue against alternative tourism. Amongst other things they argue that alternative tourism transform local cultures, traditions, and environments to be transformed into commodities that are consumed by tourists, and alternative tourism performs Western domination and control which lead to the developed countries to assume an subordinate relationship towards the interests from the developed world (Mowforth & Munt 1998 see Kasim 2006, p. 13).

2.4. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The sustainable development concept of today got an international starting point with the publication of the report “Our Common Future” of the WCED in 1987 (Mebratu 1998, p. 496).

“Sustainability is a concept that everyone purports to understand intuitively but somehow finds very difficult to operationalise into concrete terms.” (Gunder 2006, p. 211)

Sustainability can be seen as a condition or as a process. The quotation above can be put in the perspective on how to understand the concept of sustainability and sustainable development in the world of today. Researchers, people, companies, and authorities use different definitions when they use the word “sustainable”, and many may focus on what is most important for themselves.

2.4.1. THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

According to Mebratu, the concept presented in the WCED-report took its’ starting point in other concepts present at that time and was a development of those concepts. The report shouldn’t be seen as the final chapter of what sustainable development means, as this is an evolving process today (Mebratu 1998, p. 499). The United Nations’ WCED report “Our common future” gave a definition of sustainable development:

“Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” (WCED 1987, chapter 2/1)

Besides the definition the report also created five concepts for reaching the goals. These five concepts were: the needs of the future must not be sacrificed to the demands of the present; humanity’s economic future is linked to the integrity of natural systems; the present world system is not sustainable because it is not meeting the needs of many, especially the poor; protecting the environment is impossible unless we improve the economic prospects of the Earth’s poorest peoples; and we must act to preserve as many options as possible for future generations since they have the right to determine their own needs for themselves (Krizek & Power 1996, p. 11).

According to Krizek and Power the support for sustainable actions is growing and is something worth striving for, despite the uncertainties of what people might think it is. A sustainable society must balance the three aspects of social equity, environmental integrity, and economic prosperity (Krizek & Power 1996, p. 7).
In 1992 at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil the “Agenda 21”-agreement was written. The goal of Agenda 21 is to halt and reverse the damage on the environment globally and to promote development that is sustainable in all countries on the planet. To achieve this Agenda 21 urges that local communities develop their own sustainable plans for future development (Krizek & Power 1996, p. 11).

Another definition of sustainability that can be related to the WCED definition is the one developed by International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), which is an independent international research organisation with focus on sustainable development. Their definition takes the form from the three spheres of the ecological resource system, the economic system, and the social system. According to Mebratu the objective would then be to maximise the achievement in all three systems through an adaptive process at the same time (Mebratu 1998, p. 505).

The complexity of the definitions and concepts of sustainable development can be seen if we take a step back and look on who are behind the definitions and what is driving the need of sustainable development.

“...The definitions used in the research world today can be said to be deployed selectively by planners or politicians as a materialization of dominant institutional ideologies supportive of growth and capital accumulation that maintains the existing status quo of class inequalities.” (Gunder 2006, p. 209)

Gunder continues stating that instead of promoting a social change to consumer behaviour to meet the level of Earth’s carrying capacity, the discourse tries to justify the economic growth and that business is as usual with little regard to resource depletion (Gunder 2006, p. 209).

According to Bradley sustainability is a concept that today is used to defend the western way of living. Instead of rethinking our way of life and our consumption we, as in the western world, try to justify our conspicuous consumption through different actions. These actions can take form of companies reducing their environmental impact by reducing their CO₂ emissions by planting trees in Africa, or by paying for CO₂-compensation while taking the airplane. The question is not if it is bad to do these types of things, but instead we should ask ourselves if we can’t take the train instead of flying (Bradley 2009).

Bradley’s study shows that people with a background from not so developed countries may live a more sustainable life already, while people from developed countries are more used not to reflect over the exploitation of the natural resources surrounding them.

2.4.2. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

“The failure of developing countries to pursue development and environmental protection in a sustainable way can be explained by the necessity of first addressing basic human needs, the belief that environmental protection is too expensive, the non enforcement of existing environmental laws, inadequate market incentives, a lack of capital, non-democratic governance, suspect motives of investors and industrialized governments, and a lack of know-how and technologies.” (Hecht 1999, p. 115)
According to Hecht developing countries are struggling to gain economic growth while at the same time trying to find solutions on several other important questions. The policy makers have to struggle both with questions regarding environmental protection while handling problems with poverty, infant mortality, and lack of basic sanitation. Many times they can’t focus on all at the same time. A problem with concept of sustainable development is the conflict between environmental, economic, and social development. There is no consensus on what the core criteria for sustainable development are. Sustainable development can be seen as a system of transparent boxes, which can be create a stable working unity. These boxes contain different things depending on which level they are being used. Some boxes contain the aspect of a free-market economy, transparency of government operations, legislations, domestic policies, free press, and education. In some developing countries some of these boxes are empty or weak, thus making the development much weaker if not even impossible. Developing countries also face external factors that they can’t control, such as policies from international credit institutions such as the World Bank. In addition, the private sector is gaining more and more power as an actor for development in these countries (Hecht 1999, p. 111-112).

Hecht argues that sustainable development should be seen as a process consisting of creating and filling the transparent boxes with the right content. The goal isn’t possible to reach at once, but should be taken one level further up the pyramid when the right boxes on the level below are in position. Industrialised countries have a longer tradition of the population participating in decision-making while the majority of populations in developing countries are developing and exploring that concept now (Hecht 1999, p. 116).
2.5. DISCUSSION OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section the studied literature will be discussed and the understanding of the connection between planning, infrastructure, tourism, and sustainable development in the aspect of poverty alleviation.

2.5.1. THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

Rogerson states that the first years after the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1992, the focus on economic, social, and environmental questions were biased with the main focus on environmental questions. Tourism was seen as a form of sustainable use of natural resources and as a way to improve conservation. What was missing was a focus on how the tourism impacted upon the poor. Questions on how tourism could be used to improve the livelihood for people were more and more highlighted in the world research around 1997-2000, and at the WSSD in Johannesburg, South Africa, 2002 (Rogerson 2006, p. 42-43).

Through the global perspective tourism might be able to act as a generator for development and provide a possibility to improve the situation for people living in the areas affected by tourism, both financially and in regard of improved infrastructure and environment. Tourism generates some inflow of financial funds into areas, but not all ends up in the local community. Different form of external factors lowers the profit throughout the system from the start. Foreign tour operators, airlines, imported beverages and food are all different form of external factors that lower the profit for the local community. According to Muhanna a management of the leakages, and policies, for these outflows can help decreasing them, which is important for further positive development (Muhanna 2007, p. 49).

The illustration shows how tourism and poverty together are linked to other development perspectives, and how infrastructure being one of those also connects to several of the other sectors. It is based on Rogerson’s (2006, p. 44).
2.5.2. CHALLENGES WITH INFRASTRUCTURE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

While infrastructure can be seen as a crucial part for development it can at the same time be a problem for developing countries. Local communities might lack financial means, motivation, how to acquire knowledge, and how to organise themselves to build and maintain infrastructure.

According to Choguill a low-income community should not be left without infrastructure investments, but at the same time it almost always means that the local community has to provide it itself. There is often not a problem with technology, as it poses few problems assuming that technical assistance is available. The problem is rather the lack of will and financial aid, which often is missing (Choguill 1996, p. 400-401).

A well developed and functioning infrastructure can be important for helping people in their struggle out of poverty, while it at the same time might make an area more accessible for tourists. A challenge with infrastructure development in developing countries is that even if the national government is not able to provide infrastructure in low-income communities, it might be able to aid the community itself to do such work. In the reports of the African showcases (Kombe & Kreibich 2006; Nnkya 2007; Senkatuka 2009) and Choguill’s ten principles (Choguill 1996), and the enabling strategy (Vestbro 2008) all partners involved can work together to design infrastructure systems that can be built and maintained by the community itself, but still have the flexibility so it can be upgraded from small scale on-site systems to the general accepted conventional town standard if needed in the future.

The reports by Kombe and Kreibich (2006), Nnkya (2007), and Senkatuka (2009) all point to important aspects for what could be called Local Empowerment Planning (LEP). While Senkatuka’s report shows on how different steps can be used for implementing CPP, it also points on the importance of having an open approach to include all community members and understanding of some projects taking long time to finish. Furthermore, Kombe and Kreibich shows on the importance of training the local leaders so they have the ability and knowledge to guide development projects in the right way, while also include the local community when guidelines and policies are written. Nnkya’s study shows on flaws in a planning system with planners not being open for a dialogue with the communities where they develop plans and projects. The three reports all point at important aspects of how planning can be used and evolved to work in the local context. Together with the perspective of the enabling strategy discussed by Vestbro (2008) local communities have a possibility to take command in development of infrastructure affecting their areas.

Even though these reports mainly focus on urban areas, they contain key points that might be implemented and used in rural areas as well. There is a difference between countries and culture in regard of politics and how planning is performed by local communities and authorities, which should not be forgotten.

2.5.3. TRANSFORMATION OF THE PLANNING SYSTEM

According to Vestbro there must be a change in the planning process and profession (Vestbro 2008, p. 12). Strömgren analysed five major paradigms that has been present in the evolution of planning. While referring to Thomas Kuhn (1961) Strömgren states that a paradigm is a revolutionary transformation of a system, but he also states that the transformation of planning should rather be seen as an evolution. Instead of one discourse being present at
one time, several of them are present parallel to each other. The decisive change in planning theory came in the transformation from planning being a design tool to act as a rational decision-making tool (Strömgren, 2007, p. 62).

Sandercock’s arguments about a post-modernistic approach on planning could be set in the perspective of Strömgren’s wider analysis of the different discourses. Different dichotomies have different approaches on and advantages/disadvantages of different perspectives.

To visualise the differences, Strömgren developed the chart of the five planning evolutions he discussed with respect to the four ideology structures of planning according to Gullberg (1986). The chart should be read such that in the post-modernistic paradigm the rational thinking is marginalised and utopian thinking is limited. While Strömgren’s chart may seem complete, he does say that other discourses are present, but perhaps not so adaptable to this model of analysis (Strömgren 2007, p. 61).

If the planning system is not working, then there has to be a change in how it is formed and implemented. It is important that the community becomes aware of the existing system of planning, but also that planners are aware of the importance of listening to and working with the people when it comes to create plans (Kombe & Kreibich 2006; Nnkya 2007; Senkatuka...
2009). If this understanding does not exist there is a need of creating a platform for concept, and existing planning systems can be used as a springboard. If the existing planning system does not support this transformation, new planning system can be developed from scratch.

With the adaptation of a Community Participation Planning (CPP) process local indigenous population can be given the opportunity to be a part of the planning process. If there is no planning system existing, they should be supported to be able to create a planning system that focus on their needs and challenges and is under their control. While Vestbro analysed the enabling strategy through Turners research in Lima (Vestbro 2008, p. 6), the enabling strategy can be one way to create a planning platform that can be used to make local communities take control of the planning process.

2.5.4. TOURISM AS A MULTI-FUNCTIONAL ACTOR

Different countries have different cultures and customs, while tourism is a global phenomenon. As Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) in Tanzania is becoming more and more adapted to the local conditions existing there, it might be is possible to transfer that knowledge to Nepal, with its local context.

Harrison states that a problem with poverty alleviation through tourism is that it sets up certain boundaries. It focuses only on the poor, but also non-poor can benefit from it. It focuses on certain areas, while sometimes leaving neighbouring areas outside. Often it is focused mainly on measuring goals and achievements in money value and not, as perhaps would be better, in actual improvements of living conditions. (Harrison 2008, p. 860) A possible problem for poor people isn’t always the lack of financial strength, but perhaps the lack of support from the authorities to provide development to the communities, such as drinking water.

Jolliffe refers to Hall (ed. 2007) when stating that some critics say that the problem with only focusing on PPT is somewhat limiting the fight for reducing poverty with the help of tourism, as it can be said to focus on the market economy. Only focusing on consumption and financial development as the only good way forward PPT fails to address the structural problem of the world with the division between the developed and non-developed world (Jolliffe, 2009).

With the launch of the ST-EP initiative by the UNWTO there is a global growing discussion that tourism can help in the fight for poverty alleviation. A research of articles describing case studies from different locations in the world (Muhanna 2007; Campbell 2010; Choi & Murray 2009; Erkus-Öztürk & Eraydın 2008) shows on the possibilities of tourism to help improve both financial and environmental situation in poor areas. But, is money the only way to alleviate from poverty?!

Tourists leave footprints in the local area they are visiting. A tourist still demands resources that might deprive the local population from using them instead. When more and more tourists want to discover “untouched” areas – these areas are put under pressure. The indigenous cultures are affected and the way of living can be threatened by the need from tourists who want to “experience” how they live. The balance between preserving and evolving the local culture can be crucial when using tourism as a long-term generator for development. While the tourism sector wants the indigenous poor populations to gain benefits from it, it also changes
the preconditions for them. A challenge is how to handle the balance between preserving their way of life, while at the same time improving their living standard through tourism.

### TOURISM IMPACTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial</strong></td>
<td><strong>Water</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthen financial situation for people employed</td>
<td>Shortage, pollution - scarce resource that more people will have to share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let visiting tourist experience local traditions</td>
<td>Vegetation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the value of a keeping the environment clean</td>
<td>Deforestation and pollution of waste if no directed efforts are made from the start.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved communication</td>
<td>Animal life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved purification</td>
<td>Hunting, disturbing of natural habitats as tourism might want to discover more and more of the surrounding environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved communication</td>
<td>Exploitation / People pushed to new ways of life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved purification</td>
<td>Financial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>Overload of existing system requires extra investments to be able to handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased prices due to competition of resources can affect the local buy-power in a negative way</td>
<td>Sanitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape</td>
<td>Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed in scenery due to higher need of land and new usage</td>
<td>Higher degree of pollution from traffic, and more traffic on existing roads or paths</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tourism can be a viable tool out of poverty, but how can the poor gain positive effects of the tourism and not be exploited by it? Mass tourism often focuses on smaller areas and puts a high burden on existing infrastructural system and on socially and ecologically aspects as well, but can also be turned into a sustainable movement. For infrastructure development it is possible that tourism can generate the financial strength that is needed for the local communities to make investments for sustainable solutions. But if, as the UNWTO (2004) argues, tourism should be used as a poverty alleviation lever, it has to be put into perspective of what poor people want. Poor people are given a financial possibility through tourism, but it is possible that they are not in need of money. There are well-established self-sustaining communities where inhabitants keep their own livestock and cultivate their own crops in the fields. Thus tourism that focuses on financial input is perhaps not the best way, but instead tourism can be used for local empowerment through self-help. Knowledge about how tourism can be used to create the best possible platform for poverty alleviation is relevant.

2.5.5. THE COMPLEXITY OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The literature studied shows on many different fields of interest regarding sustainable development. According to Choguill there are great challenges that have to be overcome when trying to improve the living conditions for the poor. All actors involved have to work together with long time perspectives and NGOs should stop focusing on short period projects.
(Chougill, 1996), which might be a problem when NGOs might have a short implementation perspective for their projects.

There is also a possible conflict with the common use of the expression “sustainable development”. Researchers and stakeholders have different opinions (UNWTO 2004; TIES 2010) on how to define and how to work with the concept. Through the literature there is a linkage between the three spheres of tourism, planning, and infrastructure, with sustainable development. Infrastructure development can gain advantage if it is sustainable from the start, and planning can encompass the sustainability concept within its' field. Tourism might be doubtful as a positive factor for sustainable development as presuppose a global negative environmental impact through transportation, while on the other hand the financial input by tourism into areas can both be regarded as positive or negative.

A challenge with tourism as a tool for sustainable development is that it mostly focuses on a transaction of monetary funds from one part to another, where the receiving part is gaining money while supplying the donor with an experience. Tourism can be used in other ways than just as a monetary transaction. As example perhaps the indigenous population would want help with constructing or improving a walking path along a mountain slope instead of having money, and then tourists visiting an area could help with the construction. The sixth mechanism in the ST-EP, that says to maximise the benefit for the poor, can be seen as this type of support (UNWTO 2004, p. 17). This type of tourism can need backup from a system that helps tourists finding the right type of project they want to help with before departing for their journey, as well as helping the indigenous people gathering information about what they want to improve, and how they can do it.

The studies made by Kombe and Kreibich (2006), Nkya (2007), and Senkatuka(2009) point to the benefit of involving the local population in the planning process. With the involvement of the affected populations the planning process might become more sustainable from the social perspective. A possible advantage for developing countries in contrast to the industrialised world is that they are at a better starting point for environmental improvements and sustainable solutions of infrastructure, as they are not stuck in an non-sustainable high cost system. Instead of walking the long path of environmental destruction that the industrialised countries have been doing for several decades, they can utilise the knowledge and technology of today at once. They can implement improvements at the source instead of trying to fix the problem at the end of the pipe. Instead of working with the problems – they can work with prevention of the problems from even occurring.

Sustainable development cannot be copied and pasted into a country or community from somewhere else. With a national agenda for addressing sustainable development in cooperation with tourism, infrastructure, and planning, problems that arise on local level can be handled in a more sustainable way from the start.

2.5.6. OBSTACLES, CHALLENGES, AND POSSIBILITIES
Well developed and functioning infrastructure can be important for helping people in their struggle out of poverty, as well as it can make an area more easily accessed for tourists. With the usage of tourism poor people are given a possibility for an increasing access to economic
benefits and development. If people do not see tourism as a lever for their climb out of poverty it might result in no change. Thus knowledge about how tourism can be used to create a platform for poverty alleviation. But at the same time the local communities might not have knowledge how to start up tourism in their area. Collaboration between the local community and tourist operators might be one way were both could gain advantages.

A country’s national government can be ready to support local efforts through creating guidelines and policies regarding subjects that are of importance for tourism and development. According to Ashley and Roe, there are several obstacles when implementing PPT strategies and many of the obstacles are on policy-level (Ashley & Roe 2002, p. 68). National guidelines for tourism development can evoke why and how the efforts should be made to give the most back to the local community, if the guidelines are implemented into practice. Also the national government might have to realise the need of making investments in infrastructure improvements based on local needs and not on national policies.

Weak infrastructure might need improvements even before tourist can visit the area. Available funds can help to set forth these efforts and investments, but as Choguill states the financial aspect often poses problems (Choguill 1996, p. 401). If the government can’t supply funding, cooperation on national level with NGOs is one possible way to achieve the right goal. A coordination plan between all present NGOs, local authorities, and national government can be a helpful tool in guiding investments to important projects.

Ashley and Roe did a study over several PPT projects in South Africa, Namibia, Nepal, Ecuador, and Uganda and found different challenges that actors had to be aware of in different ways. These challenges were: the actual locations of the projects; possible economic segregation; the time it might take before the profit appears; how to handle low numbers of visitors; and the awareness of excessive expectations on the project among the community (Ashley & Roe 2002, p. 69).

Possibilities with utilising tourism for development can take many different forms. Educating people on why and how to handle food in a hygienic way so it reaches up to minimum standards for tourism will also spill over into the private everyday life. Everybody doesn’t have to do the same thing. Some might work as guides, while others work with providing food and logistics, and so each person might get more training within their field of work, which then can spread to friends or families. There are many different factors that need to be taken into consideration for developing a viable tourist industry that don’t deteriorate the area where it is located and help people in the way they want to be helped.

According to UNWTO tourism employs more women than other industries. In many developing countries the women stay at home to take care of the family and household while the men are away working. Through the development of tourism this can make the women more included in the support of the family, as they can be able to work from home. Empowerment of women is one part that can be of importance for a more local equal society, which can help in the poverty alleviation process (UNWTO 2004).
2.5.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Finding literature that focused on PPT and CPP in south Asia was a challenge. Most of the literature that was found focused on southern Africa, but it might still be valuable for my research, as tourism is a global phenomenon that adjusts to the location. It has a more common structure compared to cultures, communities, people, and localities, which are more diverse between different localities.

To achieve sustainable development of infrastructure for poor rural and urban areas requires efforts and knowledge. Many different aspects are important and complex and it might feel impossible sometimes to handle it. Breaking down a project and questions might make it easier to understand and work with the concept. Possibly it will give a better understanding of how complex the concept of sustainable development is and it how it can be implemented while creating a strategy for moving forward.

A local perspective when working with development projects can be useful. The local populations often know what they want, but perhaps not how to do it. This can help channelling efforts into projects that are more needed and wanted by the inhabitants. Secondly, these questions are important as they handle something that will affect people’s lives for a long time. Therefore they need to have a long time perspective. Building bridges if no one uses
them afterwards might seem as a waste of resources. Thirdly, present costs set in perspective of future investments. The cost for a project, technology, or idea today should not be more important if it turns out to be very expensive and difficult to keep maintained.

A situation with several different actors working on different levels in a project might make it difficult to have control over the entire process. The planner should have the capacity to orientate the actions, and also act in a supportive role towards the involved parties. The planner can have an active part in the process and work as a mediator between the local inhabitants, local authorities and NGOs involved in projects. A planner can act as a mediator and communication link between the public and the politicians, as a project coordinator and also help policy administrators with creating more sustainable policies that works with reality. There are many areas where the planner can make an impact for sustainable development, if the planning institutions present work as it is intended.

The mentioned possibilities also show the difficulties for the planner. To be able to work as coordinator, a planner has to have the knowledge or possibility to develop new perspectives on emerging aspects of sustainable planning. Planners have to be supported in the effort to adapt new knowledge to the local context where they work. The planner must also be careful when sharing knowledge with the public, so they don’t experience a top-down system but that they are a part of the process. Without support from the public it can be difficult to make changes to present systems that aren’t sustainable but that people are used to.

Through the literature studied it’s interesting to see the difference in presentation of tourism impacts. UNWTO (2004) naturally promotes tourism and but they did not highlight negative impacts of tourism to the same extent as the positive ones. There are several aspects of tourism that can have a negative impact on the location as shown by Kasim (2006), Ashley and Roe (2002), and IUCN (2005), which in some way has to be analysed when tourism is promoted into an area. The carrying capacity should be recognised and taken into the equation when starting discussions on how tourism can help the development of an area. If the area is “flooded” with tourists, important values might be lost that perhaps will turn the tourism into something negative for the people affected.

When reflecting about sustainable development of infrastructure in developing countries, they might have financial problems with implementing good ideas, but on the other hand they might have the advantage of not being “locked” into existing systems, as most developed countries are. In this way they are free to be able to adapt systems to the locality where they are to be used. Also the inhabitants’ opinion regarding what type of investments they feel are mostly needed can be included in the process, and not be forced into a model of amenities that authorities thinks is the best for them.
Photo: The Seti River outside of Pokhara. The soft bedrock is polished by the spring flood creating the rift.
3. ADMINISTRATION
The responsibilities of the DDCs, MPs, VDCs is regulated by on paper by the LSGA, 2055 / 1999 (LSGA 1999) and the LSGR, 2056 / 1999 (LSGR 1999). These laws contains all regulations and guidelines for how the DDCs, VDCs and municipalities should handle different matters, such as stipulated plans, agriculture, drinking water, transportation, education, physical development, forest, environment and many more.

According to Martinussen, the national government has since the 1990’s been working with transferring power from national level to local bodies, trying to increase the local self-governance in the country. The government recognised that it might have possible benefits if a more transparent local self-governance system were present. At the start of this work the government did express a concern that the benefits would depend on that the local bodies where strengthened financially, technically, and managerially from district level and down (Martinussen 1993, p. 29-30).

3.1. LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

The present legal framework sustains local government institutions on two levels: district level is one, and municipality and village level is the other. The country has 75 districts covering the entire country. These districts are organised into five development zones, which stretch in an east-western direction: the Eastern, Central, Western, Mid-Western, and Far-Western Development Regions.

Each district, managed by a District Development Committee (DDC), is divided into a minimum of nine and maximum of 17 Ilkas. The Ilkas are used for administrative and election related purposes and is not described more within this report. The districts are further on divided into smaller units depending on if they are located in urban or rural areas. In urban areas the units are called municipality and in rural areas they are called Village Development Committees (VDC). Each VDC and municipality is sub-divided into wards, which is the smallest administrative unit. The size and borders of the ward is set so that each ward has as equal number of inhabitants as possible, but this is not working as some wards have far more inhabitants than others in some areas. There are nine wards in each VDC and a minimum of nine wards in each municipality (Martinussen 1993, p. 32).

A VDC and a municipality are in large governed in the same way according to the LSGA. The responsible committee, or Village council, is consisting of a staff that is elected by the residents. Each committee consists of a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and one member from each ward. The Village council, where the VDC Chairman is leading, can form an advisory committee of maximum nine persons, representing people from all ranges in the society, and as well from NGOs. Besides this every VDC shall form a committee in every ward, where the elected member of the ward is leading, while the other four members are nominated by the VDC and not elected. Besides the elected members, the Government of Nepal (GON)
DEVELOPMENT REGIONS
A cluster of 9-19 Districts

VDC / MUNICIPALITY
A cluster of 9 / 9 - 35 Wards

DISTRICT
A cluster of 13-114 VDCs

ILAKA
A cluster of 4-5 VDCs

WARD

Illustration: The different levels of the administrative system in Nepal. Source: UN IPN, 2010a.
shall appoint a civil servant to serve as a Secretary. The Secretary might be transferred to another VDC, Municipality or DDC if GON wants that. Also the VDC and municipality may contract its own staff by using their own internal resources for salaries and other benefits (Martinussen 1993, p. 34-35; LSGA 1999, p. 8).

A problem with the stipulated system is that it isn’t flexible. The division of wards doesn’t always follow the delimitations of settlement patterns. Sometimes there number of wards is far less than the number of settlements or vice versa (Martinussen 1993, p. 36).

3.1.1. DISTRICT
The districts are just briefly described here, as they are not in focus of this study, while they still fill an important function. The districts are regulated in the Local Administration Act, 2028 / 1971. Each district is classified as a District Development Area with a District Development Committee (DDC) as the executive body (LSGA 1999, p. 63; p. 66). The DDC has several obligations on paper to fulfil regarding habitation development, education, health, agriculture, and more.

The DDC can form sub-committees with specific focus areas, such as education, or specific development of certain infrastructure if it is needed. Members of the sub-committee can also include representatives of NGOs, external experts, and other suitable persons, just as the advisory board on the VDC/municipality level.

3.1.2. MUNICIPALITY
There are 58 municipalities existing in Nepal (CBS 2009, p. 2). If an area within a district reaches a minimum set of requirements specified in the LSGA, it can be classified as a municipality. There are three different levels of municipalities: Municipal Corporation, Sub-municipal Corporation, and Municipality.

As shown in the table on the next side there are some specific criteria used when determining what type of status an area should have. These numbers show on a demand for a minimum of population, annual income and infrastructural minimum requirements. All these criteria’s should be questioned based on the following aspects:

a) The actual number of inhabitants is not exactly known today, as it the latest numbers of census data are from 2001.
b) There is no more explanation of what is meant by “annual income”. Is it taxation incomes, grants, or aid?
c) The requirement of infrastructure can be somewhat strange, as what is defined by “public gardens” as example, and what is the meaning of “minimum urban facilities”?

The municipalities do have a stronger financial situation than VDCs, but these very defined criteria can create a rather hard line between neighbouring VDCs and a municipality. As people move across administrative borders easy this can be a problem for municipalities as the number of inhabitants can rise faster than the income for the municipality, resulting in a lower number of financial funds per citizen for investments. In this way an urbanisation and expansion of population in a municipality can result in more problems than advantages.
MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS FOR MUNICIPALITIES

Minimum population of 20,000 / 10,000 in hilly and mountainous area
Have facilities for electricity, roads, drinking water and communications

SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS FOR LEVEL OF MUNICIPALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICIPAL CORPORATION</th>
<th>Inhabitants: &gt; 300,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual income: &gt; 400,000,000 NPRs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure: Except the minimum requirements also have main road and accessory roads pitched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education: Opportunities for higher education in different subjects and having at least one university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health service: Highly sophisticated level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sports: Infrastructure for international sports programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administrative requirement: Having existed as a sub-municipal corporation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUB-MUNICIPAL CORPORATION</th>
<th>Population: &gt; 100,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual income: &gt; 100,000,000 NPRs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure: Except the minimum requirements also have main road and accessory roads pitched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education: Facilitate higher level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health service: Facilitate higher level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sports: Ordinary facilities for national and international sports programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others: Have public gardens and city halls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administrative requirement: Having existed as a municipality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUNICIPALITY</th>
<th>Population: &gt; 20,000 / &gt; 10,000 in mountainous area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annual income: &gt; 5,000,000 NPRs / &gt; 500,000 NPRs in mountainous area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Infrastructure: Except the minimum requirements also have a minimum of urban facilities. For municipality in mountainous area there is no requirement of road facilities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(LSGA 1999, p. 29, 34-35)

The tables show the LSGA’s minimum requirements for what an area has to fulfill to be classified as a municipality.

3.1.3. VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
If an area can’t reach the levels required as a municipality it is given the status of a Village Development Committee (VDC). The VDC easiest described as every other area that does not reach the municipal requirements. Some VDCs cover a larger area and some a small area. The total number of VDCs is 3915 (CBS 2009, p. 2).

3.2. THE PLANNING SYSTEM
On the national level planning is administrated by the National Planning Committee under the Ministry of Local Development (MLD) through the LSGA and LSGR. The entire handling of DDCs, VDCs and municipalities is regulated through these laws. The VDCs planning is regulated with sections 43 to 54 (LSGA 1999, p. 19-23), and section 111 to 124 for municipalities (ibid, p. 48-52). For DDCs planning is regulated with sections 195 to 214 (ibid, p. 76-82).
A problem for the different authorities to create their different plans is that there are no guidelines on how they should look like and what type of information they should contain. It is up to every local body to decide on how to form their plans (Interview: PSMCO).

### 3.2.1. PERIODIC PLAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VDC</th>
<th>MUNICIPALITY</th>
<th>DDC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In formulating the plans, the Village Development Committee shall have to give priority to the following projects:</td>
<td>In formulating the plans, the Municipality shall have to give priority to the following projects:</td>
<td>In formulating the plans, the DDC shall have to give priority to the following projects:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Projects which are production-oriented and from which consideration may be obtained sooner.</td>
<td>(a) Projects which are income-generating and from which consideration may be obtained sooner.</td>
<td>(a) Geographical, economic and natural heritages of the District and present uses thereof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Projects raising living standard, income and employment of, and giving direct benefits to, the rural people, and contributing to the alleviation of poverty.</td>
<td>(b) Projects raising living standard, income and employment of, and giving direct benefits to, the people of the Municipality, and contributing to poverty alleviation.</td>
<td>(b) Possibilities of production in various sectors on account of comparative cost benefit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Projects which can be operated with low cost and larger people’s participation.</td>
<td>(c) Projects which can be operated with low cost and larger people’s participation.</td>
<td>(c) Areas comprising backward castes, tribes and poorer people and various development works done or required to be done in such areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Projects to be operated through local means, resources and skills.</td>
<td>(d) Projects to be operated through local means, resources and skills.</td>
<td>(d) Income-generating and skills-oriented development works for the women and children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Projects providing direct benefits to the women as well as backward class and children.</td>
<td>(e) Projects providing direct benefits to the women as well as backward class and children.</td>
<td>(e) Description of the completed projects under various sectors and provision on the operation and maintenance thereof.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Projects that can contribute to protect and promote the environment.</td>
<td>(f) Projects that can contribute to protect and promote the environment.</td>
<td>(f) Various sector related short-term and long-term developments works on the basis of development possibility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(g) Plans on human resource development in various sectors to be formulated by the local people themselves.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows what each local body should include in their Periodic Plan according to the LSGA.
All three local bodies should according to law regulation make a periodic plan (PP). The periodic plan covers a time span of five years and can be divided into different sectors such as: agriculture, forest and environment, social work, construction and planning, land and water resources, taxation and finance, and management of organisation. The PP lists projects that the authority want to do, and the given sum for that project. Information regarding which projects should be included in the plan is gathered on ward-level and then listed after priority. Depending on financial assets, then projects can be moved to the annual plan. The PP should be revised every year when the annual plan is approved, so it is kept updated (Interview: UDTC #2; LSGA 1999).

As there are no national guidelines, periodic plans can look different depending on which municipality or VDC that has made them. Also, very few municipalities and no VDC has made the periodic plan as they are supposed to. Pokhara Sub-metropolitan City has a draft of a periodic plan, but the Municipality committee has not taken it (Interview: PSMCO).

Some municipalities send their PP to the National Planning Commission (NPC) to get it approved (Interview: PSMCO). There is no requirement for this in writing in the LSGA, but as projects are funded in some part from the government, and the plan is approved by the NPC, then the MP feel it has a stronger argument for demanding funding for the mentioned approved projects.

These goals listed in the table on the previous side might look good in writing, but as there is a problem for municipalities and VDCs to create these plans, it seems more as something abstract and far distant goal than something that is connected with reality.

3.2.2. ANNUAL PLAN
The annual plan (AP) breaks down the PP into more precise projects that is planned for the upcoming year. Each project is listed and together with a specific budget. The AP is to be approved by the local committee for each area.

According to officials that was interviewed all three local authorities should do an annual plan for each year. Because of the weak economical situation in many areas this is not being made and in some areas where it is made the plans are not approved by the intended commission (Interview: PSMCO).

3.2.3. RESOURCE MAPS
According to the LSGA each local body shall have a resource map, reflecting the situation of the area, based on objective data that the VDC or municipality collects. This map is used for development projects within the VDC-area (LSGA 1999, § 44; § 112; § 199).

Nowhere in the LSGA there are any explanation on what type of data the resource map should consist of, other than stating that it should be consisting of “objective data” that each body collects. If presented as a map, or as a written document is not made clear.
3.2.4. Other Plans
There is a possibility for authorities to also make a Land Use Concept Plan (LUCP). This plan is has the time span of 20 years and contain mainly analysis, guidelines, and land use maps regarding the area it covers. It is revised every 20 year. Some MPs have made LUCP, and also DDCs can do that type of plan, but due to the financial situation of the DDCs, no one of them have made such a plan yet (PSMCO interview).

3.3. Taxation and Responsibilities of Local Authorities
Section 261 in the LSGA states that the local authority should do what it can do according to its’ sources, means and capacity when it comes to fulfilling the stipulated points listed in the LSGA. If the local authority does not have resources to perform a programme in accordance with the law, it should be done first when it receives assistances from the national government (LSGA 1999, p. 91).

There are differences between the different sections regarding VDCs and municipalities. One important is that municipalities have one chapter giving guidelines relating to the construction of buildings and is where questions concerning buildings in sorted out. This includes that anyone, including authorities, have to send in an application before erecting a building (LSGA 1999, p. 57).

The LSGA give rights to the local bodies to collect tax on certain goods and services, and regulates how to impose different fees (LSGA 1999, p. 24; p. 55; p. 82). Further on, the law also stipulates when a VDC or municipality have the right to demand compensation from people who, for example, pollutes the environment. There is a difference in the compensation fees between VDCs and municipalities. While a VDC have the right to demand a fee of 100 NPRs for polluting the environment (LSGA 1999, p. 28), a municipality has the right to claim 15000 NPRs for the same thing (LSGA 1999, p. 60). It was not investigated during the research if and how VDCs or municipalities used these types of fees.

The tax and fees regulation for all three bodies shows on a difference within which field they have the right to collect tax and claim a fee. For districts, they sometimes have to pass on some of the income from their fees to the concerned VDC or municipality (LSGA 1999, p. 83).
Photo: Fishing boats at Phewa Lake, Pokhara. The boats were also used to bring tourists out to a temple on an island in the lake.
4. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES
4.1. POLITICAL INSTABILITY
Nepal is today a country where people live in a political uncertainty after the last national election. The country has since some years left a state of uprising by the Maoist and a newly formed temporary government is trying to shape a new constitution for the country, after 240 year as a Hindu monarchy. In the elections of 2008 the Maoist won, but internal fighting have divided the party into two groups. One group stayed in the government negotiating with other parties, while the other did not, and this is perhaps the root of the problem. The group that left the government want their voices to be heard while the process with the new constitution is ongoing. They feel neglected after they proclaimed that they won the national election (Interview : Tuladhar).

The Maoist proclaimed bandh (strike) in cities and districts trying to affect the temporary government. These strikes can show up very fast and can paralyse the entire traffic system for days in some areas, or other form of effects. This has an effect on tourism in a direct way and many tourists are not aware of this situation until the strike is ongoing.

During the Maoist turmoil the numbers of international tourist arriving by air to Kathmandu dropped by 48 %, from 421,243 in 1999 to 218,660 in 2002 annually, while tourist arriving through entry points by land only dropped by 19 %, from 70,261 to 56,808 (NTB 2009, p. 9). The decline is not only connected to the Maoist uprising, but also to a highjacking of an airliner departing from Kathmandu to India (Interview: Timalsena & Rana). The decline in tourist arrivals went up again in 2002.

If instability should occur again, or if the situation of temporary strikes continues to happen, this might affect tourism in a negative way. As the tourism is generating large incomes for the country and gives employments to many people in villages and cities, this might have negative impacts through decreasing possibilities for people to earn an income.

During the time for the research the Maoist party proclaimed a national strike during several days after the 1st of May. The Maoists were not satisfied with the national government and the work to prepare a new constitution, so they proclaimed a unilateral strike that paralysed the country for a week. Shops and restaurants were forced to keep closed, except during a few hours in the evening, and no transportation was allowed at all. This strike resulted in negative impacts in some way for almost every person in the country, but the impact was more evident in the cities than in the rural areas. It was noted that people living in rural areas with own small farms where not affected in the same way, as they still could supply their family with food on a regular basis.
Without a stable working administration, the ambitions to attract tourists and develop tourism together with the aim of aiding indigenous people in rural areas with improvements of their everyday life might be endangered.

4.2. SOCIAL INEQUALITY

As Nepal has its roots in a mixture of Hindu and Tibetan religious traditions, the caste system has been present in the country for centuries and permeates the society at large. It affects the ordinary life and it is also connected to ethnic groups in the country. A law was passed in 1962 that made it illegal to discriminate against the untouchable caste. By law all castes are treated equal but the discrimination continues on a social level (Interview: UDTC #2).

Some castes are seen as supreme ones, while others are on the other side of the scale – the untouchables. Without going to far into this

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Largest Caste/ Ethnic groups (in percent) 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chhetri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tharu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(CBS 2009, p. 4)
complex system of caste, only one thing will be concluded, and that is that the system is present and it strongly affects the social structure of Nepal in a non-equal way.

4.3. BRAIN DRAIN
People are leaving Nepal and people express a wish to leave. In many areas almost all the men have left for working in other countries. The core reason for why they are leaving we might not know, but for many it is to work a couple of years abroad to earn money for their family in Nepal (Interview: Villager #1). Many people with low education work in rich countries, such as the United Arab Emirates, and return after a couple of year to their home village. This can be a good way for families to improve their economic strength, but might affect them negative on the social level. People who choose to work abroad seldom come home for a visit during their time of absence, as it is too expensive to return home just for a visit.

Also, highly educated people leave the country for work. After finishing their education in Nepal, or after studies abroad, they cannot find an eligible work for their skills. The country is in need of their high-educated citizens to be able to build up an organisation and administration in the country. This brain drain affects the country of Nepal in a negative way.

During the field study I met some families where the husband was working abroad. As an example I met a family where the husband was working in the United Arab Emirates, while his wife and daughter was living with his parents. Also, students I met in Pokhara expressed an urge to leave the country as soon as they had graduated from their education.
Photo: Informal dump site for waste behind a wall next to a sidewalk in Pokhara.
5. FIELD STUDY
This chapter presents a comprehensive presentation of existing tourism, infrastructure, and planning based on analysis and observations on location in Nepal. It also presents actors identified during the research, and gives an introduction of who they are and how they work.

5.1. INFRASTRUCTURE
The main focus of this chapter is to describe the general situation of the infrastructure in the Kaski district and in Nepal in general, while the three specific study areas, which are described in chapter 6, have a more local perspective.

The chapter is based on studies of the LSGA and observations made during the field study. Observations where made over several days while visiting chosen locations, but also in the surrounding area to the location where I stayed in Pokhara. Some areas were easier to access while other were more remote.

5.1.1. WATER
Who is responsible?
According to the LSGA the responsibility to provide citizens with drinking water is based on the local administrative level with municipalities and VDCs. They are supposed to supply people with drinking water within their area of responsibility. There is no explicit demand on the local authorities how to supply people with water (LSGA, 1999, p. 11; p. 39). For an area to be classified as a municipality it is obliged to supply its’ residents with water (LSGA, 1999, p. 34-35). It’s not defined in the LSGA on what level the water supply should be organized, nor in any other document that were studied.

Present situation
During the field study several water taps in remote villages and larger communities in rural areas were observed. These have mainly been constructed by the government, but are not always working nowadays, leading to water shortage. The water is not purified, and comes from natural water reservoirs and springs in the hills. In some villages people have connected their own water hose to the tap, so they have water at their own house. When doing so they reduce the amount of available water at the tap for people who cannot afford to connect a hose.

Observations in Pokhara showed that many inhabitants, but not all, have access to water at their homes. They have arranged this with connecting their own water pipes to the public water line. It’s not the obligation for the municipality to supply the citizens with water in their homes. The city takes it water from the Sati Khola river northwest of the city. It is not known if any treatment is used before the water is pumped out in the system. Sometimes there is water shortage also in the city area during the dry period, due to the lack of water supply. Many households have water storage tanks on their roof that works both as an extra supply, and as a pressure generating system.

An increase in density among the population puts a higher pressure on the need of water, as more people are gathered in one location without an increase in water sources.
But increased density also makes it possible for large-scale systems with a higher capacity for purification, and many can share the cost of investment.
Sustainability

The supply of water is so crucial for survival that the UN General Assembly proclaimed on the 28th July 2010 that access to clean water and sanitation is a human right (UN 2010a). Where water taps are left without being maintained and supplied with water people have to travel longer distances to get access to it. Proclaiming water and sanitation as a human right can also perhaps make it more difficult to make people pay for the service if they do not have financial means to do so, as it becomes something they might demand to be supplied with from the authorities.

In rural areas the access to water is often easier than in a city, even though it still can be a problem, because there is a lower population density. Sometimes natural springs in the surrounding environment help people with the supply of water, but by using these water springs the surrounding eco system can take harm, as a larger amount of water is being used for human needs. On the other hand water in rural areas often lack purification.

5.1.2. SANITATION

Who is responsible?
Municipalities are stipulated to “carry out or cause to carry out sanitation programmes in the municipality area” (LSGA 1999, p. 39), and for the VDCs the law state, “To make or cause to be made arrangements for necessary sewerage and drainage in settlement areas” (LSGA 1999, p. 13). This formulation of word might seem a bit unclear. What does the LSGA mean with the phrase “cause to be made”?

Present situation
The situation in municipalities and VDCs is something different than what the LSGA states. For the municipality of Pokhara, there is a working sewerage system, but it doesn’t cover the entire city, and no information could be found how the wastewater is treated. Many households use septic tanks, which private companies through Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) handle. These private entrepreneurs do not use the municipal dumpsite for the residue because they think the fee is too high. Instead they dump the residue on other locations that are not prepared to handle the waste. Still some households don’t have septic tank toilets and use the nature for their needs (Interview: Ananta).

In rural areas it was observed that sanitation is handled with either local biogas or septic tank system. The septic tank system requires someone to empty the tank when it is full, while the user empties the biogas system after it has produced gas that can be used for cooking. The gas is not high efficient, and the production is depending on temperature and access to waste, but lowers the need of wood for cooking. According to statistics from CBS 19 % of the households in the Kaski district have no access to toilet, while the total number for the Western Development Region is estimated to 45 % without access to toilet (CBS 2001).

Sustainability
The handling of sewerage in urban Pokhara is sustainable in that way that most of it is being taken care of. The problem is the actual handling of it. Private entrepreneurs have their own land where they dump the waste, and they do not use the municipal landfill
site. The idea of dumping waste like this in a non-suitable location cannot be seen as sustainable for the environment.

Sewerage in rural areas is handled in a different way. The biogas toilets observed was the most environment friendly system, compared to septic tanks that require someone to empty it when it is full and transport the residue to another location for treatment. Without road access there is an obvious problem how to handle the waste, and septic tank toilets were observed in areas only accessible by foot during the research. The biogas toilets observed are a sustainable model that mixes faeces from humans with manure from animals that then produces biogas that can be used for cooking. After the production of biogas the remaining waste is mixed and used as fertiliser on the fields. Where possible to implement the biogas toilet should be more interesting to use than the septic tank.

5.1.3. SOLID WASTE
Who is responsible?
For municipalities there is an obligation “To carry out and manage or cause to be carried out and managed the acts of collection, transportation and disposal of garbage and solid wastes” (LSGA 1999, p. 40), while for VDCs there is no such stipulated demand of service.
Present situation
The municipality handles waste management in Pokhara and roughly 33% of the municipal budget goes to just handle the landfill site and collection of waste (Interview: Ananta). It was observed during the stay in Pokhara that some areas were kept more cleaned than others. As example streets in the Lake Side area with many tourists were kept cleaner than streets at the city centre Mahendra Pul.

The solid waste management in rural areas was observed being not well developed. Plenty of plastic garbage and other non-degradable waste can be found almost everywhere: along walking paths; in irrigation ditches; in the farmers’ fields and along the side of the road. Some areas have received help in constructing pits where they can burn garbage. Plastic buckets have been placed in public locations in some villages and acts as waste bins. When they are full villagers empties them in burn pits where they burn the garbage. Compared to the city, it is still up to the inhabitants in the village to keep the waste away from the roads and environment.

Between the urban and rural areas the situation is very different. In the urban areas the population density is higher and, and because of totally different living habits, the amount of
waste produced per person is higher than in the self-sustaining communities on the countryside. No numbers could be found to support this statement, yet it was observed during the research that people in rural areas seem to have a lower need of goods they cannot produce by themselves. With this people in cities in general can be said to generate more waste than people in rural areas. Even if some cities have waste management it’s not enough to take care of all the waste produced.

It was observed during the research that in some areas with an existing road the amount of waste was higher compared to areas without access to a road. A road might be one reason for the increase of waste, as the road makes it possible to transport more goods back and forth between areas, and thus helps in the transformation of a community from providing themselves with what they need to be depending on shopping and consumption.

**Sustainability**

No documents or policies were found during research regarding how municipalities or VDCs should handle the question of sustainable waste management, yet many people whom I met during the research talked about the importance of it (Interview: Dawadi #1; Gurung #1; Shrestha #2; Villager #1). The handling of waste in some rural areas is intended
to be sustainable, but a question should be raised if it is. It’s not a sustainable solution to bury non-degradable and hazardous waste in the ground, and burn the rest. This was what people told me they had been taught to do by NGOs who had given them training in waste management (Interview: Villager #1).

If waste management is emphasised in conjunction with tourism development people might understand the importance of keeping the environment free from waste. It might be possible for people to understand the importance of good waste management if it is connected to the economic perspective of tourism and development.

In the urban areas people were observed keeping their own home tidy and clean, and many dumped the waste into the street. The impression was that people did not care about the waste as soon as it was out of their home. The lack of waste awareness can be a difficult task to challenge, but can be seen as rather important if the goal is that people should handle waste in a more sustainable way compared to what many do today.

5.2. PLANNING

As described earlier in chapter 3 there is a developed administrative system in Nepal. That is true for some areas, such as the municipalities, while for VDCs it is not so. While conducting the research in Nepal the reality and what was written in the law was not coherent. During interviews and observations it was made clear that while the LSGA and LSGR stated something, it was something else in reality (Interview: Müller; Shrestha; Mahat; Ananta; Dawadi).

During the research the country was in a political turmoil as the country had held national elections with an unclear result, and due to that no local elections had been held. Because of that there were no local politicians present that could approve plans and strategies for the local administration. As an example, the PP (Periodic Plan) in Pokhara had not been signed, as there were no politicians to do so (Interview: Ananta).

In the visited VDCs the situation was even direr. Because of the weak financial situation several VDCs does not have the financial capacity to employ planners, yet they are in need of it. Sometimes it has happened, then in cooperation with other VDCs, but these plans and projects are very rare (Interview: Gurung).

A conclusion of the studied material is an impression that the present planning system in Nepal is not adapted to the local context in the country. The structure of the LSGA and LSGR together with how the local administration system is organised does not correspond with the diverse culture and local traditions in Nepal. It was not possible to get information of who wrote the LSGA and LSGR, or in what context they were evolved, but they can have been written in support of foreign nations with an intention to aid. The structure of the local administration with municipalities and VDCs shows strong similarities with developed countries, but on a smaller scale. It’s also evident that the structure is not adapted to the local conditions as interviewees pointed on the fact that while municipalities did have planners, almost no VDC had any (Interview: Müller; Shrestha; Gurung).
5.3. TOURISM

In 2008 tourism in Nepal generated revenues of a total sum of almost 352 million USD (CBS 2009, p. 9). During 2009 the total numbers of visitors were 509,752 (NTB 2010a, p. 29). SAARC countries contribute with 29.3% of visiting tourist, Asia (excluding SAARC) 22.04%, Europe 26.68%, and Americas and Oceania together represented 11.44%. Trekking, together with holiday and pleasure, and religion, is the highest ranked reasons for tourists visiting Nepal (MTCA 2009, p. 27).

There has been a general increase of tourists arriving to Nepal during the last eight years. Statistic shows a drop of international visitors from the peak year 1999 to 2002. This drop is, according to staff members of the NTB, connected to a hijacking incident that occurred on flight leaving Kathmandu for India (Interview: Timalsena #2). Also the Maoist uprising that re-started in 1998 may have affected the flow of tourists. According to statistics the number of tourists from India by land didn’t drop as dramatically as the number of tourists arriving by air (MTCA 2009, p. 7). The drop stopped in 2002, and since then the number of tourists have gained lost ground and peaked in 2007 with 526,705 tourists and (MTCA 2009, p. 9).

NTB have a clear and defined tourism policy were they highlight visions, objectives, policies, and other aspects of tourism and how they want to handle these questions (NTB 2010b).
vision of the policy is to develop Nepal as a unique destination through promotion of natural, cultural, and heritage experiences. The goal is to improve the living standard of people through tourism activities by sustainable use of national heritages. In the policies section there are different action policies guidelines for development of agricultural and eco tourism.

The tourism policy is in line with the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals, where two of the goals are to end poverty and hunger, and environmental sustainability (UN 2010b) and with the UNWTO ST-EP programme (UNWTO 2010a).

5.3.1. MAIN DESTINATIONS FOR TOURISM
For trekking and mountaineering the Annapurna Conservation Area, Sagarmatha National Park (Mt. Everest), and Langtang are the main target areas. In 2007 these areas had a joint market share of 94% of all trekkers visiting Nepal, with the Annapurna Conservation Area receiving 59% alone of the total number (MTCA 2009, p. 49).

Regarding urban areas, Lumbini received a total number of 82,046 visitors in 2008 while Pokhara had 145,017 (MTCA 2009, p. 64-65). Also every tourists arriving by air visit Kathmandu, as the only international airport is located there. All these numbers do not say if a tourist visited one or many of these sites during one visit to the country.

![Total number of travel agencies, trekking agencies, and trekking guides in Nepal between 1999 - 2008.](image)
5.3.2. DIFFERENT TYPES OF TOURISM

Adventure tourism
With the world highest mountain, the Sagarmatha (Mt. Everest) reaching 8848 meter, and seven other peaks over 8000 meter as well, the Himalayas form an unbroken mountain range along the entire northern part of the country (CBS 2009, p. 2). In this aspect it’s not difficult to understand why trekking and mountaineering is attracting so many tourists to the country.

Trekking and mountaineering is the second largest (MTCA, 2009, p.27) reason for international tourists visiting Nepal, and can be seen as adventure tourism. Together with river rafting and mountain biking, which are more newly developed attractions, the adventure tourism is well extended over the country with easy accessibility through trekking agencies in larger cities and tourist centres.

The adventure tourism has developed into large-scale tourism in Nepal, with hundreds of different agencies all over the country and thousands of guides. The number of travel agencies increased from 2003 to 2008 with 22.4% to a total number of 1220, while the number of trekking agencies increased with 12% to 977. The total number of registered trekking guides in the country increased to 5356 in 2008, compared to 1967 guides in 1999, an increase with over 270% (MTCA 2009, p. 77). While trekking agencies are specialised in trekking, travel agencies may also offer this service, together with other services as well, such as river rafting or other types of visits that tourists wants to do.

Pilgrimage and cultural tourism
Nepal is a multi-cultural and multi-religious country where all large religions are present. Several locations have strong connection to Buddhism, Hinduism and Tibetan culture. NTB promotes pilgrimage tourism on their website by pinpointing different locations that are connected with religious events and happenings (NTB 2010c). Many of the sites are also listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (UNESCO, 2010a). Some sites combine both pilgrimage and trekking, as they are located in remote areas with no other option than reaching them by foot.

In 2008 about 9% of all tourists who visited Nepal specified that they came visited the country for pilgrimage (MTCA 2009, p. 27). Also other parts of the country are strongly connected with pilgrimage as many Hindu and Tibetan sacred places are located in the country.

A site of importance for pilgrims is the site of Lumbini. Siddhartha Gautama, the later religious icon Lord Buddha was born there in 623 B.C and people come here for worship or just experience the atmosphere. The site was listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1997 and is under development to be a Buddhist pilgrimage centre (UNESCO 2010b).

Responsible tourism – Home Stay
As a counterweight to the large-scale tourism the concept of Home Stay has evolved (Interview: Timalsena #3). It can be described as a Nepali version of the Bed & Breakfast concept in Europe, but more focused on giving tourist a direct encounter with local Nepali culture and traditions. With 3915 VDCs, and almost 86% of the population living in rural areas (CBS 2009, p. 3), rural tourism has its' aim focused on link-
ing tourism with developing the standards of villages, as well as sustainable development through generation of income, employment, and creation of local markets for handicraft and agricultural products (NTB 2010d).

As a tourist you stay in the house of a Nepali family, or in a community built house in the village, where you find all the basic amenities you need for your stay. You may have a separate bedroom from the family that you sometimes share with other tourists, and the family or villagers serves you traditional Nepali food they prepare by themselves from local crops and livestock. Local guides take you on local tours to surrounding areas if you want that, and it is also possible to camp at special designated campsites. The enterprise is totally owned and operated by the local people, while external agencies can hire local guides and lodging in the areas to take groups of tourists there. The main focus is that the vast majority of the income goes directly to the village in some way, with the promoting agency taking a small fee (Interview: Dawadi).

There is no documentation of when the first home stay project started in Nepal, but it is today one of the most important development of the tourism sector that the NTB is promoting now (Interview: Timalsena #2). There is today no collective national organisation to coordinate the home stay tourist industry, but NTB have a preliminary number of 942 beds within different Home Stay locations (Interview: Bhattari). The programme is seen as a form of responsible tourism by the NTB, by which they mean that the tourist visit indigenous people on their preconditions and in several aspects act responsibly towards social-economic development and the environment.

Through Home Stay villagers gets leverage to help themselves out of a scarce situation, as they earn money directly from tourists who visit them. The local community can also receive funds in this way that they can use for different improvements of what they see fit. Supporting NGOs give training to people on how to prepare food and handle tourists, so a minimum hygienic standard is presented, and to help people on how to improve the infrastructural level, so that both tourists and they get a better standard of service (Interview: Ananta).

5.3.3. NEPAL TOURISM YEAR 2011
The Nepal Tourism Board has proclaimed year 2011 as “Nepal Tourism Year” with the main target on the international tourists, but also with focus on developing the domestic tourism. NTB want to attract one million international tourists to the country, make at least 40% of them visit new and emerging areas, and encourage investments on tourism infrastructure (NTB, 2010e).

To reach this goal the NTB have so far adopted promotional strategies, but no deeper strategies on how to handle the flow of tourists have been presented at the time of research. They are working with these policies during the time of the research (Interview: Timalsena #1).

International tourism
The goal of having one million international tourists arriving is ambitious, as the total number of visits during 2009 was 509752, according to NTB yearly statistics (MTCA 2010, p. 29). This would result in more than twice as many tourists, and with the goal of getting 40% of
them into new areas will create high pressure on the existing infrastructure in those new areas. Even if the objective with the campaign is to improve and extend the effects of tourism and to develop community capacity in new areas to supply the tourists with what they need, it will lead to a lot of investments during a short period of time.

India is the largest contributing country with regard to the number of tourist, based on official statistic. In 2009 a total of 86696 Indians arrived by air (NTB 2010a, p. 28), representing almost one fifth of all tourists. The number might be higher, as Indians crossing the land border isn’t accounted for. Nepal wants to attract 200000 tourists from India during NTY 2011 (Nextyatra 2010).

The ten largest contributing countries to visitors to Nepal during 2009 (MTCA 2009, p. 29) are in descending order: India, Sri Lanka, U.K., U.S.A., China, Thailand, Japan, France, Germany, and South Korea. These countries represent 65% of all visiting tourists during 2009.

**Domestic tourism**

NTB has no collected historical data over domestic tourism, but expresses a need to start doing so (Interview: Timalsena #2). The domestic tourism does share some of the destinations together with the tourists from abroad, such as Kathmandu, Pokhara, and Lumbini. Also Chitwan, and Palpa are cities of importance for domestic tourism. Almost 60000 domestic tourists visit Pokhara and Chitwan yearly (Ghalegroup 2010).

While international tourists, except India, prefer to visit the country between August and March, the domestic tourism is not that depending on seasonal changes. The situation for

The two graphs show when during the year tourists from different countries visits Nepal. The numbers are from 2008 (MTCA 2009). India is inserted into both graphs as a reference and it is interesting to see how visitors from India peak during the hot summer, when there is a decline in tourists from every other country. This can be explained with the hot summers in India and people trying to find a cooler location in the Himalayas. The peaks for Sri Lanka during August is most likely explained through religious festivities.
the tourist sector can be strengthened, as a better-developed domestic tourism can help to replace the natural decline of international tourists during the off-season.

NTY 2011 is focused on promoting foreign tourists to visit Nepal, but also claim in the objectives for the campaign to “promote domestic tourism for sustainability of industry” (NTB 2010e). No other documentation about promoting domestic tourism can be found in the material at the official NTY 2011 site (NTB 2010e). Nepali citizens don’t have to pay entrance fees for entering conservation areas and national parks, so people living in these areas will earn less money per domestic tourist visiting the area.

With 30% of the population living in poverty (CBS 2009, p. 2), a question should be raised concerning who is beneficial from the domestic tourism. Will it just be the high-income class that will be the target group to attract as tourist, and who will be the target group at the destinations? Another question regarding domestic tourism is how to make it possible for people with weaker financial situation to be participating. Is it possible to develop a low-income domestic tourism and how could people benefit from that?

5.4. ACTORS
While conducting the research six different groups of actors were identified as in some way involved and contributing to the development process of infrastructure in communities and municipalities in Nepal. These six actors are described with a short presentation of how they work and their function in the following chapter. There are several more actors than these presented, but these where the most active ones that were found while performing the research on location in Nepal that had the most connections with the focus of the report.

5.4.1. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NEPAL TOURISM BOARD
The Nepalese government has a main focus on stipulating laws and regulations for governing the country. Communities, citizens, tourists, and companies all have to follow these laws and regulations. The government can use funding and rules/laws to improve the infrastructure development in the country. Through the LSGA and LSGR municipalities and VDCs are given responsibilities, such as development and taxation towards their inhabitants.

To improve the control over, and knowledge about, the tourism sector the government launched the Nepal Tourism Board (NTB) in 1998 (Interview: Timalsena #2). NTB is a cooperation agency between the government of Nepal and the private tourism industries. NTB acts as a spider in the middle of a complex web trying to have an overview over the entire tourism sector in Nepal, while also making directed investments into areas from time to time. These types of investments can take form as direct infrastructure improvements, but also as training for people who want to develop tourism in the area where they live. NTB works mainly with forming policies and developing programmes for own projects, or for implementation together with NGOs (ibid).

NTB has, on behalf of the government, launched the “Nepal Tourism Year 2011”-campaign on the 14th of April 2010, with the goal to attract over one million tourists visiting the coun-
try and having 40% of these tourists to visit new areas where tourism of today isn’t present. The reason for this is to let new areas make a benefit of tourist generated incomes and development. How to handle these new tourist flows into the new areas has not yet been analysed. (ibid) At the time of the research no policies had been made that I could analyse for this report.

Besides the NTB the government is also active in development related projects through different Ministries that work together with international NGOs in different institutions. The Local Development Training Academy (LDTA) in Lalitpur is one of these projects where the Ministry of Local Development works together with the GIZ from Germany. The mission for LDTA is to “Enable the Local Authorities to efficiently cater the needs and demands of its citizens by strengthening institutional and Managerial Capabilities through human resources development” (LDTA 2010). The LDTA is organized with the campus in Kathmandu, and eight local training centres with different focuses spread out over the country. One of these local training centres is the Urban Development Training Centre (UDTC) in Pokhara (Interview: Müller; Doehne).
5.4.2. COMMUNITIES AND THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION

This is perhaps one of the most important actors of all. This group is the one group that is most affected by tourism in both positive and negative aspects. Tourism puts pressure on the infrastructural systems that is present to supply the indigenous people with basic service, and can make it more difficult for people to improve their own living standard. At the same time they are receiving incomes through the tourism, if it is developed and managed with that in focus.

Because of the weak tax system in Nepal the smaller communities do not collect much in tax revenues, if they even collect anything, even if they have the legal right to do so according to the LSGA. Some VDCs use entrance fees for tourists as one possible way to get some sort of income from the tourists. The money earned is then used in different projects with different focuses that the VDC decide. Some VDCs uses their tourist incomes to improve infrastructure and support the village with schools, since the government isn’t capable of doing that everywhere (Interview: Villager #2).

It was observed that among the communities and the indigenous people there is a lack of knowledge regarding sustainable development. In some way they do get help from NGOs for
developing the infrastructure, but then it is up to the NGOs to give them aid that results in sustainable systems. Some people are more focused on getting any kind of help, without thinking of what type of impact that can have on the local environment (Interview: Villager #2).

In some areas VDCs have joined together in forming larger local bodies that work together with common questions. The Machhapuchre Model Trek Development Committee (MMTDC) consists of seven VDCs (Lahachowk, Ghachowk, Machapuchre, Rivan, Lwanghale, Sardikhola, and Dhital) that together with ACAP and TAAN focus on how they can develop tourism together in their area. The idea with the trekking route is to achieve development while at the same time make people aware and motivated to preserve their indigenous culture. (Interview: Gurung).

While Nepal is a poor country compared to others in money (UN-OHRLLS, 2010), it is rich in nature and natural experiences for visitors and citizens. The nature and values connected to it is an important factor for attraction when you analyse commercial material for visiting Nepal as a tourist. With only 14.2% of the population living in urban areas (CSB 2009, p. 3), the remaining population live rural areas where the nature and natural scenery are possible for tourists to experience. Many people try to find different ways of earning some sort of income to support their families, and some do so by moving abroad for work, or move to other parts of the country where they might have better preconditions to get a job (Interview: Villager #1). This can be a problem in the long term aspect of community development, as people might be more interested of earning money fast, and the development of sustainable infrastructure might require more time and more investments from start. The weak tax system also contributes to the communities depending on some sort of financial aid from external actors.

5.4.3. PLANNERS

Unintended I was given the possibility to meet several planners the first two days after my arrival to Pokhara, as the UDTC gave a training program at that time. Many of them had studied at universities to become technical engineers. In the group I met it was about a 50/50 division between women and men, and they worked in several different municipalities. No one of them worked in a VDC.

The organisation of the planning system in Nepal regarding planners is formed around municipalities and VDCs on local level. Some municipalities have a planning office, while almost no one of the VDCs has any, according to Mahat (Interview: Mahat). No guidelines or regulations were found on how planners are used in the everyday organisation of the local authorities. Most VDCs have no planners at all, but sometimes some of them have cooperated in larger numbers to hire an external consultant for specific tasks.

Planners are active mainly in the municipal level and not so often on VDC level, mainly because of the weak financial situation of the VDCs (Interview: PSMCO). They can act as a key player for drawing up guidelines and policies regarding development and sustainability, but as the system is irregular it can be difficult for planners to reach out with support for people who want to develop certain things. While planners are intended to be the connection between the national guidelines and laws and local population according to the LSGA and LSGR, it is not so in reality, as they are almost non-existing. A problem with some municipalities is
the non-existing impartialness, as the planners are the ones making the drawings/maps for applicants and at the same time is the one who approves the application (PSMCO interview). If this is connected with the non-working political system present at time of the research is difficult to assess.

5.4.4. TOURISTS
Tourists who come and visit Nepal can be an important contributing actor for development, they generate a flow of financial assets to people and companies, and in some areas they are the sole external source of income for the indigenous people living there.

During the studies it was observed that the Thamel district in Kathmandu and Lakeside in Pokhara show how the tourism have taken over these areas as they nowadays are mostly focused on tourism with several gift shops, national travel agencies, restaurants, and shops with international merchandises.

Furthermore it was observed that tourism doesn’t only mean money and stronger financial possibilities for people. When tourists arrive to an area they put pressure on the existing infrastructure and creates a need for improvements it if it is weak. Tourists stress the existing infrastructure and take local resources in possession where they choose to visit. This can mean that people living in areas where tourists start visiting might get fewer resources for their own everyday life. Tourists in general also mean that more waste is produced. As there is a lack of good system for waste management in many areas in Nepal this means more garbage dumped in nature.

Awareness and behaviour amongst tourists about how to act in a way to make a small impact on the environment as possible could perhaps help the development of more sustainable solutions regarding tourism as a generator for sustainable development.

The NTB keeps records of the numbers of visiting tourist to Nepal. On one hand these numbers show international tourists, but these numbers do not show the largest number of visitors, which comes from India on a day-to-day basis. India and Nepal have a mutual agreement so a citizen who wants to cross the border does not need a visa. Only the number of national Indians arriving to the airport in Kathmandu is recorded in the statistic from NTB (MTCA 2009).

5.4.5. THE TOURISM INDUSTRY
The tourist industry is a privatised sector in Nepal and is important for the country, as many people are working within it or have their daily income based on some activity connected to it.

Based on observation the tourism industry can be described with Pokhara as an example. Pokhara is one of Nepal’s largest “tourists centres” in regards of visiting tourists (MTCA 2009, p. 3). In Pokhara the tourist industry has taken over the area closest to the Phewa Lake, called Lakeside. From here the hotels, lodges, and different agencies serves tourists with a multitude of possible experiences, from trekking, paragliding, river rafting, to easy relaxation. They can arrange everything that the tourists want, so that the tourists just have to jump into the minibus and be transported to the next event when stepping out from the hotel. As an example they drive tourists up to Sarangkot viewpoint so the tourists can see the sun rise over the Himalayas. By do-
ing so they give the tourists what the tourists want, and earn money for it. But in this way they also take away possible incomes for people living in the Sarangkot area. Instead of making the tourist’s stay in an area, many tourist companies transport the tourists around and keep all the earnings to themselves. Instead of cooperating with the local actors, many of the larger tourists companies tend to just focus on their own profit. And as these actors put the profit in their own pocket they reduce the possibility for indigenous populations in visited areas to earn an income based on the tourism.

Visiting tourists sometimes need assistance to get access to some areas in Nepal. This help is seen in the number of travel and trekking agencies concentrated to some city areas. While I was staying in Kathmandu during the research several people approached me almost daily with requests if I wanted to go trekking while I was moving around in the tourist-crowded Thamel district in the city. This also happened while visiting the Lakeside district in Pokhara, which also is a very touristic zone in that city. The growth in number of agencies and guides correlate to the concentration of tourism based enterprises in these areas.

Also, the tourist industry affects the infrastructure directly in many different ways. One way is how larger touristic sites are established in more remote areas that later generates more tourists
and in that way increases the demand for a functional infrastructure, as increased transportation demands improved roads, or how to have a better sanitation level to keep the tourists satisfied. According to the KEEP-foundation many working within this sector want to earn more money and many companies and agencies use tourist attractive words such as “eco friendly”, “sustainable”, and so on in their advertisements without really working for what these statements mean (Interview: KEEP). It was not possible to confirm these statements.

5.4.6. NGOs
There are several organisations that work to promote a better way of tourism in different ways. During the research some were interviewed regarding how they work to promote their projects. Organisations like KEEP, TAAN, ACAP, and many others work down on the primary level in direct connections with both tourists and tourist agencies. These target groups can be seen as the most important groups to address when it comes to promoting a more sustainable and environmental friendly tourism.

KEEP (Kathmandu Environmental Education Project) focuses on making tourists aware of the environmental problems with tourism in Nepal. They promote a way of acting as a tourist that minimises the impacts of your stay, with advices such as using iodine pills to purify water instead of buying water on plastic bottles. They mainly work in Kathmandu, as this is the entry point to the country for most of the trekking tourist. They also work with trying to improve the conditions for porters that are commonly hired while tourists go trekking (Interview: KEEP).

TAAN (Trekking Agencies Association Network) is an umbrella organisation founded in 1979 working all over Nepal with its main focus on the trekking industry trying to improve and enhance the situation for people being employed by agencies. It was founded as agencies felt a need for a single organisation that could be responsible for developing policies and guidelines for adventure tourism in the country, as the mountain environment was becoming more and more stressed because of the increased flow of tourism (Interview: Dawadi).

ACAP (Annapurna Conservation Area Project) can be seen as either an NGO or a part of the government, as it is organised under the National Trust for Nature Conservation (NTNC), though it doesn’t receive any funding from the government. The ACAP was founded in 1986 and is focusing on preserving and developing the Annapurna Conservation Area (ACA). The area covers 7629 km², which is 5.2% of the country, and is the largest conservation area in the country with 78000 visitors in 2009. ACA covers 5 districts and 35 VDCs, and each VDC works with protecting and managing all natural resources within their area. The main focus for ACAP is to work with conservation of resources, community development, tourism management, and education. ACAP not only works with their own area, but also with promoting sustainable development of tourism outside of the area through their knowledge and skills developed over the years. ACAP’s funding is solved through an entrance fee that ACAP is allowed to take from visitors. The fee is 2000 NPRs for foreigners, 200 NPRs for SAARC (South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation), while it is free for Nepali citizens. Members of SAARC are except Nepal: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. People living within ACA have agreed to follow stipulated codes of conduct that the ACAP have presented. These codes of conduct are also something that visiting tourists have to follow if they want to enter the area (Interview: Amgai; Sigdel).
The awareness about the importance of preserving the nature is strong among local NGOs that were interviewed during the research. They have policies and action plans on how they work with questions regarding sustainable tourism and development. During the interviews some NGOs expressed a concern that they have to fight upwards against the Nepali government when it comes to the importance of developing sustainable tourism, as the NGOs sees it as an important pathway to adapt to, while they think that the government is not doing enough (Interview: Dawadi).

There are several international NGOs present in Nepal working according to their own agenda distributing their aid. They come from different countries all over the world and focus on different areas in Nepal and on different aspects of helping people. Only one international NGO was interviewed due to the difficulty to get in contact with them. GIZ (former GTZ) from Germany has been working in Nepal since 1975. GIZ have three focus areas for their projects in Nepal: local self-governance and civil society with participation of local inhabitants in direct poverty reduction operations; renewable energy with focus on small hydropower plants for rural areas; and improvement of health with particular focus on HIV/
AIDS. GIZ has been working together with the Government of Nepal through the Ministry of Local Development with “Urban Development through Local Efforts” (UDLE) program from October 1987 to December 2010. The focus has been on strengthening the urban development and strengthening of the municipal organisation to cope with development challenges (Interview: Mahat; Müller).

Prior to visiting the country contacts had been made with others, such as the SNV from the Netherlands, but when being in the country they did not answer to any of my phone calls or e-mails. Prior to my visit to the country they answered very fast on my mails or directed my question in the right direction. I don’t know why they suddenly stopped replying, but perhaps there is competition between international NGOs. This concern was partly confirmed when interviewing staff at the NTB head office in Kathmandu. According to staff at the NTB many international NGOs do not coordinate their projects with other NGOs or with the NTB. This leads to some areas receiving larger amount of aid than what they can use efficiently while some other areas doesn’t receive any aid at all (Interview: Timalsena #2).
Photo: The peak of Machhapuchchhre ("Fish Tail") is one of the lower peaks in the Annapurna mountain range of the Himalayas. Only 6997 m high, the peak is forbidden to climb as the mountain is seen as sacred to the Hindu deity Shiva.
6. CASE STUDIES
This chapter is the last part of the field study. It describes the case study areas that was observed and analysed on site in the Kaski district, Nepal. The three different areas were selected on their different type of location, infrastructural situation and present tourism.

The first area, Sarangkot VDC, is located north east of Pokhara. In the VDC the larger tourism flow from Pokhara is present because of the juxtaposed location. The second area, the Machhapuchchhre Model Trek (MMT), is an area where 7 VDCs have joined together and opened a new trekking route for tourists in the ACA with help from TAAN. The trekking area is located in rural locations about 2 hours walking north of Pokhara and was opened for the public in December 2009. They utilize the concept of Home Stay for visiting trekkers. The third area is the municipality city of Pokhara, which is Nepal’s second largest city. Pokhara is located next to the second largest lake in the country, the Phewa Lake, in the southern part of the Kaski district.

Maps: Based on data provided by the UN IPF (UN IPF 2010b).
KASKI DISTRICT
MAP OVER KASKI DISTRICT WITH
WARD/MUNICIPALITY BORDERS.

AREA 1: SARANGKOT VDC

AREA 2: THE PARTICIPATING VDCs
IN MACHHAPUCHCHHRE MODEL TREK

AREA 3: POKHARA
MUNICIPALITY
(WITH CITY IN
DARK GREY)
6.1. AREA 1: SARANGKOT VILLAGE

6.1.1. INTRODUCTION
Sarangkot VDC has 1408 households and 6612 inhabitants (CBS 2001b, p. 72) and is located north west of Pokhara municipality. It is approximately 6 km between the main road leading out of Pokhara and the Sarangkot village, which is the village in the VDC located nearest to Pokhara. It is situated along a ridge with a watchtower at 1592 metres above sea level. From the watchtower you have a good view over almost the entire Pokhara valley and surrounding mountains. To the south you can see the Phewa Lake and to the north and north east you have the Annapurna mountain range with peaks over 8000 meters high.

6.1.2. INFRASTRUCTURE
Communications are good with the surrounding areas. The road leading up to Sarangkot from Pokhara is of good paved Nepali standard, with minor damages. Public buses and taxis use the road and connect Sarangkot with Pokhara and the other villages in the VDC. There is no fixed schedule for the buses, but an estimated number of departures, based on observation could make it a minimum of 5 daily trips from Pokhara.
Cars had to stop at a point at the entrance of the village before, as there was no road leading through the village. People then had to walk the last kilometre up to the peak and to the villages on the other side of the ridge. When visiting the Sarangkot this pathway was paved with stones and gravel. Along the path villagers had built small shops and restaurants on the way up to the peak. Garbage cans were located along the path but it seemed like they were not used.

Today there is a road leading all the way up to the top and continues from Sarangkot to other villages in the VDC. The road was built in autumn 2009 through the effort of the VDC, who now has to maintain the road. The VDC did not pay for the entire road, but it was not possible to get information about who else had helped finance the road (Interview: Villager #4). There is water shortage in the village and villagers use water tanks that they have to fill by hand. The taps that were constructed by the authorities are not well maintained and without water, leading to villagers have to walk to a spring in the forest to get water. Some villagers also collect rainwater to use for their needs.

Energy usage for cooking is mixed. Some of the villagers use kerosene gas, which is provided in refillable cans that can be bought at stores in the village. Many households use firewood...
collected from the forest. It’s not known if this wood is gathered in the surrounding woods, or if it transported to the village and then sold to the villagers. In many locations the wood was gathered in smaller bundles that was easy to carry.

For future project the VDC works with the main focus on developing the schools, roads, improve sanitation and water in the village. How the VDC plans to address these problems is unclear and they could not present a plan for future focus. They mentioned the water shortage in the village as important to solve, but they had no plans on how to handle this problem. (Interview: Villager #4).

6.1.3. ACTIVE PLANNERS
There are no active planners working within the VDC. This is due to the weak financial situation of the VDC. They can’t afford to have any planner employed, but when needed, they are allowed to hire planners for different projects (Interview: Villager #4).

6.1.4. TOURISM
Every year 50,000 tourists arrive to Sarangkot and pay the entrance fee. Some companies in Pokhara have arranged so they pay a yearly fee to the SVDC and then don’t have to pay for every tourist they bring. These companies work mainly with paragliding tourism, as there is a starting zone on the south side of the ridge (Interview: Villager #3).

The area is mentioned in guidebooks as a nice viewpoint to see the Himalayan Mountains in this area. To enter the village you have to pay a fee of 25/15/10 NPRs depending on if you are foreigners/SAARC/Nepalese citizen. To get to the village one can either walk the 6 km or take a taxi. Hotels at Lakeside in Pokhara offer transportation with minibuses up to the top as well.

Because of the short distance to Pokhara many tourists visit the village early in the morning to see the sun rise over the Himalayas, which is mentioned in several guidebooks as something special. Minibuses and taxis transport the tourists from Pokhara up to a small platform in the most eastern part of the village, and after the tourists have seen the sun rise, they return to Pokhara. The viewpoint can be heavily crowded during the morning hours, and after a few hours the small gift shops in the vicinity are closed as the tourists departs.

During day time there is a slow but steady flow of tourists coming up to the village. To reach the watchtower at the top you can either walk along a walking path, or go by car/bus along a newly opened road. When talking with some villagers they expressed a frustration that the tourist who passed by the small shops or restaurants mostly said that they didn’t need anything or already had everything they need. Also they were a bit frustrated over the low flow of tourists along the walking path that earlier served as the only access route to the watchtower. After the road was constructed the flow of tourists along the walking path had declined. Most tourist where driven up to the top with minibuses so they could walk the last 200 meters to the view tower at the peak (Interview: Villager #5).

When talking with tourists visiting Sarangkot they stayed at Lakeside in Pokhara, their guides came from the Lakeside, and their porters where from the Lakeside area. The main
visible investment tourists did during their visit, which was seen during observations, were to eat something at some of the few restaurants just below the peak, or buy some bottles of water. Not many stayed over night at the hostels in the village.

It was not possible to obtain any information about future plans for developing the tourism in Sarangkot. Villagers, who owned stores, expressed a feeling that they wished more tourists would stay in the village and in that way contribute in a more direct way to peoples private economy (Interview: Villager #5).

6.1.5. SUPPORT FROM NGOS AND GOVERNMENT
The VDC said they didn’t get much support from the government, but they where working together in some projects with NGOs like UNICEF and Rotary. To what amount was unclear and they couldn’t present any numbers. The school next to the VDC office had a sign with information that a Rotary club from Japan had supported it financially (Interview: Villager #3).
6.1.6. SUMMARY

Sarangkot can be regarded as a village that many years ago gained from the visiting tourism and used the economic power for the development of infrastructure, and in some way, as the new road, still do. But nowadays the situation has changed, with tourists arriving from Pokhara with guides and already supplied with things they need. Shop owners income is merely based on the souvenirs they manage to sell. While the tourism is still present, the flow of money into Sarangkot has diminished.

With visiting numbers of 50,000 tourists per year, according to the VDC, the area is strongly influenced by tourism. This tourism is not only positive for Sarangkot as their main investment in the village is through paying the entrance fee. In regard to how many that visits the village, not so many are using the amenities as hotels and restaurants in the same extent as before. The traffic generated to transport the tourists back and forth between Sarangkot and Pokhara congest the entrance to the village during early morning hours almost every day.

The infrastructural situation is comparable good, with the most crucial problem being the lack of water. Many have septic tanks for their toilets, which are good for the local environment, but since there is no control of how the waste is managed afterwards, there is no long-term thinking of possible environmental impacts. The use of firewood for heating and cooking is a problem, as it can result in deforestation.

Without any planners it can be difficult to have a good overview over the situation when it comes to infrastructural questions that need attention. With a weak financial situation the VDC does as good as it can and can’t fulfil the commitments stated in the LSGA.
6.2. AREA 2: THE MACHHAPUCHCHHRE MODEL TREK

6.2.1. INTRODUCTION
The Machhapuchchhre Model Trek (MMT) is located north of Pokhara in the south part of ACA. MMT is situated across the valleys and ridges south of the large Annapurna ridge of the Himalayas, and is easily reached with public transportation, taxi or by foot from Pokhara. It’s the newest addition to a large amount of trekking routes available for tourists within the ACA zone. The area consists of seven VDCs: Dhital, Ghacho, Lahacho, Lwangghale, Machhapuchchhre, Revvan, and Sardikhola. The seven VDCs have 4527 households and 21815 inhabitants (CBS 2001b, p. 72), and have united in the Machhapuchchhre Model Trek Development Committee (MMTDC) that handles questions regarding the entire area with focus of utilizing tourism for development. All VDCs except Dhital is located in the ACA.

Almost every household in the area supply them selves with food for the family through their own farming. They keep animals and crops, and they have agreed towards ACAP to
only grow crops and handle animals in a biological way. Some farmers in Ghachok have joined in a cooperative that sells milk to a dairy company in Pokhara, and in Lwang there is a community-based group that grows organic tea that is sold on the open market through ACAP. Some other small-scale businesses, as wood crafting and local shops are situated in the larger villages, while the smaller ones only contain local farms (Interview: Gurung #1).

6.2.2. INFRASTRUCTURE
The road network in the area is not so well developed compared to adjacent areas, but still rather good. There is a good network of paths between villages, and some larger roads are paved. Along the paved roads public transports gives people the possibility for faster transports towards Pokhara. Due to the condition of the roads, best way of transportation is by motorcycle or by foot.

As the route is newly opened many investments have been made in basic facilities, such as toilets and showers in remote villages. With these facilities tourists can expect a minimum level of standard when staying over night in the villages. TAAN and ACAP have worked with helping and assisting villagers with knowledge on how to build these, and then letting the villagers construct the facilities on their own (Interview: Amgai), and the villagers also use these facilities. In some villages ACAP had also supplied material for some public toilets to be constructed. Villagers in
Khabre said that after building the toilets the children were less sick with fever and it had been a decrease in diarrhoea compared to before the toilets were built. (Interview: Villager #1).

There are different types of toilets being used in the area. Khabre have septic tank toilets, while in Ghachok most of the families use local biogas toilets. Even if families have a biogas toilet, many still use firewood for cooking and heating. People gather wood in the forest in designated areas and have to follow regulations set up by the ACAP (Interview: Villager #6). Villagers expressed a concern with the lack of water, as the supply of water is not good. The villages receive their water from natural springs and reservoirs in the hills, but these cannot supply enough water needed.

Solid waste management uses plastic buckets supplied by ACAP located at public areas in the villages. Here people are encouraged to throw their garbage. After the buckets are full they are to be emptied in a burning pit and then burned. Still, plastic waste could be seen almost everywhere in the surrounding landscape and along the roads in the villages. Villagers had been told to bury non-burnable garbage in the ground and then cover it up (Interview: Villager #1). In some villages dump sites for waste was seen, and here both biodegradable and toxic waste, as CFL light bulbs and batteries was dumped.
The most important investment for the future in many villages is to improve the supply of water. During conversations with villagers they expressed a concern regarding pollution of their water reservoirs in the hills during the monsoon period and the lack of water for the crops. In Ghachok people said they had water for their family and animals, but not for the more water demanding crops, such as rice (Interview: Villager #6).

6.2.3. ACTIVE PLANNERS
As with Sarangkot VDC, there are no active planners working within the MMTDC. No one of the seven participating VDCs has any planner employed either.

6.2.4. TOURISM
The MMT has recently been developed and was opened for the public in December 2009. Tourists can choose to visit the area for trekking and Home Stay or just for trekking due to the short distance to Pokhara. Some parts of the area have been restricted for tourists earlier, while some have been open for many years. The goal for the first year is to attract 900 tourists to the Home Stay programme. Up to late April 2010 the area have already had around 2000 tourists in the area with about half using the home stay service and trekking, and the other half just trekking (Interview: Dawadi).

Villages in the MMT have adapted the Home Stay concept for tourists. Roughly 40 houses in each VDC have at this point joined in the home stay project. As the area is newly opened for tourists, the MMTDC don’t want to open up too fast as it might be difficult to attract tourists in the beginning. As time passes and the number of tourists increase they expect let more families join the project. No information was found regarding how the selection between families for joining the Home Stay had been performed. The MMTDC do not want people to invest too much money into the project in the beginning and then not see the result of their investment, as the number of tourists in the beginning is low (Interview: Gurung #2).

The village of Lwang has been open for tourist with Home Stay more years than other parts of the MMT. ACAP established a biological tea garden in the hills above the village many years ago and the village is well known by tourist agencies, as ACAP promotes the biological grown tea as something special for the area (Interview: Gurung #1).

Along the Seti River in the Sardikhola VDC there are natural hot springs that have been used by the indigenous population for centuries. The hot springs are believed to help people with different diseases and illnesses. I was told that people come here and spend days at the location trying to get well from different illnesses (Interview: Villager #6).

Tourists who want to visit the MMT area have to follow certain codes of conduct that ACAP has set up for the area in cooperation with TAAN and the MMTDC. According to Mr. Dawadi at the local TAAN office in Pokhara, people living in the area have accepted to follow these codes (Interview: Dawadi).

According to Mr. Gurung, the most important step for the future in the development of tourism in the MMT-area is to promote it, as the trek is new and unknown to many agen-
cies and tourists. The MMTDC is also concerned with the high fee for tourists entering the ACAP. For longer treks tourists might not think it is expensive, but since it’s very easy for only one or two days trekking in the MMT area, the fee of 2000 NPRs might seem expensive. MMTDC wants to see a lower fee for shorter stays in the ACAP-area, or perhaps just for the MMT-area, and perhaps making it more interesting to visit (Interview: Gurung #2).

Some of the villages have expressed wishes to develop agricultural tourism as a next step in development of the Home Stay programme in their village, and have turned to ACAP for help (Interview: Villager #1).

6.2.5. SUPPORT FROM NGOS AND GOVERNMENT

MMT is under supervision of TAAN and ACAP, and has to follow the code of conducts for the area. With the entrance fee ACAP invests in support to the area, but to what degree is unknown. The entrance fee is for one entry only and ACAP could not provide information regarding how they distributed the money specifically for this area.

ACAP is providing training in different fields for the people involved in the tourist sector. This includes tourism management, cooking, hygienic awareness, how to construct toilets, and so on. They do not support with money directly to people, but help people with knowledge. The help is beneficial in two ways, both to guarantee that tourists receive a minimum level of standard when visiting, but also to make it possible for people to improve their everyday life.

The government has supplied the area with infrastructure for electricity, but with the constant power cuts people can’t get the advantage of electricity as intended. On the other hand, villagers are not feeling restrained by the lack of electricity, as they are not depend on it (Interview: Villager #1).

6.2.6. SUMMARY

MMT is a newly opened area for tourists, and has not yet been exploited in a way as Sarangkot. The vision by TAAN and MMTR is to preserve the area, while improvements are being made for both indigenous people living there and for tourists. People are in some ways aware of the importance of preserving the environment, but still waste can be seen everywhere. Perhaps it is like this because there is no extensive project on how to handle waste in a good way. Villagers are taught by ACAP to either burn it or bury it (Source: Villager #4).

Tourism will most likely increase in the future. More tourists will generate a higher pressure on the environment and the indigenous population in the area, which can turn into a rather difficult challenge. People who now grow their own crops and keep their own livestock use the abundance as a resource when tourists come and stay at their house, and they put pressure on the carrying capacity of the area.

Regarding the future development of the area not only promotion in different ways of the area is important (Interview: Gurung #2). There is also a need of a waste awareness process,
as I could see waste and garbage almost everywhere in the area, which can be something that might lower the experience for visiting tourists.

Without planners working with questions regarding development it is a challenge for the VDCs in the MMTDC to have an updated Periodic and Annual Plan.

6.3. AREA 3: THE CITY OF POKHARA

6.3.1. INTRODUCTION
In contrast to the two other areas, Pokhara consists of an urban fabric with a developed tourist zone next to the Phewa Lake in the southwest. The city is an important traffic and transport node for communications with surrounding districts. Through the road network the city is connected with Kathmandu 210 km to the east, Butwal to the south and Baglung to the west. The airport is used for domestic flights only. The city is one of the 58 municipalities in the country and is organized according to that. It is classed as a “Sub Metropolitan City” according to the Nepal ranking system within municipalities, making it one of four sub metropolitan cities in the country. Pokhara has 37,305 households and 156,312 inhabitants, making it the fourth largest city in Nepal (CBS 2001b, p. 72).

The city is spanning over a large area of the Pokhara valley with the Phewa Lake in the southwest and Seti River passing through the city from the north to the southeast. The city centre is located around Mahendra Pul, which also functions as the node for the local bus network. Pokhara is one of few cities that can serve the public with buses, and these busses are privately owned and operated.

Housing varies from single-family houses to larger multifamily houses. Small workshops along the streets mix with small shops or private farming lots. It was not possible during research to analyse which people who lived in which types of housing. Perhaps this mix of urban and rural patterns can be seen as an ongoing urbanisation process.

The traffic situation in Pokhara is intense. It’s a mixture of motorcycles, lorries, taxis, minibuses, bicycle, and pedestrians everywhere. Only during the night the city is silent.

6.3.2. INFRASTRUCTURE
The level of infrastructure is high compared to Sarangkot and MMT. Most of the homes have running water, but the supply of water is not consistent. Sometimes during the dry period there is no water at all, and people have to try to find access to water on their own, which most probably will become a larger problem in the future if the dry season gets longer and the number of inhabitant increases. The water is supplied mainly by the municipality and is taken from the Seti River north of the city. People who don’t have running water in their homes have to walk to public water taps.

There is a shortage in electricity. People are used to constant blackouts that sometimes come and go on a regular basis. Different actions for energy saving exists, as example are most of the light bulbs of CFC-type. To heat up water several sun-heating systems could be seen on roofs.
For cooking most people use kerosene gas, that is being supplied through stores in refillable cans.

According to census data 76% of the inhabitants in the city have access to “modern toilet facility” (flush capability), 18% have access to “ordinary toilet facility” (no flush capability) and about 5% doesn’t have access at any toilet facility at all (CBS 2001a). Private entrepreneurs handle toilet waste from private septic tanks.

According to officials at the Sub Metropolitan City Office solid waste management is handled by the municipality and is one of the largest posts in the annual budget. The city has one of the most modern dump cities in the country where waste is taken care of. The city has employed workers who handle the waste. (Interview: Ananta) Still the effort is not enough, as you can see waste being dumped everywhere over the city. Behind a wall, a corner, or down a slope you see garbage polluting the city environment.

Streets at Lakeside are kept clean and tidy, while the garbage is littering the streets all over the rest of the city. It seemed, as the city was more concerned with keeping the tourists satisfied with clean streets than handling the waste from the residents.
Some development projects are financed through governmental funding, while the municipality funds some. All projects have to be presented in the annual plan, otherwise they will not be granted funding, or they will be postponed until another year (Interview: Ananta). The plan is revised once every year, but a problem is the lack of financial strength within the municipality. The LSGA gives clear guidelines on how the city can tax companies and people but a strong legislation on paper doesn’t mean that the reality is the same.

6.3.3. ACTIVE PLANNERS
The Sub Metropolitan City Office of Pokhara has active planners working within their organisation. Their Periodic Plans follow the guidelines presented earlier, with the 5-year periodic plan giving the outlines and the Annual Plan setting out the projects for the next year. But the office could not get the plans approved by the politicians because of the political situation. (Interview: Ananta). Due to the short time span it was not possible to interview any active planners during the research.

Pokhara Sub Metropolitan City Office could present a Periodic Plan for future infrastructure development projects, and during an interview the city representatives talked about how the city struggles with keeping the city clean and get the waste to the dumpsite. They
said it is a problem because waste management uses about 35% of their budget, but still it’s not enough (Interview: Ananta).

6.3.4. TOURISM
Pokhara is one of Nepal’s most important tourist locations. Every year thousands of tourists come to visit the city, which is well known for it’s location next to the Phewa Lake, and because it is seen as the entry point into the ACA. With several religious temples in the city, Pokhara is also an important location for Hindus and Buddhists, who visit the city for contemplation and relaxation instead of adventurous experiences.

The city’s main tourist district is the Lakeside area, where a tourist can find almost any service required for a pleasant stay. The area is heavily congested with lodges, hotels, restaurants, travel and/or trekking agencies, souvenir shops, and ATMs. The more luxurious resorts are located outside the city, and isolate the visitors from the city. The visitors at these luxurious locations are supplied with all service they want within the area, and do not “need” to visit the city if they do not want to.

The municipality has no plan for development of the tourism. It’s the tourist industry that
is pushing the development forward to fill the needs that they see. New hotels and new attractions are being built to supply the tourists with what they want, while the city struggles with keeping the streets clean from waste. Without the control through the municipality the development of tourism is controlled by private actors, who most probably are more interested in maximising their profits than in making something that the municipality can benefit from.

6.3.5. SUPPORT FROM NGOS AND GOVERNMENT
Several NGOs are active in Pokhara with different types of projects, but not has been analysed. Some focus on improving the situation for the people, while some focus on the environment. Sometimes the organisations coordinate with the municipal office regarding some projects.

As Pokhara was chosen in the later part of the research to be one case study I did not have time to better analyse how NGOs and the government fully work with different projects in the city. My observations showed that there are several NGOs present and working in the city. Pokhara is the entry point to the ACA, and thus one of the most important cities for the country in regard of tourism, but also an important traffic node.

6.3.6. SUMMARY
Pokhara is the opposite of Sarangkot and MMT. In Pokhara people struggle with their own everyday life and have another connection to the environment, even though there are some areas right in the middle of the city where people grow crops. The city suffers from more complex problems, as more people live in a more congested area, but on the other hand the city produce resources of other value. While the people in the rural areas mostly have a self-catering system, the city life is based on trading and shopping for survival.

Challenges in the city take different shapes than in the rural areas. As an example when there is a blackout in Pokhara people still have to keep their store open to sell merchandise to earn an income, while a blackout in a rural area does not have the same negative impact. The city's focus on keeping Lakeside clean did not only feel non-coherent with the rest of the city, but also illogical. Juxtaposed to the tourist district ordinary citizens live in their neighbourhoods, and there the streets were littered with waste. The tourists contribute with money, and then the city perhaps thinks it’s important to keep the tourists satisfied. While focusing on tourists, the city should not forget the ordinary inhabitants as well. Of course tourism generates waste, but what about the rest of the waste? There is a problem with the financial situation as the city doesn’t have the means to do what it wants, but perhaps a more efficient system could make other parts of the city benefit from improved waste management as well. An improved system of waste bins could perhaps be useful.

While the city have planners working with different question, the unclear political situation makes it impossible for the city to implement plans that are being presented. The development of the city suffers when there is no working system for the political administration.
Photo: Early morning view over tea gardens in Lwang village and the Mardi Khola valley in the MMT.
7. ANALYSIS
7.1. INFRASTRUCTURE

While the LSGA is clear and show obligations of VDCs and municipalities to provide citizens with basic infrastructure it is at the same time weak. Weak in the perspective of reality - the LSGA does not work as intended when local authorities cannot fulfil their obligations. As shown in the field and case study the VDCs and municipalities do not have the financial assets to achieve the requirements that the LSGA requires.

**Area 1: Sarangkot**: The VDC has good connections with access to Pokhara, and the new road gives an improved communication capacity to villages in the western part of the VDC. Public transports pass through the village every day. The lack of water is critical, and people have to walk to a natural spring in the hills to get their daily need of water, or buy expensive bottles of water in the stores. Solid waste management almost does not exist at all, even if some garbage bins were seen in the village along the pathway up to the viewpoint. Plastic and other types of garbage can be seen almost everywhere. Sanitation is working to some degree, as most people have septic tank toilets, but the handling of the residue can be improved. The VDC lacks the capacity to hire planners for creating strategic plans for future development.

**Area 2: Machhapuchchhre Model Trek**: The area has good communications both internally and with external locations, such as Pokhara. A well-developed network of trails and bridges makes it fairly easy for people to move around. Some larger roads are paved and used for public transports. Most people have access to water in the villages, but the quality and quantity are not enough to meet the needs, and there is no purification of the water. Sanitation is handled in a sustainable way in some villages with biogas toilets, while some villages have systems with septic tanks. While the septic tank system works until the tank is full, the aspect of how to handle the residue after that have not been taken into account. The waste management is better in some villages than in others, but the practice of burying toxic and non-burnable waste in the soil is not sustainable. Several villages have received help with constructing burning pits and have plastic wastebaskets in the villages. As with Sarangkot, the MMTDC do not have any employed planner working with development question for the designated area.

**Area 3; Pokhara**: The municipality has some advantages, as it is a city, while also some disadvantages compared to Sarangkot and MMT. It has a higher pressure on its' resources as more people are living there, and the communication network is good with a well-developed road network and public transportation system. Many citizens have access to water at their home, but when there is a water shortage it can be more negative due to the high population density, than in rural areas. The reoccurring blackouts have more negative consequences in the city than in the other areas, as people in the city seem to be more depending on electricity. Sanitation is working, but how the residue is handled by private companies who more focus on earning money than thinking of environmental impacts is not sustainable. Waste management has the possibility of being very good in Pokhara, with access to the city dumpsite,
but the system does not have capacity to handle all waste. While Pokhara did have planners employed, the political situation makes it impossible to get strategic plans approved. Thus planning seems to be more ad hoc than long term.

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<tr>
<th>Communication</th>
<th>AREA 1: SARANGKOT</th>
<th>AREA 2: MMT</th>
<th>AREA 3: POKHARA</th>
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- Improvements necessary
- Improvements are needed
- Functional, but can be improved more

The matrix shows the differences between the three areas and how these different aspects are in relation of how they can be developed.
7.2. PLANNERS AND THE PLANNING SYSTEM
The role of the planner is important, but weak, in Nepal. The LSGA can be seen as a well-written document, but that is not enough. A well-written law only gives some conditions for a society to develop. Due to the lack of financial strength many VDCs and municipalities cannot afford to hire planners more than when certain projects have to be made. Without good strategies, and planners, it’s hard for municipalities and VDCs to take the necessary steps to create a more sustainable development that the citizens can take advantage of in their everyday life.

Planning is functional in some locations, but as these locations are in minority changes has to be made. Education and knowledge amongst active planners varies depending on what training they have. There is no “minimum requirements” regarding training or education. Many of them have a background in different engineer programs at universities. Some institutions, funded partly from the government and partly from NGOs, focus on giving active planners more training into different subjects. The UDTC and LDTA, as example, are two of these institutions that are working with providing planners with more knowledge. The LSGA gives direct guidelines to what a municipality or VDC should do regarding different types of plans and questions about planning. The LSGA also emphasises some aspects of how people can be fined for polluting the environment. The actual situation in the analysed areas differs considerably from what is written in the LSGA.

While the LSGA might work well with some municipalities I could not find any examples of how it worked with VDCs in regard of planning. People interviewed expressed a frustration with the lack of financial assets to improve planning (Interview: Gurung #2).

The LSGA focus on different planning tools, but it does not focus on the planner. Based on the observations and interviews the LSGA might be able to work better if questions regarding planning and planners were put in an own separate act. Still this is just a change in paper, and it has to be followed by a wide consensus on how to strengthen the role of the planner and the importance of a planning system that is working in collaboration with Nepal’s preconditions.

7.3. TOURISM
On the national level large-scale tourism of today is beneficial for Nepal in economical terms. Tourism is an important source of income for the country and people employed within the sector. There is an uneven distribution of tourism; some areas are well developed, while others are not. Also, areas with tourism have problems with the negative effects such as increased waste and lesser resources per capita.

Several actors were identified to be active within the tourism sector. A very important actor is the NTB, which has a key role for aiding areas who want to develop tourism, and at the same time promote the country on the international tourism market. This is a problem, as focus tends to be more on how many tourists that visit the country, and not so much focus on the impacts in the visited areas. As shown with the “Nepal Tourism Year 2011” the NTB
have a clear strategy to attract tourists, while no present strategies focus on the development of new areas they want tourists to visit. Without the strategies being prepared in a reasonable time before the launch of NTY 2011 the implementation of them might finally be done during a tight timeframe. The amount of promotional strategies for NTY 2011 do not correspond with the amount of time and effort put into preparing the needed strategies for tourism development in the new areas intended to be promoted.

NTB works with guidelines and policies that are transferred to NGOs and active companies and partners within the tourism sector. During interviews with organisations active within the tourism sector, such as TAAN, a concern was expressed that they were neglected by the NTB. Several NGOs expressed a concern for the status of the environment in the country and they notice the negative impacts of tourism on a day-to-day basis. Some NGOs felt they had to struggle upwards towards the NTB to make their voice heard in regard of the importance of having a functional tourism industry in areas being sustainable.

Several negative impacts of tourism were seen in Sarangkot and Pokhara, while the MMT gave the impression of being far less exposed to negative impacts so far. Certainly this can be related to the MMT being new and unknown to many tourists. Sarangkot had heavy traffic going through the village with tourists from Pokhara that were going to a starting point for paragliding on the outskirts of the village. Villagers who had invested in building stores along the walking path to the top had seen their earnings decrease since the opening of the road through the village. This road had positive effects for communication possibilities with public buses, but negative effects on the income for several villagers since tourists more and more arrived to the top in minibuses and taxis from Pokhara. In Pokhara the Lakeside district was consisting of mainly souvenir shops, tourist agencies, lodges, hotels, and other amenities for tourists. The entire local market is focused on tourism, and without visitors it is hard to understand how people can earn a daily income. The initiative by TAAN and ACAP for the MMT is a good example of how tourism can be developed in a sustainable way, but it does not seem as the carrying capacity of the area has been thoroughly analysed.

With awareness of the impacts of tourism that can affect people living in a touristic area, a good balance between tourism and local development could be achieved. Families within the Home Stay program should be made aware about that they can’t accept an unlimited amount of tourists, unless they start to buy the food they serve instead of growing it by themselves, and then one factor of the poverty alleviation process is removed from the equation, as they become more depending on commercialism than self catering development. And if no tourism visits them – what will happen then?
Photo: The Buddhist Bouddhanath Stupa in Kathmandu is one of the seven monuments that defines in the Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site.
8. FINAL DISCUSSION
This final chapter will discuss results of the analysis done and the present system in Nepal together with the studied literature. It will attempt to show steps that can be used to strengthen the situation for planners, indigenous populations, and infrastructure improvements with aid of tourism. Proposals on further studies and work that can be done to continue the work set out by this report will also be highlighted.

This work set out to find how the situation for active planners are in Nepal, and analyse if planners can use tourism as a generator for infrastructure development for the indigenous population. As Nepal has a positive view on tourism, the government sees a possibility to use tourism in a way that the UNWTO propose for poverty alleviation.

8.1. SUSTAINABLE INFRASTRUCTURE
There is a need for improved infrastructure in rural areas in Nepal, as shown in the case studies. The lack of sustainable infrastructure damages the environment when the pressure increases from settlements and an expanding tourism industry.

With the financially weak local administration, and strong NGOs active in some regions, it can be possible to achieve sustainable development with the inclusion of the local populations. Through interviews and observations people living in these areas can pass on knowledge about what they lack and what they need. Their knowledge can be valuable for development projects. As shown in several reports (Senkatuka 2009; Nkya 2007; Choguill 1996; Kombe & Kreibich 2006) there are ways to take a step outside the regulated frame to achieve development of infrastructure in a perspective that more focus on the indigenous population and their needs. Kombe and Kreibich focus on the empowerment and inclusion of the local communities as an important factor for development and this is needed in Nepal. Observations during the research show that local communities in the case study did not have the capacity to handle their challenges all on their own.

There are great differences between urban and rural areas and their preconditions for achieving and maintaining sustainable infrastructure, and there is a difference in the studied material as no one of the studied reports focused on rural areas. Choguill’s ten steps for sustainable infrastructure highlight important questions for development, both in rural and urban areas that can be useful in Nepal. When developing sustainable infrastructure the local residents should be included, both in the development process and afterwards with maintaining the system, as had been done in the MMT with small-scale sanitation facilities. The study also indicates the difference between waste management in Pokhara versus Sarangkot and MMT. In the rural areas the local population was obliged to handle the waste, while in the urban areas the waste management system supplied by the municipality was in charge. Through this villagers became more directly connected to the importance of waste management while in the city observations showed that inhabitants relied on the municipality to handle the issue. The indigenous population are the ones who know what sort of improvements they need, the ones affected by it, and the ones living in the area.

While rural areas lack density of people to create larger systems that benefits others, they have the advantage of having a lower pressure on the surrounding environment and can
develop small local solutions that are sustainable. The biogas toilets in the MMT are one example of a sustainable sanitation system. On the other hand the septic tanks in Kabbre had a positive effect for the village, but not the handling of the residue. In rural areas, as seen in Pokhara, the higher density generates other pressures on the environment and existing systems. Pokhara has the advantage of a dumpsite and an organisation to handle solid waste, but the system is not capable of handling the amount of waste generated.

With an increase in tourism in the studied areas, there has to be changes to the handling of waste and sanitation should be improved. With the aspect of making people benefit from these systems the work by ACAP is one step in the right direction. This system should continue to evolve towards a wider sustainable aspect. Burying waste and burning the rest is not good for the environment. There are possibilities to create a system that encourage people to take care of their waste and hand it in for recycling. This requires perhaps a larger, maybe even national, system with recycling of waste and proper treatment. Making people participant in larger organisation might be a challenge, but while connecting it to education in schools and with tourism as the glooming goal people might accept and understand why they cannot continue to dump it in the environment.

8.2. EVOLUTION OF THE PLANNING SYSTEM

Strømgren's historical exposé of the planning evolution highlights the fact that it has never been the citizens that have been in total control of planning, but organisations did influence the transformation. Sandercock argues for a change of this with her post-modernistic ideas of a new paradigm in planning, but we have to understand her background. She has her roots in the industrialised world and she focus on transforming a system that she does not think works within that frame.

To develop planning in a country like Nepal the ideas and aspects of Nnkyia (2007), Senkatuka (2009), and Kombe and Kreibich (2006) are more interesting. Their research highlights a planning system in studied countries that originates from foreign countries with totally different culture, history, capacity, and organisation than the countries where it has been intended. Still the countries use this conventional planning system that is not working. It’s not difficult in that perspective to understand why the planning system in Nepal does not work if it is not based on the local context.

The LSGA in Nepal gave the impression of a planning system not adapted and based on what the country is capable of. As there is a wide gap between the LSGA and how it is out in the field, it has to be transformed. In this transformation process various actors and stakeholders have to be involved, most important the indigenous population.

There is a clear difference between municipalities and VDCs. Through the observations and studies in Nepal shows that VDCs are not capable of operating and maintaining the plans they are set out to develop, and the idea used by the MMTDC can be one way to increase this capacity. Through joint efforts the VDCs can use their combined skills and knowledge to become a more versatile local administration. Perhaps it is not possible for VDCs to do all by
themselves, but when receiving aid from NGOs and the government the VDCs should be in control of the projects, but the existing system does not encourage this. Also, NGOs does not seem to be willing to hand over control of their projects in communities to the local administration. Education and training of people in key positions as Kombe and Kreibich highlights is important, as well as Nnkya’s important studies regarding active planners willingness to listen to people affected by plans and projects. Senkatuka’s focus on the empowerment of local communities seems to be just as relevant to Nepal. Even if the MMTDC mainly focus on tourism development in the seven VDCs, the concept can act as a role model for how VDCs can join together when they have common interests on what they want to develop.

The dysfunctional planning system in Nepal should be put in perspective of its origin. Sandercock discussed women being biased within planning theory and that knowledge never been gender-neutral. Those ideas can be applied to planning itself and continued in the perspective of industrialised and non-industrialised countries. It is possible to say that planning has been excluding in regard of who has been in control of the evolution. The concept of planning evolved in industrialised countries and has later on been accepted by those who did not take part in the adaptation and development of the planning theory. The planning system in Nepal is not working, and one reason can be that it is a system not developed by Nepal itself. The structure of the LSGA and organisation of planning in Nepal points to a linkage with the planning theories described by Sandercock and Strömgren. Nepal, as many other developing countries, should create a planning system working with their preconditions such as local cultures and traditions, and not to try to transform the country itself after a planning system that has no correlation to the context where it will be implemented.

8.3. TOURISM AS DEVELOPMENT GENERATOR

The study of literature and observations in Nepal shows the potential for tourism to act as a generator in helping people to alleviate from poverty. Also, the need for improvement of existing and non-existing infrastructure is high, while there is a lack of assets to be able to start these improvements. These assets can either be financial, intellectual, or technical. Tourism has the ability, if handled in the right way, to be a development engine that makes it possible for local communities to do improvements they need, but all effects of tourism is not positive.

While some sources (UNWTO 2004; Ashley & Roe 2002; Harrison 2008) point on the positive effects of tourism as a tool for development, there are still several negative aspects (IUCN 2005; Kasim 2006). When using tourism for development, stakeholders must be aware of the damaging impacts that tourism can have on the local social structure and environment. The carrying capacity that was discussed by Wang (2009) and Sæþorsdottir (2010) should be mandatory to include in development strategies when new areas are opened up for tourism. Without the awareness of the carrying capacity of an area the tourism might become more negative than positive.

Only relying on tourists is also a risk. What happens if the flow of tourists starts to decrease? The community has to be able to adapt the tourism to their preconditions and thus be flexible to changes and not becoming too dependent on tourism alone for development.
Home Stay tourism is under development and was experienced in the MMT. It is one step on the way for local communities to start using tourism as an income generator. Without proper guidelines and process in the initial phase values can be lost and make the area prosper for a while and later deteriorate. But tourism should be linked to other development projects. The Home Stay tourism would create most benefit to the local community when it both generates improvements for citizens alone as well as the community, but existing travel agencies might see it as a threat because of most of the income is directed towards the local population.

It is also important to inform tourists arriving to Nepal how different types of tourism impact the local environment and social situation, and also how tourism behaviour has to be improved in regard of more sustainable awareness and actions. Perhaps the NTB should emphasise the possible negative impacts of tourism and encourage tourists to demand a certain level of service with focus on minimizing negative impacts on the environment and local community. NTB can develop an information strategy with the aim of reaching out both domestically and internationally to potential visitors. Only information might not be enough and NTB should be open for implementing other actions, as new regulations and laws that might be able to link to economic stimulants for local tourism development.
8.4. FURTHER STUDIES
During the work several different questions have evolved that were not included from the start of this report. Some questions could be incorporated while the framing of some questions were too complex to answer.

While the national government focus on using tourism as an income source, they have not focused on how to handle questions that will arise from the actual increased inflow of more tourists. Before it is possible to channel tourists into new areas measurements has to be taken which analyse the present situation in those areas and create action plans on how to formulate strategies so it is possible to receive tourists. More studies can be made to better understand how tourism impacts on local communities and environments in Nepal. The entire process during development of an area for tourism can give a broader understanding of which the active stakeholders are that promotes the transformation. A longer time span of the strategies and analysis also gives the possibilities to observe the transformation process on local level.

Focus has been on tourism and development, thus the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation through NTB and local administrative bodies has been in focus for this study. There are other governmental institutions that intentionally have been kept outside of the study because of the delimitation. Ministry of Physical Planning and Works, Ministry of Local Development, Ministry of Land, Reform, and Management, and Ministry of Environment are all important and their work in perspective of poverty alleviation has to be further studied. Not only tourism results in negative impacts on the environment. The local communities also generate effects on the local environment through poorly developed waste management systems and non-existing toilet facilities. Knowledge how these impacts affect the local environment can gain leverage with further research. The evidently undersized management system for solid waste handling can be challenged and transformed.

As this report only focused on three areas in the Kaski district more studies should be made in other districts to better understand the local development and tourism impact in areas. As several actors were identified but no stakeholder analysis have been made. A stakeholder analysis can be fruitful to understand how different actors impact each other and what sort of influences they have on different level. The actors found on this area should be compared to actors in other areas to search for similarities or differences to fully understand how they interact. Further on more interviews should be made with different key persons with in the actor organisations that were observed active in some areas.

It was difficult to find material focusing on rural development. Most of the material analysed for this report focus on urban development, and more studies has to be made to fully understand the complexity of how people in rural areas can gain access and capacity for development. For Nepal this is important, as most tourists don’t go trekking in the cities. Also from the perspective of planning theory it is important with more research and studies on planning in rural areas in developing countries, as this is a comparable weak field of knowledge compared to studies regarding urban planning.

One idea before the field study was to interview tourists visiting Nepal and their impressions regarding their own impacts and actions, environmental awareness, behaviour awareness,
and their knowledge of alternative tourism. This was done to some part, but as the conditions during the stay in Nepal changed because of a large strike other priorities had to be made. Still tourists are one of the key actors identified that has to be studied more in detail.

8.5. PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

The subject of this thesis originated from a discussion with Gunnar Nyström at Blekinge Institute of Technology, Karlskrona, in January 2010. The discussion was about what can drive development in Nepal and we ended with a general discussion about tourism and its impacts. Through Gunnar Nyström I got in contact with Jaya Shrestha and Sascha Müller at UDTC in Pokhara, which was the starting point for this report.

It is a challenge to visit a foreign country and do research, especially when it is so different from my own country as Nepal was for me. Language, culture, and tradition are some aspects that were totally new. If I had had more time to prepare I would had been able to better understand the situation for planners active in Nepal before departing, but it was difficult to find information.

In the beginning I was very positive towards tourism as poverty alleviator, but through the studies and observations in Nepal I have gained understanding for how tourism can, if handled in a bad way, destroy local communities. Tourism is not “the” solution for Nepal in regard of sustainable development. It is one of many possible alternatives to use as support for further alleviation.

Nepal has a long path ahead that it needs to proceed on their own, and I think that if the intention is to increase the flow of tourists to the country, there has to be a more thorough conceptual understanding of environmental and social impacts of tourism before tourism is seen as a main generator for development in rural areas. People living in Nepal have great knowledge that has to be taken care of.

Namaste!
Photo: The sun sets behind the Sarangkot viewpoint. View from UDTC campus in Pokhara.
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Villager #2: Man in Sarangkot VDC, Kaski district. Date: 2010-04-23.

Villager #3: Villager working with handling the entrance fee, Sarangkot VDC, Kaski district. 
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Villager #4: Woman in Sarangkot VDC, Kaski district. Date: 2010-04-25.

Villager #5: Susilla, shop owner and resident, Sarangkot VDC, Kaski district. 
Date: 2010-04-21.

Villager #6: Villager - Ghachok, resident, MMTDC, Kaski district. Date: 2010-05-03.

9.3. ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS AND PHOTOS

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